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Wydział Filologiczny

mgr Dominika Bartnik-Światek

NORDIC LITE. CONSTRUCTING THE NORDIC REGION AND NORDICNESS IN POLISH AND FRENCH WOMEN'S MAGAZINES IN THE XXI CENTURY

Nordic lite. Konstruowanie regionu nordyckiego i nordyckości w polskich i francuskich magazynach dla kobiet w XXI wieku

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Table of contents

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Abstract

The main focus of this study is to compare the representations of the Nordic region and Nordicness in Polish and French women's magazines from a decade: years from 2008 to 2018. During linguistic analysis of the magazines, I explore the answers to the following research questions: to what extent do the representations vary in both, Polish and French women's magazines? How are representations built and by what linguistic strategies? What are the components of Nordicness and how is it constructed? The study is based on the premise that the Nordic region, as imagined space, consists of coherent and interrelated elements transmitting cultural, political and ideological values.

The aim of this dissertation is also to fill in the gap in the study of representations of the Nordic region in France and Poland by adding a socio-cultural perspective to them, as I base my research on Pierre Bourdieu's social theory and Hall's representation theory. The comparative Polish-French perspective is also a new perspective in research of representation of the region in question. The empirical material for this analysis consists of six representative magazines from Poland and Frace that were selected for detailed study due to their consistently high circulations both, online and printed versions, as well as wide appeal demonstrated in sales records. The Polish magazines are: 'Twój Styl', 'Claudia', 'Zwierciadło', while the French: 'Femme Actuelle', 'Elle' and 'Figaro Madame'.

Streszczenie

Głównym celem niniejszej pracy jest porównanie reprezentacji regionu nordyckiego oraz nordyckości w polskich i francuskich czasopismach kobiecych z okresu dekady: od 2008 do 2018 roku. Za pomocą analizy lingwistycznej treści czasopism szukam odpowiedzi na następujące pytania badawcze: jak bardzo różnią się reprezentacje regionu nordyckiego w polskich i francuskich magazynach kobiecych? Jak budowane są reprezentacje i za pomocą jakich strategii językowych? Jakie są składowe nordyckości i jak jest ona skonstruowana? Badanie opiera się na założeniu, że region nordycki, jako przestrzeń wyobrażona, składa się ze spójnych i powiązanych ze sobą elementów, takich jak wartości kulturowe, polityczne i ideologiczne.

Celem rozprawy jest również wypełnienie luki w badaniach nad reprezentacjami regionu nordyckiego we Francji i w Polsce poprzez uzupełnienie ich o perspektywę społeczno-kulturową. Opieram tu swoje badania na teorii społecznej Pierre'a Bourdieu i teorii reprezentacji Halla. Perspektywa porównawcza polsko-francuska również stanowi nowe spojrzenie w badaniach reprezentacji omawianego regionu. Materiał empiryczny do tejże analizy to sześć reprezentatywnych czasopism kobiecych z Polski i Francji: „Twój Styl", „Claudia", „Zwierciadło", francuskie: „Femme Actuelle", „Elle" i „Figaro Madame".

Introduction

1.1 Thesis background

The foreign interest in the Nordic culture, that is film, literature, design, architecture or fashion, has been rapidly growing in recent years. This is due to both, talented artists originating from the region, but also other, non-artistic aspects such as great interest in the Nordic welfare model. Additionally, due to political and marketing efforts, the region has been labelled as "cool" by some media, in branding campaigns or some tourism bureaus' offers (Andersen et al., 2019; Howell, 2019; Strandberg, 2020). According to Walter Lippmann, media are "windows on the world" (Lippmann, 1997) or "vectors of representations of the dynamics of contemporary spaces" (Beauguitte et al., 2016, p. 1) and influence public opinion by deciding on what and how they may see. Women's magazines are also such a "window" or "vector" of a specific kind due to their target audience and the type of content they present.

In general, media aspire to explain the complexities of reality. According to Bogusław Skowronek, media creating their images of the world must rely on a basis common to all members of a given community and cannot escape from the images contained in the language of this community (Skowronek, 2013). It is a reference to Teun van Dijk's theory, according to which there is a general common knowledge in a given community – a cultural common ground:

The basis of all knowledge, intra- and intergroup, various ideologies are based on it. This means that for a given culture, the common base is unquestionable, common sense, and has non-ideological reasons. General norms and values shared by all representatives of a given culture are part of the common cultural base. Groups choose some of these cultural values such as freedom, equality, justice or objectivity, and they organize them into their own ideologies (Van Dijk, 2003, p. 208).

However, he points out that the media selectively draw from this database, and in the media discourse, a colloquial image of the world enters the situational context and the network of cultural connections. In the processes of media communication, media images of the world are created and oriented to the specific goals of institutional broadcasters. Because of their multiplicity, we often deal with various media discourses. One of them is the mediated view of the world presented by women's magazines. In comparison to the opinion-forming

newspapers and magazines, they seem to convey, in general, more positive, neat and encouraging representations of the Nordic region. Therefore, the *Nordic lite* in the title of this thesis is a word-play alluding to the phenomenon of the *Nordic lights*, a typical association with the Nordic region or the North, yet pointing to the specific type of discourse that is analyzed here. The representations of the Nordic region are in general more esthetic and enjoyable in this type of magazines.

The books regarding the "secret of good life" and "well-being" (Dunne, 2017; McGurk, 2018; Pantzar, 2018; Tourell Soderberg, 2016), festivals of the Nordic culture (like the Nordic Focus Festival in Gdańsk, NORDISK Festival in Poznań or Scandinavian Days in Szczecin), the Scandinavian Films Festival in Darłowo, or even popularity of the Scandinavian Studies (Moczydłowska, 2016) in Poland – all that, to mention just a few examples, are the evidence of the immense popularity of the Nordic region in Poland, or even a phenomenon we can call a *scandimania*. Similar festivals of the Nordic culture also take place in France, to mention just a few: Festival du cinéma nordique de Rouen, PØLAR in Paris or Les Boréales in several places in Normandy. In France, the Nordic region is also often evoked in political or judical discourse providing inspiration and patterns for introducing reforms or enacting laws (Blanc-Noël, 2018, p. 213).

Regions, just like any other places, occupy a certain position in the national imaginary. Some can have an image of strong and promising, while others of poor and misfortunate. The Nordic region has been constructed in the Polish imaginary mainly as a utopian place, where wealthy societies live an untroubled life. Especially in the press, articles deconstructing the myth of the success of the Nordic region in Poland after 1989 appear very rarely. The general positive image of Norden has prevailed into nowadays (Musiał & Dziedziczak-Foltyn, 2015, s. 13). Even among policy makers and academics from both inside and outside the region there circulates a term *Nordic turn, indicating* special exceptionalism in terms of foreign and security policy (Brommesson, 2018a, p. 1) and, in my opinion. could be extended to other aspects of the region. Yet, it does not mean that the scratches on that image do not exist. Such representations balance the positive image of the Nordic countries and provide an interesting perspective, yet peripheral. However, intending to find possible roots of the region's popularity, it is worth tracing the discursive practices behind constructing it, attempting to reveal reasons which attract people to the Nordic region.

The images of the Nordic region, and practices take the form of representations and will be extracted from the discourse of women's magazines appearing in Polish and French. The reason for focusing on women's magazines is to fill in the gap in the existing research that so far has disregarded this genre of journalism. The already conducted research focuses mainly on the daily and weekly opinion-forming newspapers covering the political, economic or social issues in the Nordic region (Blanc-Noël, 2018; Gotkowska et al., 2013; Harvard & Stadius, 2013). The magazines dedicated to women are predominantly analyzed in the light of constructing relations between men and women or the image of women in such press. However, due to their ongoing popularity and relatively high circulation in both, Poland and France, this type of press can also be a source for eliciting representations as it forms a specific kind of discourse, which should not be ignored.

In Pierre Bourdieu's understanding, women's magazines, often called also feminine journalism, form a subfield of the journalistic field. I refer to women's magazines instead of "feminine journalism", as the latter might imply that we can extract a specific group of journalists who either are women or share a set of certain "feminine" interests or (following Bourdieu) "feminine habitus". I rather refer to women's magazines as to a type of commercial subfield of journalistic field, aimed at female readers, which arises from the description of the given newspaper or magazine on their website.

Finally, the reason for comparing representations in women's magazines from Poland and France was that the previous research conducted in both, Poland and France regarding the opinion-forming newspapers could be supplemented with the newest perspective covering the last ten years (2008-2018). Moreover, Poland and France are two different journalistic fields to which the previously peripheral position of the Nordic region has moved to a more central position when it comes to discursive practices in general. Also, the two perspectives are rooted in two different cultural and social fields, so a comparative perspective can potentially give an original insight into the representations of the Nordic region and Nordicness.

The focus of this project is on representational practices through which images of the Nordic region and Nordicness are constituted and perpetuated. From this perspective, representation and Bourdieusian social theory, as well as spatial turn are the key concepts to explore the construction of representations in media narratives. The connection between the place, space

and social construction has been emphasized by geographers, such as Doreen Massey, who asserts:

If the social is inextricably spatial and the spatial impossible to divorce from its social construction and content, it follows not only that social processes should be analyzed as taking place spatially but also that what have been thought of as spatial patterns can be conceptualized in terms of social processes. (Massey, 1994, s. 65)

Following Massey, it has been accepted in geographical research by some geographers that there is a certain relation between social theories and "the social and the spatial". In other words, it has been pointed out that the spatial is socially constructed and since this relation is reciprocal, the social is spatially constructed in social theory too. This constitutes one of the conceptual foundations for this study, as the representations of the Nordic region are regarded here as social constructs. In other words, the project analyzes the use of the representations of the Nordic region and Nordicness in Poland and France carried out within cultural studies with a particular focus on spatial and image-related representations of the Nordic region but also makes extensive references to the social theory of Bourdieu, comparative perspective and Nordic studies.

Since the imaginative geographies depend on social, political and cultural contexts (which will later be referred to as social, political and cultural capitals – see chapter 2), this thesis analyzes the varying versions of imaginative geographies from two perspectives, which are Polish and French readers of women's magazines in the 21st century. The study is based on the premise that the Nordic region, as imagined space, consists of coherent and interrelated elements transmitting cultural, political and ideological values. It is important to emphasize that I regard representations as being based on facts in the sense that they are interpretations of reality. These "facts" are based on journalists' disposition to see the world in a particular way. In other words, they depend on their habitus, and are therefore contextual, situated and positional.

The empirical material for this analysis consists of six representative magazines from Polish and French journalistic fields that were selected for detailed study due to their consistently high circulations both, online and printed versions, as well as wide appeal demonstrated in sales records. The Polish magazines were: 'Twój Styl', 'Claudia', 'Zwierciadło', while the

French: 'Femme Actuelle', 'Elle' and 'Figaro Madame'. The ethos, tone and readership of each magazine is explored in detail in chapter 3.

This empirical study employs theory triangulation based on a mixed approach. The approach is clarified more thoroughly in each empirical chapter, while the spatial turn, theory of representation and social theory of Pierre Bourdieu I draw from offer a general framework for conducting empirical research without designing a specific methodological outline. For instance, theory of representation provides a few tools and perspectives and some starting points as to how the theory might be employed, but how the method should be approached depends on the researcher. It is yet important that the analysis must be transparent and systematic in the process of determining and working with the source material, as well as in the process of offering arguments and explanations (Bergström and Boréus, 2000).

As was mentioned in the beginning, the empirical material selected from both Polish and French women's magazines are not just neutral transmitters of information, but they are socially constitutive and establish relations with other discourses (Fairclough, 1995). Therefore, the objective of this thesis is not so much to establish whether the empirical material "says the truth" or is "accurate" in "reporting" the events from the Nordic region, but rather to elicit them from the Polish and French discourses and compare. By creating a specific representation of the Nordic region, the articles become active components and agents of specific discourse, since deriving particularly from women's magazines. These representations depend on how we conceptualize and interpret material (Pred, 2000).

Drawing from Hall (1997), representation is the production of meaning through language, discourse and image, but there is no simple correspondence between language, signs and the real world. To be able to convey meaning through and within language, we are dependent on codes brought to us by way of social conventions. These codes become our shared maps of meaning or cultures (Hall, 1997). But, notably, the meanings of language are changing over time and so are our maps of meanings. Nevertheless, cultures and places are often represented as homogenous and so is the Nordic region. The notion of "representation" is therefore based on social constructivism, being another fundamental approach for this thesis, which will be clarified in chapter 3. Frame analysis is the tool by which the representations of the Nordic region are considered throughout the way in this thesis. It is the tool continuously used to

explore and make sense of media discourses, from both, cognitive and socio-cultural perspectives.

The whole analytical approach is also immersed in the social theory of Pierre Bourdieu. Since he conducted his study, among others, on the French society, media and the identity of region, this project draws from his theoretical model. I employ Bourdieu's notion of habitus, field (especially "journalistic field") and capitals to interrogate the two journalistic cultures that mediate the production of representations of the Nordic region and Nordicness.

Finally, this thesis interrogates the perspective offered by spatial turn which indicates that space is socially constructed (Massey, 1994), which is an approach found in many disciplines, but has recently been particularly strong in media studies. It resulted in the appearance of new metaphors such as "mediascapes" or "cultural mapping" (Löfgren, 2006, pp. 298–299). The relation between geography and communication is established since communication occurs in space, and since all spaces are constructed through representation, which occurs through the process of communication (Falkheimer & Jansson, 2006b, p. 7). This means that during the course of my research I will keep in mind theories of communication and mediation when analyzing spatial production.

1.2 Research objectives

Conceptually, the ultimate objective of this study is to contrast and compare the representations of the Nordic region and Nordicness in Polish and French women's magazines from a decade: years from 2008 to 2018. Particular research questions are formulated as follows:

- To what extent do the representations vary in both, Polish and French women's magazines?
- How are representations built and by what linguistic strategies?
- What are the components of Nordicness and how is it constructed?

The above-mentioned research questions are guidelines that lead the analysis and discussions of each case study in the empirical analyses of this thesis. The three fundamental theoretical concepts, which are considered throughout the whole of this thesis, are framing, social theory of Pierre Bourdieu and the representations theory explore that make sense of media discourses of the Nordic region. The linguistic analysis as a method is employed because it can best correlate the two aspects — media representations and framing — using case studies for better insight into the constructions generated by media publications.

1.3 Original contribution

The developing popularity of the Nordic countries in Poland has begun to reflect also in the academic research regarding different aspects of the Nordic culture, economy, politics and history. Some of them evoking an interesting comparative perspective (Pessel, 2019). However, there has been relatively little research done on the representation of the Nordic region in the Polish press. It is worth mentioning the latest contribution in this field, which is the representation of the Nordic community in the Polish press (Musiał & Chacińska, 2013; Musiał & Dziedziczak-Foltyn, 2015) which empirically referred to the popular Polish opinion-forming dailies and weeklies.

Compared with France, the discourse about the French representations of the Nordic region has not been as peripheral as in Poland, and there are some examples of research on the representations of Norden to mention. It is worth introducing the research performed by researchers from the University of Strasbourg (Départements d'études Nord-européennes et d'études Néerlandaises) and the initiatives such as the annual conference regarding the imaginings and mythemes of the Nordic region. The topics concentrate on categories such as society, popular music, water, Protestantism, nature, equalitarianism or imagined geographies. It has resulted in publications in the journal "Deshima" focusing for instance on the imaginings of Norden in the light of works of Xavier Marmier (François & Reneteaud, 2018), body cultures and eroticism in Norden (Mohnike, 2017) or the identity and imaginations of the region in question (Beaufils & Mohnike, 2016). The comparative perspective is also provided by some other research (Cedergren & Briens, 2015; Grage & Mohnike, 2017).

This thesis aims at filling the gap the Polish representations of the Nordic region from the perspective of the journalistic field and specifically of the women's magazines, and also sheds light on a comparative frame of reference and links to discursive approaches that have never been linked before. What is more, the subfield of women's magazines has been a rich ground for analysis in both countries, especially in the context of gender studies and representations of men and women in this kind of press. Apart from that, the studies of women's magazines concern for instance the construction of mother-in-law, sexuality, trivialization of feminity or the representations of breast cancer (McCracken, 1993; McLoughlin, 2017; McRobbie, 1997; Nowak, 2013; Zierkiewicz, 2013). To the best of my knowledge, there is no research in Poland or France concerning representations of the Nordic region in women's magazines of the most recent time. This research provides the most recent view on the constructions of the Nordic region and Nordicness in the press based on articles published between 2008 and 2018.

2. Theory and method

This chapter presents the theories this thesis is based on and the method it adopts to carry out the analysis of the articles from the women's magazines. The first method which I introduce, is the representation theory. It is the point of departure of this dissertation. Another theoretical approach I present underneath in my research is the social theory of Pierre Bourdieu, especially the notion of field and capital. Finally, the representations of the Nordic region are based on frame analysis as the frames organize the production of representations as signifying entities.

2.1 Representation theory

The first theoretical dimension of this dissertation is representation theory. This theory has its roots in cultural studies. Cultural studies, though originating and widely implemented in Anglo-Saxon world, spread globally. In my thesis, it is reflected in the focus on the cultural context of the examination of the representations of the Nordic region and I concentrate mainly on Stuart Hall's theory of representation (Hall et al., 2013).

Before going to the patterns of representation in connection to the Nordic region, I examine the notion of *representations* and what they signify. Hall's work "Representation – Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices" (Hall, 1997) deals with the representation of minorities and diversity in visual media. Hall outlines three general approaches to explain how the representation of meaning works through language. These approaches are used to answer such questions as: "Where does meaning come from?" and "How can we know the 'true meaning of a word or image?'" (Hall, 1997, p. 24). To answer these questions, he explores three approaches: reflective, intentional and constructionist. The first approach is essentialist in its nature, which opposes one of the basic assumptions of my thesis, that the meaning created by the representations of the Nordic region in the press are constructs. The intentional approach suggests that words convey meaning intended by their author, which in reality would be demanding to prove, when taking personal interpretation into account. Therefore, the most convergent approach is the representational approach of the theory of representation.

The constructionist approach distinguishes between the material world in which people and things exist and the symbolic processes and processes in which representation, meaning and language operate. Representation is thus a practice that utilizes material objects and effects, but the meaning does not depend on the quality of the signs but their symbolic function. That is what the sign stands for, symbolizes and represents; that provides the basis for them to function in language and convey (Hall, 1997, p. 25). This approach is characterized by a clear social constructivist mindset which argues that there is no predetermined and natural relationship between one sign and its meaning or concept, but that the code of the sign is constructed. That way, it is the code that creates the meaning and not the sign itself, which also applies to representations. Additionally, Hall points out that if one cannot separate, for example, the color "red" from the color "green", then he or she would not be able to associate the two colors with different meanings and thus use them, for example, to drive a car (Hall, 1997, p. 27). The signs themselves have no fixed meaning but instead depend on the relationship between a sign and a concept created by a code: a code that is defined through social conventions. This approach, therefore, holds that a significance is relational (Hall, 1997, p. 27). In order to clarify the term social constructivism mentioned above, from which this thesis also draws, I follow Vance Peavy and his assumptions:

- there is no single vision of reality and none of them is better than the other;
- people are not sets of characteristics or styles of behavior, but self-managing entities that produce at least one, constantly revised story about their life;
- our Self is polyphonic, i.e. narrated with different voices, e.g. the voice of health and well-being, intimacy, work and learning or spirituality;
- people use language to give meaning to their everyday activities (Peavy, 1993).

It is worth noting that the most radical constructivist theories assume that the social world is not real, but constructable and not objective, but objectified (Berger et al., 2010, p. 90) and in the case of popular culture and media *world of facts* is replaced with a world constructed for entertainment and income (Gergen & Marody, 2009, p. 152). I adopt an idea of social reality as a derivative of agent's dispositions of various kinds: intellectual, emotional, mental, behavioral, logical, axiological, theoretical and practical.

This also means that since there are many visions of reality and they are not prioritized, the representations constructed in the women's magazines offer their own specific view of the Nordic region, which function on the same basis and have the same position as all the representations about the region. Also, I am aware that the choice of women's magazines may add another dimension to all the representations, it is another perspective, a perspective from a different angle and using its own language.

Thus, the concepts that we shape in our head function as a system of mental representations, where we classify and organize the world into meaningful categories. If we have the concept of something, we can say that we know the meaning, but we cannot communicate this meaning without another system of representation – a language. The language consists of different signs organized under different conditions and the meaning can only be conveyed if we possess the common codes that allow us to translate our concepts into language and vice versa. Thus, these codes which are constructed through social relationships, are essential to meaning and representation and, therefore are also a fundamental part of our culture as we unconsciously learn and internalize them as we grow up in our culture (Hall, 1997, p. 29).

A focal point of Hall's theory is the pervasive fascination with diversity and why popular representation is attracted to it, as well as how this diversity is represented in popular culture. His theory is primarily based on the representation of ethnic differences, which is also the case in this thesis that to some extent refers also to a variant of ethnicity, such as Nordicness. Media representations are at the heart of this process as they give insight into different lives and cultures. (Hjarvard, 2006, p. 8). Therefore, it also matters how minorities or groups are portrayed in the media due to the risk of symbolic violence appearing within the representations. In connection to this, Hall, just like Bourdieu, emphasizes that power does not necessarily have to be financially or physically executed, but also includes the power to "[…] represent someone or something in a certain way – within a certain *regime of representation* (Hall, 1997, p. 259). Here, Hall mentions stereotyping as a key element in exercising the symbolic power, which I will later refer to while discussing Pierre Bourdieu's theory.

In this context, Jonas Harvard and Peter Stadius ask a question that is pertinent also for this study, namely how it is possible that a recurring idea of a shared Nordic identity among a variety of representations of the Nordic region in the media exists (Harvard & Stadius, 2013,

p. 1). Although there are many studies investigating the role of the media in the development of nations, not that many focus on regions. How is then the Nordic region constructed in the media – as worthy of being imitated and copied or as renounced role model? What does it mean that a region can take shape of a representation and constitute a mediated unit beyond geography? Previous studies have been inspired by perspectives adopted from literary studies, where the Nordic region has been viewed from a literary perspective promoted among others by Joep Leerssen- imagology (Leerssen, 2016; Lerøy Sataøen, 2021). It assumes the existence of a descriptive narration or discourse on the region taking form of miscellaneous media, moving between fact and fiction. The roots of representations of concrete regions, including the Nordic region, lie in prevailing stereotypes and perceptions that have evolved into general knowledge (Harvard & Stadius, 2013, p. 12). Since cultural representations and stereotypes are interrelated, it implies that they are never neutral. Quite the contrary, they are linked to the political situation, historical events and many other factors:

The image of an unrefined Nordic culture might possibly be reactivated in populist political discourse at a European level. In such cases, the image of the progressive and modern Nordic welfare state is implicitly attacked by pointing to the region's supposed lack of valuable cultural heritage and unassuming lifestyle. (Harvard & Stadius, 2013, p. 14)

The representations of the Nordic region or any other region, are a mosaic of images, as they are constructed in different fields, by different media and over the years. The overall image of the Nordic region emerges as a result of the interplay between self-image at home and the image from abroad showing the understanding of the Nordic region as the Other. These two parallel image traditions have been connected mainly through various types of media (Harvard & Stadius, 2013, p. 15). This dissertation aims to further contribute to representations biding Poland and France with the Nordic region to understand the complexity of these relations through the representations of "self" and "other" which they project. The "other" means here the state of alterity and cultural otherness, that is being different or other (Nordicness). Cultural alterity has two dimensions – it can either be presented as something attractive and intriguingly *exotic* or as a stranger to be mistrusted. Emig explains how stereotypes can work on the example of German and British relations:

Yet far from merely distrusting foreign cultures, their morale, but also their food […] there is also a secret or open admiration and even envy for other cultures. The Germans are envied by the British for their presumed

efficiency and […] their affluence. […] The Germans, on the other hand, are envious of a perceived British cultural sophistication. (Emig, 2000, p. 3)

This exoticism laced with admiration appears to be the dominant tendency in Polish and French women's magazines. Especially when it comes to food, lifestyle or design and taste. Journalistic field is an area within which struggles validating certain images of the world take their place (Dormus, 2011). But the media, although they are called the fourth power, do not operate in a social void, nor do they exercise absolute power over their followers. They must constantly strengthen their position by entering into conflicts or alliances with other social actors. Usually, however, they manage to hide themselves from shocking information, i.e. its participation in the production of violent reactions to social *facts*. These types of treatments are quite effective, for "[...] representation is a political practice that is silent on its content by exposing the 'illusion of the lack of an author'" (Melosik, 1996, p. 25). The media suggest their recipients concrete images of the Nordic region, influencing this way their beliefs, attitudes and actions (for instance, whether to visit a particular place or not depending on its attractiveness or unattractiveness).

2.2 Theoretical approach to the analysis of women's magazines

Popular culture and education are two areas of knowledge production (Szkudlarek, 2009, p. 134). What is more, women's magazines and the public media, in general, are fighting today with modern means of communication for the position in the process of explaining the world to the audience. It might seem that women's magazines have a marginal role in this field, since it does not deal with current events or important political events, and focuses entirely on problems of everyday life. However, this press segment is still very popular among readers, indeed, is still developing. Also, representations are powerful tools for imposing a certain view of the world. The representations are socially constructed in this way that their meaning is first attributed and needs to be eventually concluded with a general agreement (Bourdieu & Thompson, 1991, p. 224). The representations about a region are a special kind of representations, since they are performative. The discussion about differences between what is Scandinavia, the Nordic region or the North is one of the discursive results of their performativity. The performative acts of these representations result in establishing legitimate borders of these regions. There are thus no natural regions with their natural borders (Bourdieu & Thompson, 1991, p. 224). The region needs to be recognized and acknowledged to constitute *imago regionis* - a new form of regional identity (Gąsior-Niemiec, 2004, p. 13).

2.2.1 Social theory of Pierre Bourdieu

The aim of this chapter is to underpin my research project with Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical framework. As a first step, I will introduce the fundamental elements of Bourdieu's Theory of Practice as one of the pillars of my theoretical framework, whereupon I will apply these elements to the representations of the Nordic region perspective.

In this thesis, I argue that Bourdieu's theory can potentially contribute to multilevel and relational research practice and theory building in linguistic and media studies above all at the level of critical engagement with the issues pertaining to the questions of research philosophy, epistemology and ontology. For instance, in the case of style and taste, which constitutes one of the frames extracted from the women's magazines, Bourdieu's perspective on the social factors, in this case, provides an explanatory insight into the possible differences between Polish and French discourses when it comes to these aspects.

Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, field and capital are among the most significant notions for sociological analysis of modern societies. These are three concepts of the Bourdieusian framework that discuss and explain human interactions at individual and social levels. Despite that one can use them isolated, these concepts work better as a group. Blumenfeld-Jones argued in the case of habitus and field: "field and habitus are, themselves, in relation to each other and only explicable through their relationship. Neither is meaningful without the other" (Blumenfeld-Jones 2003: 2). Bourdieu also explains, "such notions as habitus, field can be defined, but only within the theoretical system they constitute, not in isolation" (Bourdieu 1992: 96). I will in the following part focus on the triad and its significance for my analysis.

Habitus

The notion of habitus conceptually encapsulates a rich amount of practical operations in emotion, cognition and body that put all together serve to give account:

For the unity of style, which unites the practices and goods of a single agent or a class of agents. […] The habitus is this generative and unifying principle which retranslates the intrinsic and relational characteristics of a position into a unitary lifestyle, that is, a unitary set of choices of persons, goods, practices. (Bourdieu, 1998, p. 8)

The idea of habitus is a strong combination of different operations of human acts like social, mental, bodily and emotional. Therefore, coming from different cultures, the journalists from Poland and France and their actions are driven by divergent embodied relations that operate as dispositions that have an impact on their perception, judgment, and taste (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

Taking all the above-mentioned into account, I look at the habitus as on a set of different operations and features that create practical knowledge and capabilities, embodied in the figure of actor and at the same moment operating in practical logic (Bourdieu, 1990a; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) that contextualize possible differences in the articles between the two journalistic fields while constructing a particular image of the Nordic region.

Field

Another important point in understanding the media field paradigm is Pierre Bourdieu's general theory of *champs* – fields. The Bourdieusian concept of field derives from Durkheim and Weber and their view of modern society as a social diversification. According to Weber, there are several types of rationality, produced by cultural factors, related to a specific *Wertsphäre* "sphere of values" (Weber et al., 2009). Bourdieu draws on and modifies Max Weber's sociology of religion and perceives society as belonging to semi-autonomous sub-fields (e.g., fields of economics, politics, journalism, religion, culture, among others) ruled by their specific "rules of the game" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 108). Bourdieu thus defines a field as a delimited social dimension, i.e. with a number of specific living conditions and thus development opportunities. Differences are also common within a particular field; they are not homogenous. The different social positions create status differences, which means that some people have a higher social position (status) within the field than the others. One can achieve a high status, get a good reputation and high recognition if they are able to meet the demands of the field in the best possible way.

Thus for Bourdieu, each field is a somewhat autonomous space of action. It reacts to rules of functioning and corresponding institutions which define the relations among particular agents. Every field is characterized by the rules it imposes. For instance, the role of the political field is to maintain a close connection between the agents holding an external position as regards the field. This is due to political agents deriving their legitimate power from representing the citizens (Bourdieu, 2005). The scientific field, in turn, is distinguished by competing agents,

who are specialized to the extent that it is only possible for them to evaluate the scientific value of the works of their competitors (Bourdieu, 1966, p. 870). The economic field is marked by the fact that "within it the sanctions are especially brutal and behaviors can overtly be directed towards the maximization of individual material profit" (Bourdieu, 1997, p. 57). In other words, the journalistic field is also interrelated with other fields, such as economics or politics. Yet in the case of women's magazines, I observe that the cultural and economic fields have a significant impact on the content of the magazines. For instance, when looking at the articles and promoting particular tourist destinations like the far North or some Nordic cities which were sponsored either by branding offices or tourist agencies.

Capital

Capital is Bourdieu's notion denoting resources that structure what is possible for different actors or social groups to act, and by which the stakes of social struggles are formed. There exists a variety of capitals in the social world and each sort of them can be converted into another one. Actors exchange and accumulate capitals in the course of day-to-day social interactions (Bourdieu, 1986, 2005).

The concept of social capital is one of the most inspirational aspects of sociological theory (Bourdieu, 1986). For Bourdieu, social capital is the outcome of the actual and virtual resources that accumulate to an individual or a group because of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition (Bourdieu 1992: 119). Social capital is constituted by different social relations, interactions, networks and contacts. In future, making investments in social capital can bring benefits through the exchange into other capitals.

Even though the term may immediately lead the mind to financial affairs, in Bourdieu's conceptual work the notion is used in a somewhat broader sense. In the course of work, the concept of cultural capital has been developed by Bourdieu together with his various colleagues already in the 1960s as a result of insufficient explanation of the fact that economic obstacles are not the only factors that could fully explain disparities in the educational attainment of children deriving from different social classes (Bourdieu 1979: 8). Bourdieu supported the belief that apart from economic factors, "cultural habits and dispositions inherited from" the family are also substantial foundations that are manifested in school results (Bourdieu 1979: 14). Bourdieu argued that cultural and economic capital share some

common properties. He particularly maintained that cultural "habits and dispositions" comprise a resource capable of generating "profits". They are potentially subject to monopolization by groups and individuals. Under appropriate conditions, they can be transferred from one generation to another (Lareau 2003: 570). In this thesis, cultural capital is disclosed in the way journalists from both, Poland and France, as well as editorial offices in general construct the images of the Nordic region and differences between them, as well as in the perception of the Nordic cultural capital and its artefacts in the two cultures – French and Polish and concerns cultured language use, educational background and knowledge of (fine) culture.

2.2.2 Journalistic field

In this thesis, I also refer to the term *journalistic field* developed by Pierre Bourdieu. He separated media and journalism from other fields, namely social, political or cultural, and defined the journalistic field in the following way:

Journalism is a microcosm with its own laws, defined both by its position in the world at large and by the attractions and repulsions to which it is subject from other such microcosms. To say that it is independent or autonomous, that it has its own laws, is to say that what happens cannot be understood by looking only at external factors. (Bourdieu 1998a: 39)

Journalism and the media constituting separate fields possess their practices of distinction and reproduction and unique hierarchies. Additionally, they are influenced by a particular logic of symbolic expression and cultural production, distinguish "a set of shared assumptions and beliefs" and dictate a "mental grid" which enables journalists to verify, select and comprehend information (Bourdieu 1998a: 47). This perspective on media as a separate field has so far attracted considerable attention to media studies (Marlière 1998; Couldry 2003; Benson 2005; Marchetti 2005; Hesmondhalgh 2006). Later in this chapter, I will define the specificity of the Polish and French journalistic field – or microcosmos – as Bourdieu defines it, in the context of the women's magazines, as a subfield of the journalistic field.

A journalistic field is neither unvarying nor consistent. However, it consists of various subfields that differ, whether in terms of journalistic specialization, degrees of professionalization, levels of commercialization and relations to non-journalistic fields (Marchetti 2005; Benson 2005). One of the subfields being women's magazines on the one

hand, on the other two culturally different subfields, that is Polish and French. For Bourdieu, who above all was interested in the subfield of television, within this particular subfield competition and avoidance of risk among media agents, result in a convergence of journalistic practices (Bourdieu 1998). There are also other main subfields to a journalistic field, like radio, the print media or the so-called, new media. Notwithstanding the apparent diversities between subfields, the journalistic field as an entity also shares characteristics and practices common to all the subfields. To illustrate this, we can provide Bourdieu's example of the similarity between print journalism and television with respect to the coverage of jingoism and racism (Bourdieu 1998a: 10). Moreover, it goes without saying that journalistic field, and the subfields it consists of, are changing over time. Especially nowadays, with the widespread means of communication like the internet and other social media, how journalism is practiced, information collected, news produced and stories told, is rapidly transforming.

Again, if we return to the above quote by Bourdieu (Bourdieu 1998a: 39), we learn that the field of journalism is defined "by its position in the world at large" as it is not isolated from other fields. People working in the journalistic field and their journalistic practices are dependent on the interests and objectives of other institutions and agents, either cultural, political or social. We can provide here an example of a national context influencing media in a given country, where close relations between the media and government exist. It is typical for those countries where governments usually regulate the media; in many cases, media are funded by them and that also leads to intervening in programmes and hiring (Marlière 1998: 221). It is a common practice that governments provide information to the media, either via spin doctors, trained spokespersons or designated public relations professionals in order to control or manipulate the media to achieve political aims. Yet, the "journalistic field produces and imposes on the public a very particular vision of the political field" (Bourdieu 1998a: 2), which representatives rely on for legitimacy and "symbolic support" (Bourdieu 1988a: 4).

The journalistic field is also connected to other fields, especially to social and cultural one. This quality of networked fields offers additional explanatory power to my analysis because journalistic arguments are dependent on social and cultural positionalities of the journalists. According to Todd Gitlin, media representations and images are connected to bourgeois hegemonic agendas (Gitlin 1980). He argues that social and cultural elites are responsible for constructing, reproducing and transferring discursive concepts, images and categories that are also adopted by journalists and media professionals. Following Teun van Dijk, in turn, in the

context of the exploration of race and ethnicity that the media establish on "preformulations" of images and representations articulated by dominating social and cultural elites, engages with these images and representations, and eventually "reformulates" existing ethnic and racial identities (van Dijk 1991: 7). Besides, it is typical for the journalistic field subjected to everyday practice. As in the situation common for mainstream media, when reporters and journalists consider what and how to cater to the receivers in the process of authoring an article (Walton 2007). Thus, one of the media contributions to everyday social interaction between individuals and social groups is providing interpretation of news, events and political affairs by scripts for the interpretation. However, the receivers do not unquestioningly accept these scripts but exercise agency in the way it decodes journalistic transmissions and feeds its own understanding back to the media (Hall 1980).

Some researchers argue that journalism holds a privileged, agenda-setting position that in addition is relative to other fields. For example, Nick Couldry suggests that the media system functions as a superior meta-field because it has an impact on other fields, such as society or politics, and provides "representations of, and categories for understanding, the social world" to these fields. (Couldry 2003a: 668). The field of media is of particular interest to empirical researchers with such agenda-setting and predominant functions because it can supply insights into how the social and political world is represented in other fields and comprehended in the everyday. Journalism can be regarded as a separate and autonomous field with its own characteristics and practices, however, neither journalism and its receivers, nor politics, business or cultural elites are completely isolated from other fields (Marlière 1998). While we must accept structural limitations imposed by business and politics, standards of professionalism in the media require of journalists a certain degree of distance from other fields, especially economic and political. This distance appears in journalistic practices that distinguish journalistic field from the others. Even though Bourdieu concentrated predominantly on unraveling power relations and hierarchies distinctive for the journalistic field, he also asserted that journalistic production conforms to a distinct set of rules, conventions and norms. For instance, print journalism adheres to the rules to be inoffensive and inclusive and is subjected to "code of ethics" that controls and restrains the way newspaper articles are produced (Bourdieu 1998a: 44).

Journalism, as an autonomous field, formulates its own principles. These principles in the case of women's magazines subfield can be observed particularly in the selection of themes or

specific language, very often informal or on the contrary – packed with pictorial metaphors. This autonomy is embedded in the concept of habitus, useful in understanding the practices that are adopted in the journalistic field. As a system of practices, dispositions, styles and tastes, habitus is shared among the members of a social or professional group. Within a given field, such as journalism, habitus sets the "rules" by which the "game" is played; it is a certain "feel for the game" and represents the embodiment of "the immanent structures" of a field (Bourdieu, 1998, p. 64). Bourdieu himself did not apply the notion of habitus in his work devoted to journalism, nevertheless, his work suggests that habitus constitutes a guiding principle for practices in journalism (Bourdieu 1998a: 65). Yet, some researchers have conducted their research on the journalistic and media fields based on Bourdieu concept of habitus. They maintain that journalistic habitus reveals itself in a range of media practices (e.g. (Benson & Neveu, 2005; Couldry et al., 2003; Maares & Hanusch, 2020; Phelan & Salter, 2019)). In the articles, the habitus of journalists is revealed in the decisions they make while constructing specific images of the Nordic region. On this basis, some fine differences between Poland and France occur in the particular themes, like in the articles about sexual freedom and social relations in the Nordic region.

What does the journalistic habitus of editors, reporters and media staff members comprise of? It embraces common standards of news publishing, conventions of establishing legitimacy, procedures of selecting information, rules of journalistic integrity, ways of constructing meaning and styles of writing. For instance, an essential part of journalistic habitus emerges in news rooms and during editorial meetings, where media professionals rely very much on journalistic "gut feeling" to select newsworthy information. The journalistic gut feeling develops in relation to other fields, including structural factors that determine "definitions of newsworthiness" (Herman and Chomsky 2000: xi). Nevertheless, this "feeling" remains a distinct habitual characteristic of the journalistic field. Style of writing and use of language is also regulated by habitus. Hence, it is the journalistic habitus that formulates conventions of how news is presented, information is conceptualized and narratives are constructed. Michael Schudson even identifies an approach to communication studies that assumes "news is a form of culture" and "a form of literature", because it is influenced by certain professional traditions and styles of presenting information, and also follows particular journalistic strategies, such as including expert voices in order to establish authority (Schudson 2002: 251). It comes to light in the context of the analyzed articles when for instance we watch

Nordic films or read book reviews in the Polish press or interviews with French chefs delighted with French cuisine.

Another important journalistic practice deriving from habitus in the context of news production is "framing". It is making references to the interpretation and selection of information by referring to this information in the contextual relationship of wider societal, cultural and political circumstances (Gitlin, 1980, Goffman 1974, Tuchman 1978). John Downing and Charles Husband conclude that applying framing is "habitual and rarely reflected upon" by the journalists and other media professionals who eventually reproduce these frames. These practices are distinctive for journalistic field, unlike other fields such as political, economic or academic fields (Downing & Husband 2005: 36).

By following the approach employed by researchers of media field, the journalistic field should be first and foremost located in its most immediate framework, that is the field of cultural production. This field engages in the symbolic production various types of artists, writers, scientists, musicians, and others. Examples of such practices in my are numerous research material, the most obvious being famous Nordics, like Lars von Trier or Tove Jansson, to name just these two here. The field of cultural production, being an element of the field of power, is the field at the dominant pole of the all-embracing field of social classes. If we trace the current historical situation in which cultural capital is dominated by economic capital, we observe that the field of cultural production is, in turn, dominated by the economic and political fields that are closest to economic power. Within the bounds of cultural production field, the hierarchy of power is reproduced, due to some fields lying closer to the economic pole compared with the others. Division within the field of cultural production splits it into the field of restricted production (it is produced for other producers. That part of the field is nearest to the cultural pole – minor literary journals, independent films, avant-garde music, and art, etc.) and the field of mass production (created for general audiences. That part of the field is closest to the economic field – mass media and mass entertainment, etc.). The journalistic field finds its place within the field of mass production, and therefore is located closer to the heteronomous field of political and economic power.

Furthermore, the theory of fields situates journalism in its closest structural environment, the amalgam of political, social sciences and journalistic fields that strive to "impose the legitimate vision of the social world" (Bourdieu, 1996, p. 22). The mediating role of

journalistic field and its particular mandate to gain access to and explore all the other fields, and eventually present its findings to the public, supports it actively in affecting the relations of power within contemporary societies. This role of media is visible in the case of women's magazines in the recipe they offer on how to "be like Nordics", "live like Nordics" or how to be as "happy as Nordics" are. In both cases, Polish and French I observed a tendency to promote the Nordic way of living, eating or decorating a house.

Champagne assigns the journalistic field's "dual position" within the field of power due to the fact that journalism influences various domains of life, but because of this power, is constantly controlled by the economic and political field (Champagne 1999: 47).

The journalistic field is, apart from the division between heteronomy and autonomy, just like other fields structured around the antinomy between the "new" and the "old". By analyzing new entrants into a field, an important dynamic element is added to the model by media field researchers, showing how the "objective" structure is related to the "subjective" perspectives of particular agents. These objective structures, as well as subjective experiences do not compete with each other in the social world, they rather constitute two supplementary aspects of reality. There are thus three main elements of the social world: codes, organizations and hierarchies are embodiment of "objective histories", whereas histories incorporated in habitus are "personal dispositions toward sensing, perceiving, thinking, acting, according to models interiorized in the course of different processes of socialization". Consequently, social scientific study of journalistic production of the background and context of a given story is a process of establishing the convergence of "disposition" (habitus) and "position" (structural position within a field) (Benson 1999:467).

2.2.3 Women's magazines in the journalistic field

Women's press constitutes a specific subfield in the journalistic field. They are often accused of having sexist content, objectification of the woman's body, infantilizing readers and perpetuating gender stereotypes. The readers themselves are assigned low intellectual requirements, which is reflected in the quality of the texts offered to them (Nowak, 2013, p. 25). Here, we can mention for instance "Claudia" in Poland and "Femme Actuelle" in France. However, there are also magazines for women, which display higher quality texts and discussed topics (Polish "Zwierciadło" or French "Figaro Madame"). Therefore, we cannot

assume that there exists one homogeneous national journalistic field in both, Poland and France, also in the context of women's press.

As mentioned at the beginning of this thesis, the analyzed material derives from the online editions of women's magazines. Some of them have appeared in printed versions, yet some have been written for the online edition. The websites are not just a copy of the paper magazine, it is rather their supplement containing additional content. The readers of the online articles can make comments under the given article or share it on their social media profiles, which may boost the number of webpage views. This became a tool thanks to which I was able to assess, to some degree, the reactions to the texts. At the beginning of my analysis and its quantitative part, I have not only counted the number of articles in a given frame but also looked at the number of reactions to it from the readers. That gave an insight into a first broader perspective on the articles, namely, which of them triggered the most reactions and comments, which I align with the popularity of the given topic. Above all, the research conducted on the readers of women's magazines showed that the online versions gain readership because they "were perceived to be easier to read, skip ads, order products, search for, save and share information and comment on articles" (Karan et al., 2016, p. 1).

Researchers representing various disciplines analyze the impact of the Internet on journalistic genealogy. Numerous studies on both, journalistic genres and other Internet journalistic genres have appeared (Melo & Assis, 2016; Olszański, 2006; Wolny-Zmorzyński & Furman, 2010). Understanding the media genre as a product is closely related to mercantile side of the functioning of media. It can be assumed that a specific subfield, e.g. luxury magazines for women, such as "Figaro Madame" or "Zwierciadło" is a strictly defined media genre. Each of the titles belonging to this group, however, is made of journalistic (press) genres. Such a look at media genres is closely correlated with tabloidization and codification processes, which occur in the journalistic field. The codification here means a process of maximizing profits (Dąbrowska-Cendrowska, 2016, p. 185). The women's press is still an extremely attractive media subfield for publishers. Despite the development and expansion of new media, women's magazines have brought profits to their owners (Kurdupski, 2019; Rera, 2019). Magazines addressed to the female recipient are highly dominated by foreign publishers who, apart from general thematic periodicals, introduced several dozen thematic titles, e.g. culinary, interior decoration, parenting, gossiping, etc. The subfield contains magazines consisting of entertainment biweekly magazines, guides and luxury magazines (Filas, 2007). Women's

magazines are, except from a commodity, also a cultural product. As the latter, they take form of collective meanings that provide patterns, narratives and models for the readers (Moeran, 2015, pp. 4–5).

Women's magazines are at the same time one of the strongest sources of feminine socialization, negatively rated because they offered – though not directly – a pattern for implementing a concrete women behavior and attitude falling within the area narrowly defined gender matrix (Hyde, 2000, p. 158). Medium is therefore characterized by ambivalence, both, in relation to the content published on its (web)pages, as well as reading practices. On the one hand, the women's press somehow oppresses women by manipulating their choices; imposing on them arbitrary - and at the same time full of contradictions – criteria of beauty, health, behavior, lifestyles etc., on the other hand constantly encourages to take matters into their own hands, setting ambitious life and professional goals, but also regarding self-acceptance. The women's press is an inexhaustible source of information, it is an unfathomable compendium of useful knowledge for women taking on different social roles. Readers functioning in traditional or modern female roles would find here tips, advice, suggestions, and inspiration on how to deal with the challenges of everyday life.

Women's magazines have been subjected to numerous analyses in the light of gender studies (e.g. Gill, 2015; Hyde, 2000, 2000, 2000; Rooks et al., 2017; Segal & Demos, 2019). However, the contemporary representations of particular places and ethnicities have not been to the same extent in the scope of research so far. Yet, while referring to the women's magazines, I adopt Zofia Sokół's definition of the women's press:

[...] a set of periodical publications for women, what has been marked in the title or subtitle, program, content, topics, structure and language form. The women's press is edited in terms of women's interests depending on their age, education, profession, social background, living environment and work, role and place in family and society. In terms of content they are most often multi-thematic publications, similar to the formula of magazine (Sokół, 1998, p. 8).

In other words, one can state that women are the target group, while femininity is the main subject, and at the same time a metaframe. The majority (sometimes everything) of what is published is subordinated to the development of reflection on this subject. That reflects even in the choice of topics about the Nordic region (food, interior decorating, maternity leave in

the Nordic counties, etc.). However, the women's press offers a message full of contradictions: femininity is here at the same time something natural (permanent) and something cultural (because of the undergoing change, different e.g. depending on social background, and above all requiring the individual's constant effort, working on their generic identity).

To sum up the above characteristics of the women's press, I believe that they provide a shade to the general representations of the Nordic region created by the media. Due to the popularity of this type of media, these representations are definitely not marginal ones, yet constitute a large part of the overall imaginings of the analyzed region in both, Poland and France.

2.2.4 Polish journalistic field

This chapter aims to outline the general characteristics of the Polish and French journalistic fields, which will put the analysis of the representations of the Nordic region into a broader context. The magazines for women were at the beginning closely interrelated with the topic of fashion. In Poland, this type of magazine published in the Polish language appeared for the first time in the first half of the 19th century and its dynamic development took place in the mid-nineteenth century. From the beginning, these magazines were modeled on French periodicals (such as other magazines on similar topics published throughout Europe). For wealthy women, the fashion press was an indispensable elementary element of the French style and a handbook for social life (Bulisz, 2018, p. 44).

The interwar period is the time when many new titles of women's magazines appeared in Poland. Even though they presented large sections about fashion, they also became important components for the opinion formation of their readers (Bulisz, 2018, p. 51). Later, the end of World War II and the division of Europe had an impact on women's magazines. While in Paris or London – high fashion flourished, in the East of Europe the production in the fashion industry declined, and there was a shortage of fabrics in the countries subordinated to the USSR. In this situation, the native magazines could not provide relevant articles for their readers. Yet, knitting or embroidering served as a substitution for texts about high fashion (Bulisz, 2018, p. 53).

1989 was a point when rapid changes in the journalistic field in Poland took place. The leading publishers of women's press were those of foreign capital. The first foreign press groups appeared in Poland in the late 1980s. However, the law in force at that time did not allow them to publish press in Poland. In exceptional cases, at best, they could support certain publishing initiatives (Dąbrowska-Cendrowska, 2018, p. 34). In the years 1989–2017, the most important publishers of women's press, owing the most economic but also symbolic capital, were companies of German and Swiss origin (Dąbrowska-Cendrowska, 2018, p. 35). When we look at the statistics, we observe that in 1996, 100 titles belonged to 13 companies, including three with Polish capital. In 2006, 11 players remained on the market. Ten years later, in 2016 already only 8. Large well-known concerns have resigned from publishing women's press in Poland. Hachette Filipacchi Polska, G + J Polska, Phoenix Press were taken over by larger publishers as they could not withstand the changing market conditions and ever tougher competition. Axel Springer Polska sold its titles due to change in the publishing profile. They stopped investing in women's press and focused on new information and communication technologies (Dąbrowska-Cendrowska, 2018, p. 42).

Thanks to mergers and acquisitions that took place from 2000 to 2014, the largest publishers could introduce a product and service diversification strategy and deepen the process of specialization and segmentation of the press offer. An example of this is the clear domination of Bauer Media in the true story and press subsegment monopoly position in the group of entertainment and gossip magazines. They also invested in websites that were another distribution channel for the prepared content (Dąbrowska-Cendrowska, 2020).

Despite the development and expansion of new media, women's magazines brought profits to the publishers, who managed to work out a satisfactory way of the functioning of the press addressed to the female audience in the media market, constantly changed by new media (Dąbrowska-Cendrowska, 2016, p. 425). The new process is, however, the segmentation of magazines in the journalistic fields in the context of women's magazines. Publishers create more specific thematic sectors of the press, which compete with each other for both, readers and advertising revenue (Dąbrowska-Cendrowska, 2016, p. 425). These processes are typical for the journalistic field, where different actors try to obtain different forms of capital.

In the case of the analyzed magazines from Poland and France, the recipients are more often woman than man, and they deal with almost every aspect of human life. They tackle various

problems related to private and professional life. The multiplicity and variety of magazines can impress. Segmentation within the women's press has played a significant role in the development of this press sector, thus enabling, on the one hand, adjusting the offer to the interests and expectations of readers, on the other hand, to reach advertisers looking for the most appropriate, i.e. most profitable, advertising channels. I have chosen the titles from different segments to present a variety of representations of the Nordic region. This segmentation is understood here as the division of the entire consumer market into target groups, with similar demographic, sociological, economic, and psychological characteristics. It makes it possible to treat these groups as independent markets for products and services that meet their needs.

Moreover, the Polish women's magazines analyzed in this thesis do not differ from magazines from France in terms of content. A typical magazine from this segment deals with the broadly understood care for physical appearance, male-female relationships, and consumption.

Depending on the type of magazines, they only reflect differences in the percentage of pages dedicated to these topics, sometimes they also vary in distribution of values and the image of the world – but these differences come to light in the context of representation of women in these types of magazines or articles about men-women relations. However, appearance becomes a basic factor defining a woman's identity, and thus the answer to the question of how to look great. Another important topic in the three Polish titles: "Twój Styl", "Zwierciadło" and "Claudia" is the family and everything related to its functioning. This applies to both marital matters, broadly understood love, and interpersonal relationships (especially those within families). Aesthetics is also an important topic both, in the terms of appearance (make-up, care, styling) as well as interior design. In these contexts, the representations of the Nordic region appear.

In general, the specific iconography and language used in contemporary women's press is referred to as *thinking pink* (Johnson & Learned, 2004). It is the stereotypical, paternalistic portrayal of women through media coverage. According to Johnson and Learned, they consist of:

1. One part of outdated presuppositions and information, 2. Two parts of hidden stereotypes, 3. One part of staff and budget limitations, 4. Two parts of internal resistance to new ideas, 5. Three parts of fear of exasperation of

men and making costly mistakes, 6. A huge pile of pastels, butterflies, hearts and flowers, 7. A double mix of good intentions and honesty. (Johnson & Learned, 2004, p. 3)

Even though this "recipe" is quite distinctive, it summarizes some of the traits typical for this kind of journalism and the rules it undergoes. Some of them do not seem to be valid any longer, for instance, point 5. Some require further clarification (point 4), but it signifies that this kind of press is indeed an autonomous subfield in the journalistic field as a whole and even though my aim in this project was to analyze the representations formed by women's magazines from different sectors, they all demonstrate specific qualities. What kind of typology emerges from the analysis of the women's magazines? Izabela Kowalczyk (Kowalczyk, 2002, p. 13) distinguishes several basic categories. The first criterion is the price and quality of the issue, which divides the magazine into modern magazines of a luxury character (e.g. "Twój Styl" or "Zwierciadło"), traditional magazines (e.g. "Pani") and tabloid magazines (e.g. "Kobieta i Mężczyzna"). Another criterion is the age of the addressee. We have magazines for mature women (e.g. "Woman and Life") and for young women (e.g. "Elle"), for teenagers (e.g. "Dziewczyna"), and girls (e.g. "Księżniczka"). Due to the thematic specificity, women's press is divided into magazines that cover many topics: general thematic (e.g. "Claudia"), profiled magazines (eg "Burda"), and gossip magazines (e.g. "Viva"). The last criterion proposed by the authors is the frequency of publishing. And so they appear on the press market weeklies (e.g. "Pani Domu"), biweekly magazines (e.g. "Kobieta i życie"") and monthlies (e.g. "Claudia") (Kowalczyk, 2002, p. 17).

Edyta Zierkiewicz distinguishes magazines whose titles were inspired by the names of women (e.g. "Claudia"), magazines whose titles suggest the position of women's social position (e.g. "Pani Domu"), and titles that "essentialize: the female themes (e.g. "Świat Kobiet"), letters with a sentence support their readers in fulfilling life goals (e.g. "Dobre Rady" and all titles from the counseling and hobby group), titles that support the readers in self-definition (e.g. "Twój Styl"), the magazines that in their titles are focused on the issues of appearance and style (e.g. "Uroda") and magazines that focus on real-life stories, most often describing human tragedies and suffering (e.g. "Życie na gorąco") (Zierkiewicz, 2002, pp. 34–35). The specific identification of each title will be presented later in this chapter.

2.2.5 French journalistic field

The women's press gained popularity during the interwar period. Women became involved in taking financial decisions and that is why newspaper editors were interested in attracting female readers. When the war broke out, there were three types of magazines: the household practices magazine ("Le Petit Echo de la Mode"), the modern magazine open to American influences ("Marie Claire"), and the popular magazine ("Confidence") (Soulier, 2008, p. 5). After the Second World War, we observe a great evolution in the movement of the emancipation of women, in particular thanks to the "munitionnettes", women who replaced the men at the factory during the war. They are a kind of symbol of this change since work has enabled them to obtain a certain financial autonomy and social equality. Thanks to them, women were able to obtain rights such as the right to vote in France (Fraser & Bartky, 1992, p. 16). From the 1980s, feminist struggles were considered successful, so the feminist press declined considerably in favor of a press that returned to its primary function: to praise the happiness of being a woman. It's a press that is centered on fashion, celebrity pages, astrology, appearances, and more (Fraser & Bartky, 1992, p. 22).

Taking into account the internationalization of media groups and the number of titles, women's magazines cover 22.9% of the overall magazine segment in France (Gajlewicz-Korab, 2018, p. 284). It is thus a well-functioning segment of the press. According to Vincent Soulier, the women's press is so popular due to the ability of interweaving elite sophistication with popular culture and, on the one hand, frivolity, and on the other, involvement in various important topics (Soulier, 2008, p. 3).

2.2.6 The six analyzed magazines

In this section, I will present briefly the characteristics of the magazines, which constitute my research material. First of all, in order to have an overall view of the popularity of a particular title, I have juxtaposed the circulation of the magazines from 2019, therefore the recently available data:

Title	Frequency	Circulation 2019
„Femme Actuelle"	Weekly	511 030
„Madame Figaro"	Weekly	387 237
„Elle"	Weekly	331 251
"Claudia"	Monthly	204 899
"Twój Styl"	Monthly	148 217
"Zwierciadło"	Monthly	87 407

Table 1 Own elaboration based on Classement Diffusion Presse Magazine 2018–2019, L'Alliance pour les Chiffres de la Presse et des Médias, www.acpm.fr and Wirtualne Media www.wirtualnemedia.pl (accessed: 11.02.2020).

"Femme Actuelle" is the significant title for the French journalistic field with over 500,000 copies sold in 2019. It is a weekly magazine holding five main sections: news, fashion - beauty, cooking, mental health, and horoscope. It is also famous for organizing an annual literary competition. It has been released for the first time in 1984 as property of Prisma Media (until 2012 Prisma Press), a subsidiary of the German media company Gruner + Jahr. The group is present in many countries in Europe (including Poland), as well as America North and Asia, where they have dozens of press titles. In 2001, the weekly magazine with sales of over 1.5 million copies of "Femme Actuelle" was the twelfth best-selling women's press in the world. In the years 2003–2004, it sold over 1.3 million copies, and in 2006 it grew to over 1.7 million. Since 2009, the spread of "Femme Actuelle" is systematically decreasing (internationalmediasales.net, 2020; femmeactuelle.fr, 2020).

"Madame Figaro", which is an addition to "Le Figaro", one of the biggest French newspapers, is one of the most exclusive women's weeklies, and one of the most profitable titles in the Socpresse concern (since 2011 the Figaro Group) (internationalmediasales.net, 2020). "Madame Figaro" focuses on fashion and beauty trends as well as on social problems. It has been issued since 1980, and since 2006 it also awards the literary prize Grand Prix de l'Heroine Madame Figaro (Heroine Award Madame Figaro) (internationalmediasales.net, 2020; madamefigaro.fr, 2020).

Another popular weekly magazine "Elle" has almost 50 editions worldwide. It has been published in France since 1945. It had been owned by the Lagardère group and is now owned by CMI France. Readers of "Elle" will find there articles and news about celebrities, fashion, as well as beauty. Since 2012, the annual sales of the weekly have been systematically decreasing, although there are years (2016 and 2018) when warehouse owners saw a slight

increase in sales compared to the previous years (internationalmediasales.net, 2020; elle.fr, 2020).

The Polish monthly magazine "Claudia" presents information on fashion trends, tips on skin and hair care, hairstyles for various occasions, and information on the most popular health problems. In the psychology section, we can find advice related to mental health. Each issue includes the following sections: Stars, Beauty, Health and Form, Apartment, Our Children, Shopping. In 2010, the G + J Polska publishing house has decided to relaunch "Claudia" magazine. Since the May issue, the magazine has undergone a significant metamorphosis, both in terms of content and graphics, to become "more luxurious" (wirtualnemedia.pl, 2020).

"Twój Styl" has been one of the leaders of luxury monthlies for 30 years in Poland. From the very beginning, that is from 1990, "Twój Styl" constructs its brand, inter alia, through social campaigns, a range of awarding prizes to people in public life, as well as to the best products available on the market. However, Bauer Publishing House decided to merge two editorial offices – "Pani" and "Twój Styl" magazines into one team in 2020. The company explains changes in the editorial management structure, among others, by the desire to "guarantee the best possible functioning of the entire segment and optimize work in editorial offices in new business circumstances caused by the pandemic" (wirtualnemedia.pl, 2020).

The first issue of "Zwierciadło" was published in 1957. Its name was supposed to symbolize a mirror reflecting the problems and social, cultural and moral issues of the time. For many years, the magazine was a black and white 15-page weekly. It changed its structure in 1990, transforming itself into a monthly. Many psychologists and psychotherapists collaborate with the magazine, not only as journalists but also as experts. It often happens that seemingly neutral topics (lifestyle, work, marriage, family, holidays, old age, being single, traveling, health) are analyzed by an expert – a psychologist, therapist, etc. dealing with a professional explanation of social phenomena.

All the above titles are characterized by the presence of photos on each page, and the surface advertising covers many pages of each issue of the magazine. This phenomenon has already been noticed for instance by Antonina Kłoskowska (1960) and is still valid also in the case of the web portals and web versions of the articles. All the magazines can be viewed on websites, which are characterized by a refreshed, improved and extended version of the paper

edition. The websites have a different dimension, as they have been extended to blogs, subpages for particular authors of the magazine, etc. The reason why the website version of the magazines are taken into account is because they often contain these richer and extended versions of the published issues. It can therefore be said that there are two types of publications in these magazines - editorial content and advertising (today it is even 40% of the area). It is even difficult to separate articles from advertising, the editors connect this content thematically and graphically (Geers, 2011). This segment of the press includes mainly advertising products such as cosmetics, underwear, jewelry, and perfumes. The hygiene and care sectors, as well as fashion also use image advertising in their communication.

The journalistic field is not independent and isolated. Both, in Poland and France, the journalistic field in the context of women's magazines is very much related to, for instance, the economic or cultural field. Hence, when we look at the aspect of advertising in women's magazines, we can see how the journalistic and economic fields overlap. Sometimes the content of the articles involves either implicit or explicit advertising, like in the texts about travel ideas or mini-guide articles about the Nordic region.

Katarzyna Gajlewicz-Korab also notes that luxury magazines for women do not have the problem of finding an advertiser in France, because many global companies from the fashion or cosmetics industry are of French origin (Gajlewicz-Korab, 2018, p. 149). However, in relationship with the decline in sales of paper editions, women's magazines record on average 11% decrease in ad spend. This decrease is accompanied by a decrease in the number of pages, which in the case of Elle is 12% (Rahmil, 2019). Nevertheless, advertising in the women's press catches the eye more easily, readers remember it longer, and it evokes positive emotions (Kowalewska & Puppel, 2018).

2.3 Methodological approach

This thesis is methodologically based on frame analysis. Following Goffman (1974), in order to proceed in the analysis of the construction of text and what influence it has from a socio-cultural and ideological perspective, it is preferable to combine frame analysis and other methods, such as discourse analysis. The discourse analysis can be a tool to elucidate the process of creating and identifying frames in the media texts. For that reason, frame analysis

should be complemented with other methods, as it is not an encompassing one. It should be used in conjunction with other methods such as discourse analysis. Here, the specific model of discourse analysis will be performed. It as model presented by Magdalena Lisowska-Magdziarz (Lisowska-Magdziarz, 2006). Apart from that, the study is also comparative, as it compares representations of the Nordic region constructed in two cultural contexts embedded in two different journalistic fields – the Polish and the French.

In this study, an important axis is a comparative method. Comparative, understood as "An analysis of two or more systems of relations carried out in order to find common patterns and differences" (Ludkiewicz et al., 2019, p. 5). Comparative analysis, especially its aspects of discovering similarities allows us to discover universal features of the phenomenon and go beyond fragmentary knowledge (Domańska, 2010, p. 53). Comparison enables to collate and examine cases relative to substantive and conceptual criteria. Even though in social science this kind of research is typically focusing on large macro-scale sections, the qualitatively inclined methods have also been subjected to comparative approaches. In such cases, when comparative analysis is combined with qualitative analysis and discourse analysis, analytical material is upon holistically and compared with each other. Analyzed entities are treated as configurations combined of different attributes, for example as discursive or semiotic. Hence in the qualitative approach configurations are compared. The analytical inclination and holism does not exclude each other as they both can relate to quantitative research (Ragin, 1989, p. 9). Apart from that, this study has also an explanatory attribute, as it requires a qualitative approach in order to identify and interpret what representations of the Nordic region were created in women's magazines, and how the fact of deriving from two journalistic fields affects these practices.

In this chapter, I will focus on the research methods I adopt for my empirical work and begin with presenting how the research was designed and samples collected, followed by demonstrating nodal points for the three approaches and how they complement each other. In general terms, the analysis was conducted in three phases. In the first place, a quantitative analysis was performed and it addressed primarily the number of articles coded into particular frames, accordingly to the Polish and French ones. This already was cognizant of the scale and frequency of appearance of articles in the female magazines about the Nordic region in Poland and France. Is the Nordic region recognized and positioned in these two journalistic fields, related to two different cultural capitals, to the same degree? Secondly, a linguistic

analysis of articles was conducted in order to discover the different ideologies underpinning news reporting. The final phase is frame analysis, an outcome of the results from the other two approaches. Frame analysis being a fundamental analytical framework in this. It is the perspective from which I investigate and compare how the media construct the Nordic region in recent times in Polish and French female magazines. This tool is used to explore images and make sense of media constructs from a socio-cultural perspective. The theoretical cornerstone adopted in this thesis is Entman's (1991, 1993, 2007) model of framing due to its adequacy for the specificity of newspaper journalistic practice, which is based on an active and intentional selection of the concepts of frames. I adopt Entman's model of framing in which he assumes that the process of selecting news coverage is intentional.

2.3.1 Framing analysis

The notion of frame analysis derives originally from the symbolic interactionism of the Chicago School (Pluwak, 2009, p. 59). Erving Goffman (1922-1982), an American sociologist and writer is considered the father of the framing approach to media studies ground (Pluwak, 2009, p. 60). His work on frame analysis is commonly cited and his definition of frames from the book "Frame analysis: an essay on the organization of experience" is as follows:

I assume that definitions of a situation are built up in accordance with principles of organization which govern events […] and our subjective involvement in them; frame is the word I use to refer to such of these basic elements as I am able to identify. (Goffman, 1974, p. 10)

His approach to framing is rooted in cognitive psychology. He developed this initial definition and moved into investigating how the principles of organization influence how the reality is represented and perceived. That is, to Goffman frames are unconsciously created during the process of communication, not consciously applied (Reynolds, 2020). Moreover, it is something already embodied in social interactions and processes, therefore it is not the case why do the frames and how they are they built. Based on his approach to framing, three areas adopted this concept. They were: social movement studies, organizational and management studies, as well as media studies (He, 2010, p. 24). Nevertheless, frame analysis in the field of media studies severed the connection with Goffman's concept due to the vagueness of its application to social studies, and Entman's model was adopted instead as the basis for

research in media studies and communication studies. The most important difference between the two framing models is the already mentioned approach to purposefulness of adopting frames. According to Entman, American communication and media study researcher:

To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation. (Entman, 1993, p. 52)

Also, according to Entman, the process of framing in practice "highlighting bits of information through placement, repetition, and associating them with culturally familiar symbols" (Entman, 1993, p. 53). Now, since framing is a deliberate process according to Entman, there is an important question concerning the identification of the act of choosing and emphasizing the aspects of perceived reality. On what basis does the process take place? The answer to that question is entangled with the effects and results of the framing process. Therefore, the practice of framing has evolved from unconscious to conscious and purposeful selection when talking about the journalistic field.

According to Reese (2001) there are two approaches to creating frames – cognitive and cultural. The cognitive approach assumes that media make an audience think about certain social phenomena in a particular way by drawing their attention to some aspects of the event. It is often the case while reporting news about racial affairs. The cultural approach assumes that frames are rooted in and have long-term results in audiences' understanding and values. Both cognitive and cultural orders indicate active characteristics in the process of framing. However, the cultural approach introduces the influence of a macrostructure in the framing process. It means that as far as media interpretation is concerned, the audience elucidates media content not only internally by themselves, but is driven and inspired by cultural processes (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996), or, if we follow Bourdieu, also their habitus. Since frames are connected to and depend on culture, they should be distinguished from one's mental structure. Strictly speaking, there is nothing like personal frames (Scheufele, 1999, p. 107). Hence to avoid misunderstanding, mental structures are often referred to as schemata (Fiske & Taylor, 1991). Schemata enable individuals to organize a flood of incoming information, as well as retrieve from the memory already existing information (Graber, 1988, p. 65). On the other side, frames are something perpetual, owing to the fact that they are a part of culture. Following Entman, frames are "manifested by the presence or absence of certain

keywords, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information, and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgements" (Entman, 1993, p. 52). However, frames and schemata bear an interactive relation.

Eventually, I decided to adopt Entman's theory as one of the framework-pillars of this thesis, because it is consistent with the characteristics of the journalistic field in general, which involve active and intentional selection of the concepts of frames and is influenced by the wider context of culture. I find it particularly useful for explaining the possible differences or similarities in constructing particular phenomena referring to the Nordic region in Polish and French women's magazines. The example here could be the aspects of food and culinary tradition of the Nordic region from these two perspectives and why are these perspectives different.

2.3.2 Constituents of frames

In the light of culture, frames are intricate phenomena. They are something delving into media discourse in the process of framing and take place while journalists construct (in a broad sense) a text. All frames constructed by a journalist in a particular text can be referred to as a frame package (Van Gorp, 2007, p. 64), whichis a set of organized elements that serve as an identification tool for a frame. Frame analysis is then deconstruction of the above-mentioned frame packages. A frame package can be factorized into three elements: "the manifest framing devices, the manifest or latent reasoning devices, and an implicit cultural phenomenon that displays the package as a whole" (Scheufele, 1999, p. 107). Every frame functions in media content as an outcome of different framing devices. These devices can be metaphors, particular vocabulary, pictures, models, and figures of speech (Pan & Kosicki, 1993). In various media, they can also occur in the form of stories (for example myths and legends), where they frame a particular message utilizing a memorable and catchy narrative; slogans, catchlines, and jargon that frame an object with a memorable phrase to make it easily remembered (Fairhurst & Sarr, 1996).

Concluding from analyses and empirical work by researchers interested in media framing, there are three levels of identifying framing devices. The first level is the identification of features based on news arrangement (such as headlines, images, and other visual material, lift-out pull quotes, hashtags, graphs, background, etc.) into which text and images were

integrated. Then the analysis focuses on discursive structures such as already mentioned metaphors, catchlines, keyword patterns or jargon phrases, as well as image attributes when it comes to visual media. Eventually, narrative conventions should be taken into account to establish whether a discourse composition or image attribute forms part of a media frame (D'Angelo, 2017, p. 6). In the course of the quantitative and qualitative approach to content analyses, we can identify keyword-based themes embedded into discourses and images so that they enable a word- or image-based frame identification within a mediated text. In some cases, the appearance of single words or visual icons is already a theme of a frame in a given context (e.g., "progress" vs. "eugenics" when referring to compulsory sterilization in Sweden).

In the process of framing, a meaning with powerful effects is obtained as a result (Bhaskar, 1989). In his journal article, Entman indicated that:

Analysis of frames illuminates the precise way in which influence over a human consciousness is exerted by the transfer (or communication) of information from one location, such as a speech, utterance, news report, or novel- to that consciousness" (Entman, 1993, pp. 51–52).

The sole powerful effects of framing were explained by the scholar as follows:

The frame of a news portrait can be enlarged so that media reports may penetrate the consciousness of a mass public that is minimally aware of most specific issues and events. Or the frame can be shrunk to miniaturize an event, diminishing the amount, prominence, and duration of coverage, and thus mass awareness. (Entman, 1991, pp. 9–10)

As a consequence, Entman's theory of frames is adopted as the fundamental framework of this thesis, as it corresponds with the attributes of newspaper journalist practice. In other words, the process of selecting the concepts of frames is an active and deliberate one, and is also significantly affected by the broader context of society.

The basic means used to create the frame (and at the same time elements of media coverage) are metaphor, exemplum (example from which a lesson is learned), slogan, description and image (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989, pp. 4–5). Researchers are also focusing on headline analysis (including titles and subtitles, leads), captions under the pictures, underlines in the

text, logo, charts and statistics (De Vreese, 2002, p. 55). These language and graphic elements are how the senders build their message.

Finally, it should be noted that the framing concept does not provide a coherent resource of research methods and techniques. Researchers undertaking analyzes of media messages base on working or operational definitions of the framework developed for their own projects, which is why – as Claes de Vreese writes – there is no one way of identifying frameworks in texts (2002, p. 3). In the case of my project, I pay particular attention to…

2.3.3 Visual analysis

According to Sztompka, the history of press and reportage photography traces back to the middle of the XIX century. They appear in richly illustrated magazines such as "Illustrated London News" or "Illustrated American", and they represent the documentary-realistic trend or the so-called new realism (Sztompka, 2012, p. 25).

Interest in photography as a component of visual culture has been growing in the 1980s with the next breakthrough in sociology, a culturalist turn. Clifford Geertz, the precursor of this direction wrote: "Assuming after Max Weber that man is an animal suspended in the web of meanings that he has woven and treated culture as this very network, it must be recognized that its analysis cannot be experimental science, law-seeking, but interpretive science, meaning-seeking" (Geertz, 2017, p. 6). My frame of reference, among other researchers, are anthropologists Lutz and Collins who claim, that:

A photograph can be compared to a blank container - a container produced in and selected on the basis of a particular cultural discourse. However, the container is waiting for that audience on the basis of their individual experiences and must fill it with their equally individual interpretations. The photographs thus end with to express a fusion of the journal and the reader's perspective, or in other words: the reader becomes the author of the story narrated through photography (Lutz and Collins, 1993 and Hervik 1999: 183).

Therefore, the media and society should be considered as an integrated part (Brantner, 2018; Hepp & Krotz, 2014). Also, when it comes to photography being a part of the articles in the analyzed magazines, "visual communication plays an essential role in the mediatization of spatiality or the mediatization of the sense of space" (Schilling & Vietze, 2013).

For Pierre Bourdieu, the most important in photography is why it has been taken and what can we learn from it (Bourdieu, 1990b). In other words, he does not ask about how a photography had been taken, but for what reasons. Bourdieu's reflections on photography are coined with his concept of "cultural capital" and concern the relationship between photography and the social hierarchy. Every use of the photo is legitimate in the context of certain social conditions. As he notes, different types of photographs are taken by workers, and different by middle-class amateur photographers, etc. (Bourdieu, 1990b, p. 79). The motivations of these groups will be different, and the esthetic choices will be determined by financial possibilities or esthetic awareness. Women's magazines can be seen in this context as a medium aiming at a specific and defined social group, with its own esthetics responding to taste of its readers; so are the photographs published together with the articles, which I will point out in the analytical part.

From the perspective of semiotics, pictures or photographs are also forms of language. They have their own, pictorial language and can also be decoded just like verbal language (Søren 2009: 56). Jean Baudrillard claimed that the pictorial turn was necessary as a response to the role of simulation in the imagination and sensitivity of the contemporary man, he emphasizes, and in all contemporary culture. Treating the social world as a meaningful reality and a specific "text" constructed or assigned importance made photographic images an important object of analysis for the so-called cultural studies (Sztompka, 2012, p. 30).

Photography is believed to be an objective medium, perfectly suited for illustrating information due to the alleged value of authenticity (Jędrzejewska, 2008, p. 38). The purpose of press photography is therefore to quickly provide information to a wide audience. Press illustrations can evoke various feelings and they also complete the text they illustrate, make the layout more attractive, ensure the recognition of the title, and thus contribute to its promotion. Moreover, press photography is not only a supplement to or an illustration of the text, but also an expression of a certain attitude, world view of its author, or editorial office. It can encapsulate the mood in a frame, record unique emotions, or capture moving moments. Therefore, the art of photography is to interpret the world. Following Sztompka:

The starting point in analyzing the photos is to decipher more specific motivations of the genre in which the photo fits: is it a press photography, reporting, occasional, official, propaganda, advertising, portrait, memorial, family, tourist, artistic photo? Is it a single photo or a fragment of a series (photo essay, reportage, family

chronicle)? (…) Each species has its typical intentions, motivations, and emotions, hence the determination of the species makes it possible to reach the first hermeneutic interpretation. It is only against such a typical background that it is possible to drill deeper, towards more and more specific approximations revealing individual, unique content subjective feelings that accompanied the author taking the photo. (Sztompka, 2012, p. 78)

Those intentions, motivations and emotions typical for each genre are key here since the picture analysis is also a part of this thesis. This already gives a hint of what kind of pictures one can expect while reading women's magazines.

On the other hand, and this is in the case of women' magazines, sometimes the photo caption or a longer one makes it easier to interpret the author's comment attached to the picture. This is underlined by Roland Barthes: "Today, at the level of mass communications, it appears that the linguistic message is indeed present in every image: as title, caption, accompanying press article, film dialogue, comic strip balloon. This shows that it is not very accurate to talk of a civilization of the image - we are still, and more than ever, a civilization of writing, writing and speech continuing to be the full terms of the informational structure" (Barthes, 1977, p. 38). It is in fact present in every picture: as a title, signature, accompanying press article, film dialogue, "speech bubble" with text in a comic. Such a text can have two functions. Barthes describes the first as "the anchor", the second as a "link". In a photographic image, always ambiguous by nature (polysemic), the text makes it possible to "anchor" the meaning, indicating what should be noted. When we are dealing with a series of photos, reportage, or photo essay, the text acts as a link, and binds individual photos into a narrative, an anecdote (Sztompka, 2012, p. 101).

Being aware of the attitudes of different scholars and concepts, where sometimes the image or picture is an independent and wholesome entity and on the other hand a part of the text or larger discourse, I approach the image analysis in this thesis as a supplementary to the text analysis, since they mainly have an illustrative function and are often taken from the photo banks.

2.3.4 Data collection

The most essential criteria for selecting the articles in this project was their representativeness of the designed frames. Articles chosen for the study come from the most recent years, that is

from the beginning of the twenty-first century to the year 2018. This analysis intends to supplement the already existing research on representations of the Nordic region focusing on the distant past with the current ones. I choose female magazines as empirical material to obtain another angle to look at Nordic representations with the consideration of the readership of different genres from various backgrounds and classes.

All of the sample articles are collected from online resources, from both, Polish and French online editions of paper-version newspapers or online-only issues, which have the highest records of readability and represent a different profile of content, which I have pointed out while describing every magazine title. The choice of qualifying criteria is also important in the empirical part. The exact key words for searching articles were as follows (here I present English equivalents of both Polish and French terms): Denmark, Danish, Danes, Sweden, Swedish, Swedes, Norway, Norwegian, Norwegians, Finland, Finnish, Finns, Iceland, Icelandic, Icelanders, Greenland, Greenlandic, Greenlanders/Inuit/Eskimo, Faroese, Faroe Islands, Lapland/Lappland/ Sápmi, Laplandic, Laplanders,/Lapps, Sami people, the Nordic region, the North, Nordic, Scandinavia, Scandinavian, Scandinavians.

I took into account articles that wholly or predominantly cover the topics related to the Nordic region or the particular country. The intention behind it was to exclude all the articles which contain an unrelated central topic but still contain the key words. The asset of establishing the above qualifying criteria is to ensure that all contained articles concentrate on creating some images of the Nordic region. However, I am aware of the danger that adopting such qualifying criteria may lead to omitting articles that do not contain the key words explicitly but refer to the region under investigation. Yet, I believe that the key words, such as "Danmark", "Danish" etc., by which the articles were searched on the ground of their frequency are very specific and must be named in the texts which revolve around topics concerning the Nordic region or a particular country. It is also characteristic that the text units do not always fit perfectly in one category only. It seems to be a common difficulty in research based on content analysis, which on the other hand can show multidimensionality of such a category (Płaneta, 2018, p. 88). If it was the case, were the story-line percolated a few content categories, these texts were assigned according to the strongest dimension in the content of the text. However, there were only five such cases in general and the articles were finally assigned to the most encompassing category, namely the frame of the Nordic social capital. The primary data collected for this study consists of articles from magazines whose *target-*

receivers are women. These magazines were: Polish "Zwierciadło", "Claudia", "Twój Styl" and French "Le Figaro Madame", "Femme Actuelle", "Elle". The time frame consists of the latest articles, that is the twenty-first century.

The process of selecting the material was then conducted in three phases. After coding the total amount of 423 texts, I subjected the selected articles to quantitative and qualitative analysis. Finally, through text analysis, I have established the frames on the grounds of frequency. After establishing the tool of a coding schedule, data was collected from the sample. The major difficulty at this stage was being consistent and precise in applying the data to designed categories, for instance in the case of the frame referring to the social aspects of the Nordic region, where one article could have been devoted to a Nordic noir movie and its plot, at the same time discussing inequalities between men and women. One of the assumptions for this study was to achieve comparability not only between particular texts, but also among two different journalistic fields – Polish and French.

While collecting material for analysis, I identified the frames used by the journalist, because I classified articles into one of several frames according to the topic: culinary field; landscape and nature; symbolic capital of celebrities and royal families; cultural capital of Norden; social capital: between utopia and dystopia; lifestyle, style, and design. These metaframes are articulated in the names of the corresponding parts in the last chapter. The general overview of the metaframes and the amount of corresponding articles from the two journalistic fields is presented below:

The name of the metaframe	Number of Polish articles	Number of French articles	Total amount of articles
Region of haute cuisine	25	41	66
Nordic oasis	31	25	56
Symbolic capital of royal families and celebrities	5	26	31
Cultural capital of Norden	25	12	37
Social capital – between utopia and its deconstructions	12	96	108
Lifestyle, style and design	53	72	125
Total amount	**151**	**272**	**423**

Table 2 Number of articles in a particular frame and journalistic field.

As we can see, the total number of French magazines was almost doubled in comparison to the Polish ones. For the list of the article titles to the assigned frames and the coding scheme see the Appendix.

In the course of my research I distinguish the following stages:

1) selection of empirical material;
2) pre-reading the collected articles to identify the topics covered;
3) creating a matrix for coding the empirical material in which there were noted themes and topic for quantitative analysis purposes;
4) qualitative analysis of explicit and hidden content, that is the identification of the main idea of the text and its interpretation based on the following criteria (which are also the means used by broadcasters to create a framework for media messages):

   a) explicit framing measures:

   - titles, slogans and keywords,
   - metaphors appearing in texts,
   - descriptions of the main issues (i.e. maternity leave, holidays, food),
   - selection of sources (i.e. citing specialists or popular bloggers);

   b) implicit means of argument (reasoning devices; see. e.g. (Van Gorp, 2005)) that are not openly expressed in the text but which guide the recipient's perception of what is defined as the problem of what is regarded as its causes and what solution or moral evaluation:

   - values regarding Nordicness and the region,
   - justifications,
   - narrative construction,
   - analysis of omitted topics;

5) creating frame matrices (also called frame packages) based on the means of framing and means of argumentation.

I have decided to present the research by comparing representations of Nordicness and the Nordic region from Polish and French articles within a given metaframe. That gives more insight into the specific differences between the metaframes and hence between the two journalistic fields. Also, the metaframes were identified based on the articles from both journalistic fields together. It is because the metaframes were quite easily identifiable considering the main topic.

Last but not least, I have analyzed photos, which I treat as an integral part of the articles. Some of the pictures were taken by photographers working for a given newspaper, yet some of them come from picture banks. Therefore, I began with looking closer into this general type of pictures. Further, I analyzed them in the context of the articles they come from by employing questions suggested by Piotr Sztompka in his "Socjologia wizualna" (2012):

- What is the denotation of the picture (what does it depict)?
- What is the connotation of the picture (what does it suggest)?
- What type of signs appear in the picture?
- Does the picture present some attitudes, ideas, beliefs?
- Does the picture present some values?
-

First and foremost, I looked at the relation between the pictures and the texts. Are they only illustrator material or do they expand the message in the article? However, I did not focus on the technical aspects of the pictures or their composition, but on the overall message.

Press photos can be classified according to criteria such as function, place of publication, genre or theme (Szylko-Kwas, 2019, p. 87). I will refer to this classification while analyzing the photos from the analyzed articles. We can distinguish between the following types of photographs when looking at the purpose and function of the image:

- informational, where the emphasis is on conveying information to the recipient;
- persuasive, in which the emotional message is dominant;
- esthetic, the primary purpose of which is to make the message more attractive.

Place of the publication (whether it is for instance the cover of the magazines or centerfold) is not taken here into account, since the online versions of the magazines have a different layout than the printed version. However, what I took into account is the theme of the photography: nature, politics, culture, society and many others. Finally, due to the genre of the photography, we can distinguish for example:
• one-off: presenting a specific or one-time event;
• generic: characterized by a universal way of presenting a problem or event;
• reportage: showing, often in an emotional way, a problem or course of events;

• portrait: focused only on a person/people;

• landscape: presenting a landscape (also a city);

• photomontage, which can be treated as a journalistic statement, often of a persuasive character; it is, therefore, a message on the border between journalistic photography and other image forms presented in the media (Szylko-Kwas, 2019, p. 87).

2.3.5 Quantitative content analysis

This research starts with quantitative analysis in a sense of:

The systematic and replicable examination of symbols of communication, which have been assigned numeric values according to valid measurement rules, and the analysis of relationships involving those values using statistical methods, in order to describe the communication, draw inferences about its meaning, or infer from the communication to its context, both of production and consumption. (Riffle & Fico, 1998, p. 20)

Quantitative content analysis is to examine frequencies of the appearance of some frames and thus provide a general media study. Hence, this step aimed to provide a quantitative analysis of the themes, volume, and characteristics of articles dealing with the Nordic region during the analyzed period.

In this study, the quantitative analysis of the journalistic material is the first step of analyzing text as it presents an overall picture of the main attributes of selected magazine articles. Therefore, this method aims to determine the number of what the coverage contains in the sense of extensiveness of each frame, and not to make the analysis of the implicit elucidation of the content. Further, it does not investigate the internal meanings and relations that emerge between the texts, yet it arrives at some answers to research questions and serves as a filter qualifying the data for further in-depth investigation, in this case, discourse analysis. Hence the content analysis seeks to create a general picture and meanings or some patterns over large aggregates of texts, rather than drawing comprehensive conclusions (He, 2010, p. 84).

In this thesis, the quantitative analysis is used predominantly to answer the questions related to the interrogative 'what', for instance, what kind of countable features, frequencies and patterns can be discovered in the data? For example, in which of the journalistic fields the articles about the Nordic region are more frequent? What themes are covered more often than the others? What are the numbers for both countries?

2.3.6 Research questions

The overarching aim of this thesis is to contrast and compare Polish and French images of the Nordic region encapsulated in frames. These frames were identified and categorized in the course of frame analysis and content analysis. Therefore, the research is built upon two dimensions. The conceptual dimension explores how the Nordic region is framed in the Polish and French magazines, as well as the differences and similarities between frames from the two journalistic fields. The empirical dimension is based on analysis adopting three methodological approaches. Triangulation of methods is a technique in which imperfections of one method are compensated by the assets of the other. Frame analysis, together with the theory of representation, and discourse analysis are tools by which I attempt to answer the following research questions:

- What representations do particular frames contain?
- What frames dominate and what is the balance between them?
- What are the differences between magazines from the two journalistic fields in terms of frame selection?

The questions listed above are fundamental and central to the research contained within this thesis, and are the guides that lead all analysis and discussion of each case study in the empirical work. To set the scene for the empirical research, I start with the question concerning the nature of a region, what a region is in journalistic discourse, how it is constructed, and how the constructions differ according to the journalistic field.

3. The Nordic region and its representations

This chapter puts the Nordic region in the broader spatial context. The point of departure is to look at Norden as a specific place and space. It also discusses how the images of the region have been shaped from the inner Nordic perspective and outside its borders. This chapter refers also to the concepts of Eastern Europe and Western Europe, which were constructed by philosophers of the Enlightenment. The axis of thinking about the map turned to the East-West opposition, instead of the distinction between North and South, which had existed until then.

The North (as an opposition to the South), especially in the geocultural context, is apparent in the case of Poland, where this region has been constructed as a new role-model, the new West (Czapliński, 2016, p. 321). Czapliński goes further in his diagnosis of this phenomenon. He claims that the specific "game of recognition" which takes place between Poles and the citizens of the successful regions leads to cultural consequences. The picture of Poland as the "great nation" needs to be flawless, if it is going to be the mirror in which we look at. In France, on the other hand, the image of the Nordic region seems to be very positive in general. It can be visible for instance in the press, where Scandinavia has been coined with the terms such as "virtue", "success", "utopia" (Aukrust & Weiss-Andersen, 2019, p. 3). In the article "Is France becoming more Scandinavian? The Utopia of Scandinavian virtue in France — from Chirac to Macron" (Aukrust & Weiss-Andersen, 2019) the authors analyze media coverages in France about Scandinavia. They also evoke examples from the French political sphere and president Hollande, who in 2013 said: "We shall become more Scandinavian" or president Macron who claimed that his political project was "exactly like the Scandinavian model" (Aukrust & Weiss-Andersen, 2019, p. 1). These images are coined with the representations that will be analyzed in the women's magazines, as they all are constructs of and at the same time constructing certain discourses. The question of why representations are at the center of this analysis can be best explained by Krzysztof Pomian, who writes:

The invisible is a creation of language. It is its creation because it allows the individuals to transmit delusions to one another and, therefore, transforms them into a social fact the inner conviction that one has had contact with the things never seen beforehand. [...] It is, however, most of all because language allows us to speak about the dead as if they were alive, about events the past as if they were the present, about distant things as if they were hidden, about hidden, as if it was apparent (Pomian, 2012, p. 42).

In this sense, the representations about the Nordic region constitute a kind of relation to a place among Polish or French readers in this case, even if the only way to have the mentioned above *contact* with the place, is through the language of the women's magazines.

But before going into these representations, I will put them into perspective of how I regard the notions such as "place" and "space" and how the Nordic region as place and space has been constructed in the past. Especially having in mind the term "sense of place" is important for my research, since it also is a way to understand that the particular representations of the Nordic region depend, among other aspects, on habitus of the journalists. It is due to their emotional connection, impression and understanding of the region, that the representations take a given form. It is in a way a manifestation of feelings towards a region, country, city, etc.

3.1 The sense of place

The place is a multidimensional phenomenon. Places provide a material, symbolic and social framework for our everyday lives, and their importance is at once contingent and emergent; the result of historical and ongoing processes at the micro, meso and macro levels (Jørgensen et al., 2011, p. 25). It is nowadays common in human geographically oriented approaches that the notion of place is distinguished from space. One of the human geographers who contributed to the field, Nicholas Entrikin, defines the concept of place this way: "Specific place refers to the conceptual fusion of space and experience that gives areas of the earth's surface a "wholeness" or an "individuality" (Entrikin, 1991, p. 7). Place is differentiated, separable, opposed to space's undifferentiation, its boundlessness. Space is transforming both, knowledge, action and power, and it is these transformations that human geographic analysis ultimately seeks to map. Space is, so to speak, the structural landscape, as the subjects are located in, and it is through manipulations of this landscape that their actions are transformed to power structures. Conversely, power structures produce the spaces in which the subjects act (Atkinson, 2005, p. 50). The representations found in the empirical material refer to the representations of the Nordic region as place and space.

However, special attention in this thesis is put on social spaces of the Nordic region. To this end, I will refer here to Henri Lefebvre and Doreen Massey, among others, as the concepts of place and space looked upon from a broader socio-geographical perspective is a starting point for the discussion of how their representations are understood in this thesis. According to

Lefebvre, the production of social spaces means that they are at the same time perceived, imagined and experienced (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 87). Social spaces are an integral part of our everyday lives and are crucial to discovering how everyday life is structured and experienced. Here, a place is understood as something one can specifically refer to. It's a locality. According to Kirsten Simonsen, a place must first and foremost be understood as an articulation of the dimensions of social space. Social practices, experiences and symbols are located. Therefore, a place is also a distinctly dynamic concept. It forms over time, consolidates, falls apart, and changes (Simonsen, 2018, p. 37). One of the most important scholars in this field, Doreen Massey, writes:

If space is […] a simultaneity of stories-so-far, then places are collections of those stories, articulations within the wider power-geometries of space. Their character will be a product of these intersections within that wider setting, and of what is made of them. And, too, of the non-meetings-up, the disconnections and the relations not established, the exclusions. All this contributes to the specificity of place (2005, p. 31).

A place is thus a dynamic entity. Therefore, a place is a specificity that involves everything from memory, history, economic and cultural structures, classes, gender, race, body and interaction. It is the space concretely perceived, imagined and experienced. It is characterized by inclusion and exclusion. The place is thus the practice of the space (Massey, 2005, p. 98). Another dimension of space as a representation is the "sense of place", which derives from human geography and assumes, that the place and the place's meaning are seen as a result of social constructions (Massey, 2005, p. 22). This sense is an interplay between the global and the local, about place identity and place identification for a time, where globalization challenges and reshapes the "well-known" concept of place: "If places are thought of as settled, coherent worlds of their own, then they are surely under challenge in an age when everywhere seems to be opened up to wider forces" (Massey, 2005, p. 2). One point is that the place is not only seen as a framework around everyday practice, but becomes an integral part of the same practice. In this way, "a sense of place" is about how the people who live somewhere, whether Poland or France in this case, experience the place. This experience is the ground on which the representations of the Nordic region are being constructed and transmitted by the means of women's magazines. The sense of place is linked to representations of spaces as it shapes them. It also means that these phenomena can change over time, as the way of perceiving places is being challenged as time passes. This is characteristic of globalization: the worldwide communication, the increasing time and space

compression, etc. This means that place understanding varies in time and space, because the world is changing, but also because different groups in society are thinking of place differently and thus represent the place differently. This means that understanding the place is the fundament of how we construct and imagine the world ourselves. We might assume that these images and constructs may differ between cultures and societies in different media, especially from two distinct journalistic fields, Polish and French, yet this will be investigated in the course of this research.

Globalization has disturbed and challenged the traditional way to understand and conceptualize the place and is a relevant factor when it comes to representations in women's magazines, especially while contrasting the two journalistic fields rooted in two different cultures. If one thus thinks of places and spaces as extensively social relationships, it is difficult or impossible to think of places as cohesive and closed units. In this way, the social relationships that shape the social space have become far more expansive in time and space than before. The boundaries of places must be perceived as open. The representations of places are thus not seen as isolated from each other and with their own history. The sense of place is shaped by and through the connection with others places. This means that the representation of the Other reflects the images of the Self. Constructing representations of other nations, regions or ethnicities is simultaneously a construction of the representations of ourselves.

Since this thesis tackles the question of representations of spaces and places, the roots of these concepts should be anchored in a broader perspective, that is the topographic turn. The humanities have experienced a large number of *turns*, spatial turn being one of them. Here, in the case of topographic turn, the attention is focused on the importance of the definite physical framework under which social interaction processes unfold (Bachmann-Medick, 2016; Nünning et al., 2012; Tanskanen, 2010). Interest in the impact of spatial relations on social and cultural processes should be widely seen as a counterreaction to the tendency of neglecting the meaning of space, which arose in the wake of what Rorty formulated as the linguistic turn (Rorty, 1992). In this chapter, the notion of topographic turn will be reflected in the light of representations of the Nordic region.

The need to formulate a comprehensive theory of space, articulated by Lefebvre several decades ago, remains in force today. This work is to some extent the answer to this challenge

because it takes over some of the concepts he framed. Therefore, the spatial turn is here part of the theoretical framework. The inevitability of such an affiliation is necessary since it was Lefebvre who was one of the main inspirers of topographic turn in modern social and human studies, influencing the emphasis on the importance of various space research in sociology, geography, cultural studies and many other fields (Falkheimer & Jansson, 2006b).

The map represents a general picture of the world, while the route indicates the actual movement through it. The moment a place is practiced, that is, used by people, turns it into a social space. That is why we cannot settle for one cartography, describing the surroundings objectively and totally. Instead, according to Hastrup, there should be one topography, which is based on the social practices anchored in concrete physical materiality that changes over time and is in line with the social practices that take place in it (Hastrup, 2009). The topographic turn is in the offing of the discussion of space and place, which has spread internationally in the past several years, where understanding space as a neutral has been abandoned in favor of an understanding of space as a place where concrete and practical actions are generated (Szulevicz & Nielsen, 2018). The landscape reflects the work and life that previous generations have put into it, but the landscape is renewed constantly while practices that take place in it. The historicity of the landscape thus merges with the ongoing social activities. The social and cultural concepts have been enriched with a variety of spatial metaphors and notions such as margin, mapping, boundary, deterritorialization, reterritorialization, place, region, landscape, situation and localization (Bachmann-Medick, 2016, p. 203), and ambition has been to reconcile different levels of binary oppositions such as the local and the global, the concrete and the imaginary, practice and representation.

Henri Lefebvre, who has left significant traces on the Anglo-American human geography and the critical cultural geography, understands space as a social space, where both "the practical", "it symbolic" and "the imaginary" are contained. Lefebvre forms a conceptual triad, in which he distinguishes between "spatial practice", "representational space" and "representations of space". This triad tries to capture three different aspects of the social space function in interaction. "Spatial practice" refers to the experienced practiced space and the material social interactions that are created and maintained in the interplay of daily life practices and routines in social relationships and institutional systems (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 23).

According to Lefebvre, "representation of space" refers to "the conceptual space" (l'éspace conçu) (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 34). The representations of space are linked to the dominant social

order and the social codes through which we filter and understand material space and spatial practice. The "representational space" concerns "the living space" (l'éspace vécu), which various users are constantly creating and recreating through various kinds of appropriations of space such as attribution of symbolic significance, artistic processing, modification of surroundings, the rhythms of everyday life, cultural tradition, individual or collective storytelling and / or the formation of spaces of resistance and opposition (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 37).

According to Nigel Thrift and his typology of space, we can distinguish four different forms of it: empirical constructions of space, space as flows and connections, space as images and space as place (Thrift, 2009, pp. 95–107). This differentiation is important to form the perspective of the discussion of how media has played part in the formation of transnational regions. Empirical spaces make attempts to organize the world around us, in form of maps, infrastructure, road signs, etc. Such empirical spaces organize the spaces of flow, meaning the circulation, migration and transport of goods and ideas (Thrift, 2009, p. 98). The idea of space as an image connotes both, graphic and textual imagery and the associations it rises in people's minds. Finally, there is the notion of space as a place. In geography theory, it refers to sensory experiences of being in a particular place.

Based on this typology as a framework, I investigate the Nordic region as a mediated region, addressing the different features of the region as empirical space, referring to the material structures and forms of the media. The region as a space of flows, referring to the migration of stereotypes and ideas across borders through the printed media. The region as a space made up of images and imaginings, referring to the content of such stereotypes. In a way, but in a less systematic manner, the fourth spatial dimension, the idea of the region as a place, also occurs.

Placing this research within the frame of topographic turn sheds a light on how cultural phenomena are practiced and transformed in locally materialized and globally mediated contexts. It also increases our spatial awareness and sense of the multitude of place dimensions that can contribute to the understanding of the surrounding world as a palimpsest of valuable traces of meaning that is being created and recreated over time. Also, this work takes over some of the concepts developed by the spatial turn in order to process and refine them, although it is a development of only some of them from a socio- and cultural

perspective. Last but not least, it is also about denying looking at a place as given and perceiving it as a set of things created by people in the historical processes. On the contrary, the topographic turn accentuates the understanding of space as an active and malleable sphere of human life. The introduction of spatial threads into social or cultural studies is not only an unfinished project, but also a challenge. It is associated with the postulate of fundamental change, requiring the construction of not only new concepts and perspectives, but perhaps also the creation of a new language.

The above assumptions are linked to a broader perspective that is important for this study, a human geography. Human geography is based on the idea that sociological studies must incorporate spatial relationships in order to understand subjects and communities (Malpas, 2010, p. 13). Further, Tim Cresswell defines place as "a meaningful site that combines location, locale, and sense of place" (Cresswell, 2004, p. 2) where location is the physical-spatial extent and location of the place. Locality is the material organization of the space, which is the background for social relationships, and finally, the sense of place experience, which are experiences and feelings that a place induces. Sense of place is further divided into two types, the one that is individual and based on personal biographies, and the other that is shared and based on media and representations (Cresswell, 2004, p. 3).

The ontological compound nature of the place concept is separated into three branches in Cresswell's typology. One of them, being place experience, based on personal biographies and media representations, as phenomenological appearances exclusively in human consciousness and occur based on both, mediated and unmediated encounters between space and the human (Falkheimer & Jansson, 2006a, p. 34). The modern experience is a mix of the mediated and the unmediated, and in the natural extension of this, several theorists have begun to work with the hybrids of human geography and media theory. This is an extracted field known as media geography and its main assumption can be formulated as follows: "All forms of communication occur in space, and all spaces are produced through representation, which occurs by means of communication" (Falkheimer & Jansson, 2006a, p. 9). Regarding the above, my basic assumption is that the Nordic region as a place is not just the field of objects available for human perception, but is shaped by how we experience it.

3.2 Region and regional identity

Each time the Nordic region is evoked in this thesis, it is based on a belief that there exists an alleged collective identity binding the community inhabiting a geographical territory (Anderson, 2006, p. 6). Also, according to Bourdieu, the discourses on regional identity are performative, and are the results of structured elements of cultural, historical and political character (Bourdieu et al., 2003, p. 222). The discourse is understood here as a process of discerning and making sense of the (cultural, economic, political etc.) processes of change in the region. Furthermore, in the plethora of discourses about the Nordic region and discourses in general, it is evident that some of them seem more legitimate and simply dominate other ones. The dominance of certain discourses over others is dependent on time but also the type of media. This is the outcome of processes of exercising power by different authorities or groups while constructing the objectified version of the region in discourse (Allen et al., 1998). It is important to underline that a region often becomes treated as an essence, a "real object" with frontiers. It results in divagations of what a region is and what its cultural features are (Massey, 2005, p. 67). According to that essentialist perspective, the region has an inner core that is naturally given. In this way, it is considered that the regional identity belongs to the nature of the region. However, the notion of regional identity in this thesis is based on social constructivism, which means that it is changeable and contextual (Allen et al., 1998; Gidlund & Sörlin, 1993).

Despite the above assumptions, for the sake of conceptual clarity, a delimitation of the notion "region" is important. Here, the Nordic region is seen as a system of entanglements of spatial, cultural, social and political nature (Allen et al., 1998, p. 34). Regions are thus multidimensional entities which identity is conveyed through representation in a simplified form. These representations of the Nordic region, and any type of place in general, belong to global imaginaries produced by media all over the world each day. Due to that, media should be considered through the prism of temporal and spatial factors that influence discursively maintained regions (or places in general) and interpretative communities (Salovaara-Moring, 2004, p. 31). In this sense, regional societies are not homogenous systems but specific to a given time and place in a specific culture. The cultural dimension of the representations in question involves collective memories which are subjected to a process of continuous reconstruction and reproduction (Salovaara-Moring, 2004, p. 32). Following Bourdieu, it is not possible for natural regions with common borders to exist (Bourdieu et al., 2003, p. 222).

The Nordic region is, following Bourdieu, a symbolic construct and an outcome of political struggles. Despite that, it can be distinguished by different elements such as language (which in the case of the Nordic region and different language families causes inconsistency in this case), forms of culture, etc. It means that regions cannot be seen as consistent spaces drawn on maps, but they change with time and are reconstructed in processes of social interactions (Hubbard & Kitchin, 2010; Paasi, 2002, 2003). With their own specificity and dynamics. This becomes logical when we take the former chapters about the sense of place into consideration and look at a region as a place. In the context of space, this research focuses on the Nordic region in between the physical space one can travel to and visit, and the human imagination of this physical space.

3.3 Imagining Norden

There are diverse conveyors of representations of Norden that exist concurrently: from landscape paintings, musical pieces, novels or cultural institutions, through political rhetoric, to the branding of places. The question is if they work within the same framework or general idea of Norden and to what extent? How are they exploring different aspects of this idea and do they reinforce the general imaginary by adding to its content? Is the idea of Norden allowing for the unlimited construction and images from Viking images of burning violence to acting for world peace, social issues and international negotiations? Altogether, they are responsible for the production of frames that function as packaging for narratives communicated internally and externally.

An important point concerning Nordic issues is the extent to which such a complex transnational entity as a region can substitute the sum of five nation-states. The nation is still the basic element for cooperation or competition in the global arena, which can be seen on the example of Nordic cooperation, where most fields of cooperative support are established on the idea of individuals representing their country, defined as one of the five Nordic nation-states. The same question refers to the representations of Norden. Are these mentioned above examples of representations a sum of representations of these countries or is it a homogenous image of the whole region? Historian Henrik Stenius called the idea of the Nordic region the sum of the five states the "Olympic Games principle" (Stenius & Haggrén, 2005, p. 81). Particular national interests and Nordic thinking are bound together, for instance when

branding nations globally. In some other situations, such as during scholarly debates on the welfare systems of the countries from the Nordic region, the interchangeable descriptions of such systems as either Nordic, Scandinavian, or of particular countries, underline the competition between the Nordic countries (Stenius & Haggrén, 2005, p. 82).

The notion of the Nordic values is meanwhile more often coined with Sweden rather than Denmark or Norway (Åström Elmersjö, 2020, p. 36). Is there a possibility, then, to focus on a transnational region as a single unit, rather than as the sum of its constituting countries? Does that preclude a deeper understanding of the interplay between part and whole? The focus of this thesis is on both since some articles treat each Nordic country as an independent entity, some as a representative of the Nordic region, and others as a coherent cultural region. This study is based on the principal observation that Norden has historically existed as an empirically observable phenomenon in the form of a set of widespread stereotypes, images and imaginings, as well as embodied in institutions for Nordic cooperation. I approach these representations of the Nordic region from the perspectives of communication and representation, intending to achieve a deeper insight into how such phenomena take rhetoric form and how they are framed by the feminine press in Poland and France. The analysis of this historical region departs from the idea that the region in question exists and has some distinctive traits that differentiate it from other European regions. This analysis also strives to critically approach the homogenous notion of the Nordic region and shows how it has been shaped by media. Simplifications are here intrinsic features of media narratives, and women's magazines are one of the most conspicuous examples of such simplifications. The production and reception of mediated representations is the outcome of many factors, such as growing professionalization of media production and the tendency in media to take a more commercial view of what kind of information is newsworthy. How editors and journalists perceive the market shapes the distributed representations of the Nordic region. Who controlled the content of the transmitted information also changed over time. At the beginning, all-powerful press editors of the early 19th century in some cases saw it as obviousness to publish all the material that arrived at the editor's office. Over time, however, they developed a professional identity and narrowed the definition of what is newsworthy material (Welbers & Opgenhaffen, 2018, p. 430).

3.4 Representations of the Nordic Region, the North, Norden or Scandinavia?

It is often the case that the Nordic region, or Norden (literally the North), has been defined synonymously as Scandinavia (Denmark, Norway, Sweden). Sometimes, the Nordic region has been referred to as Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Iceland and Finland. In some other cases, autonomous territories of Svalbard, the Faroe Islands, and Greenland have also been included. From an intra-Nordic perspective, assimilating the notion of Scandinavia and the Nordic region is inaccurate (Lavery, 2006, p. 2). Because this thesis focuses on the whole Nordic region, that is Scandinavia, Finland, Iceland, and autonomous territories, I refer to the region as "the Nordic region" or "Norden", a Nordic proper name for the region, interchangeably.

This chapter also investigates the representations of the Nordic region that have been created by the media outside the region, and how these images and imaginings have been shaped by mechanisms of mediation. Here, I follow Strömbäck to whom mediation describes a process of representation, which signifies situations in which media 'constitute the most important channels for information exchange and communication' (Strömbäck, 2008, p. 231). Taking the role of the media into account, they construct the Nordic region existing as a set of images that are maintained by specific discourses, imaginings and concepts units of a transnational character, constructed in independently operated media and connected to a narrative framework based on the notion that the given region has a distinctive and observable specificity. These concepts of regions are dynamic and of changing relationships following the actual geopolitical situation (Strömbäck, 2008, p. 232).

The concept of the Nordic region has emerged as a name for the lands and areas located in the North. Today, the Nordic region is thus used as a collective term for a region in the north (Sørensen & Stråth, 1997, p. 30). From a western geographical perspective, the Nordic countries are often placed at the top of the map, which makes the Nordic region a region of the Northern Calotte or more precisely a region of northern Europe (Björkman, 2011, pp. 37–45). From an outside-Nordic perspective, the Nordic region has also emerged as Europe's "outskirts", making Central Europe the center and the Nordic region a European periphery (Østergård, 2016, p. 30). What is put into focus, that is, what is perceived to be in the center, in the periphery, in the north or south, depends on the spectator's perspective. The perspective thus defines the viewer's orientation and the importance of the area (Janfelt, 2005, p. 123).

This makes the perspective a decisive factor in how to form mental geographies, for example in the form of a historical construction or imagined community (Østergård, 2016, p. 71; Sørensen & Stråth, 1997, p. 20). Is there then a center and a periphery in the Nordic countries, and if so from whose perspective? Who is in the periphery and who is outside? Before I go further into these issues, I would like to draw closer attention to the fact that the Nordic countries are often treated as a single entity (for instance in the women's magazines), despite numerous internal differences.

From an outside perspective, the Nordic countries are often regarded as peaceful and conflict-free regions. The background for this kind of view on Norden goes all the way to the beginning of the 20th century, when the Nordic countries, during the First World War, pursued a policy of neutrality in combination with investment in relief work in Europe. This helped the Nordic countries to be regarded as organized and helpful ones (Kurunmäki & Strang, 2018, p. 144). In other words, the external image of the Nordic countries has contributed to the management of the Nordic region as a unit, which in turn has contributed to the formation of the Nordic region as a represented community. A concrete example of this is the concept of the Nordic model that began to emerge during the first half of the 20th century and is still used today (Evensen, 2016, p. 45). The so-called Nordic model is mainly aimed at the perception of the Nordic countries as stable, peaceful, modern and democratic welfare societies. The Nordic region, as a model region in this sense, began to be established when Denmark was recognized for its public education and practical solutions to a long-term agricultural crisis (Törnquist et al., 2017, p. 45). In the 1930s due to the severe worldwide economic depression and, among other circumstances, growing skepticism towards liberal democracy around the world, the Nordic model seemed to present a success story (Musiał, 2002, pp. 10–11). The emergence of the image of Scandinavia as a progressive region was twofold – from the inside (native/*autostereotypes*) and from the outside (foreign/*xenostereotypes*). These images were correlated, and according to Kazimierz Musiał, the emergence of xenostereotypes shaped the autostereotypes constructed by the Scandinavians themselves [Musiał, 2002, p. 7]

Even before the 1930s, however, the Nordic countries had distinguished themselves from the rest of Europe, not only by their neutralist policy, but also by their "non-Catholic and non-imperialist" appearance (Hilson, 2013, p. 67). According to Hilson, this model as a concept was further strengthened during the Cold War when the Nordic countries, despite Denmark, Iceland and Norway's NATO membership, managed to stay out of the bipolar division of Europe. In the fall of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War, they also began to talk

about the Nordic model as an "export product" or a "movable concept", which was used, among other things, in connection with the Baltic countries' transition from former Soviet states to independent states (Hilson, 2013, p. 183). Also, from an intra-Nordic perspective, the region has been treated as a unit (Gustafsson, 2017, p. 76). For instance, in the case of Nordic history, in historical research tradition, the region is often treated from a national perspective. According to historian Harald Gustafsson, history writing gains from approaching the Nordic region as a whole, instead of talking about the history of the separate countries individually. In addition, the borders between the Nordic countries and between others "have been subject to major changes", which means that "it is an open question what should be considered for the Nordic countries" (Gustafsson, 2017, p. 15). Furthermore, Gustafsson believes that some areas and minorities do not fit into the "picture of the five countries" because, for example, Greenland already demands to be counted as a full-fledged Nordic country and the Sami, inhabiting both within and outside the Nordic countries, cannot be limited to a nationality.

The Nordic region neither can be delimited into an isolated unit since it constitutes a region shaped in a European context. The Nordicness or the perspective of the unity of the Nordic region is formed by both the actual physical space and the imagined (Harvard & Stadius, 2013, p. 11), which becomes evident while considering the existence of the Nordic region both, as a geographical and a historical region. The term "Nordic" is not just a geographical notion but a theoretical concept of the idea of the Other. Looking from outside of the region, the Nordic countries seem to have many similarities and often are referred to as a homogenous region (Egner, 2004, p. 71). Nordicness can be also perceived as the cultural identity of the Nordic countries, reified through self-perception, internationalization and national branding" (Loftsdóttir & Jensen, 2016, p. 2). The term is also understood as "a perception and recognition of a Nordic role in foreign policy" (Brommesson, 2018b, p. 391).

It is also important to distinguish between Norden and the "North", which in the imaginary of the Western world is transferred especially in the cultural field (books, poems, films etc.) and refers to the Thule-myth and also to more current representations functioning in the popular culture. Both are compound and rich in symbols (Chartier, 2007, p. 35). The idea of "North" has predominantly been analyzed in Europe, especially Scandinavia, English Canada and, most recently, Québec (Chartier, 2007; Kurunmäki & Strang, 2018; Petkova, 2009). The common ground for these studies is that the region is treated as a discursive system of "circumpolar" inclinations while turning our thoughts to "nordicity" and "winterity" (Chartier, 2007, p. 36). French traveler, Xavier Marmier, was the precursor of collating

different pieces of these imaginaries produced in many parts of the world: Scandinavia, Finland, French Canada, Russia and Poland (see Marmier, 2012). Years later, this picture was recomposed by Hamelin, who suggested discerning: "(A) Finno-Scandinavian (or Euronordic) space; (B) wintering (winter season space) in Western Europe; (c) in Canada, indigenous space before the arrival of Europeans; (d) the winter space of first [North American] colonizers; (e) the circumnordic space" (Hamelin, 2002, p. 39).

When referring to the North as to the Northern parts of the Nordic region, it is worth noticing that Sumarlidi Ísleifsson and Daniel Chartier (2011) extracted general images about this part of the region that remained actual until the 21st century which are:

- The Utopian North: According to these imaginations, people live a primitive and self-sufficient life in the far North, in balance with nature. These ideas are common today in Iceland, the Faroe Islands, Greenland, and the northern part of Scandinavia.

- The Historical or Original North: Ideas about the original North are also thriving. According to them, we can still find traces in the far North of the early culture of Europe. Culture and traditions are believed to have survived in the far North but lost elsewhere.

- The Creative North: Closely related to this belief is the idea that the North is a place of creativity and freedom. Some believe that people and nature have a closer relationship in the far North than elsewhere and that this relationship engenders the desire for freedom and initiative.

- The Progressive North: The image of the progressive North is also applied to regions in the far North, at least to Iceland, but it is more common to think of the Nordic region as a whole as being progressive.

- The Unfeeling or Unemotional North: It is common to contrast the cold, unfeeling, quiet, and material North to the warm, emotional, and cheerful South.

- The Wealthy North: In the last decades it has become increasingly more common to consider the far North as a place of cultural and material wealth. The far North is considered rich in cultural heritage and also in raw materials and energy (…).

- The Evil or Immoral North: According to these ideas, life in the North is still defined by cruelty. This image is exemplified by Faroese whaling and Greenlandic drinking, as well as Icelandic overindulgence, both alcoholic and sexual (…). (Ísleifsson & Chartier, 2011, pp. 17–18).

It is interesting in the light of this thesis that some of the above images remind us of the representations framed by women's magazines. The picture of the Northern parts of the region is constructed in a similar way as the whole of Norden is being framed by the magazines.

Since the terms *Norden, North*, *the Nordic region* or *Scandinavia* need clarification, the same requires *Nordicness*, *nordicity* and *northernes*. Nordicness, the term I refer to in the analysis, cannot be considered an essential phenomenon. Nordicness is a set of representations and imposes a variety of perspectives. According to Burch, Norden should be understood as a

metaframe (Burch, 2010, p. 565)*,* to which corresponding *mesoframes* can be attached. Both meta- and mesoframes make up discursive entities. A mesoframe, for instance, *Nordic cuisine* or *Nordic model* is a narrowed interpretation scheme in this sense. Burch also adds: "Put harshly, Norden is an add-on; a pleasant diversion; a convenient tool for marketing and a means for the affluent nations of northern Europe to have a profile that belies their international importance." (Burch, 2010, p. 565). Nordicness, a notion which I adopt in this thesis, can also signify a special *regionness* that comes to light in allegedly Nordic ways of shaping politics and society, living a particular lifestyle (Kuldkepp & Marklund, 2015, p. 213). This regionness and its elements will also be visible in the empirical chapter. The aspect which I omit due to the lack of examples from the women's magazines is the understanding of Nordicness from the perspective of international relations. Nordicness is the perception and recognition of a Nordic role in foreign policy (Brommesson, 2018b).

Nordicity, on the other hand, seems to be equivalent to a Nordic identity, or further – to a Nordic brand – a narrative about the Nordic identity (Browning, 2007, p. 39). Browning, in his article about Norden as a brand, refers to Nordicity as a narrative by which *Nordic brand* or *Nordic experience* and *way of doing things* is being constructed. Besides, according to him, the notion of Nordicity revolves around elements such as culture, geography and history of the Nordic region and refers to the five Nordic states – Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Finland and Iceland) (Browning, 2007, p. 37).

Nordicity is a term that for instance occurs in Chartier's works, where he mentions Hamelin and his concept of *geographic Nordicity* that apart from the five Nordic states encompasses also Greenland, Canada, Alaska and Russia (Chartier, 2007, p. 38):

The lack of North American identification with the North has resulted in a dearth of vocabulary to reveal the reality of it: according to Hamelin, the French and English languages simply do not have the words to reflect the phenomena related to the cold, winter and the Arctic. Thus the need to create new words to grasp the North in all its complexity. Although neologisms are perceived as designating "additional knowledge, in fact, they increase our awareness (…). (Chartier, 2007, p. 39)

Therefore, Nordicity (or *nordicité* in French) is a term denoting a comprehensive *state of the North* and refers to areas where snow and cold is characteristic (Chartier, 2007, p. 40). When it comes to the linguistic aspects of the term, Chartier writes:

"Nord" in French referred to Europe alone until the 1960s; today the word designates the entire circumpolar region. The French neologisms "nordicité," "hivernité," "glaciel" and "glissité" are now commonly used. The English equivalent, "nordicity," is considered a Canadianism, but its use is quickly extending to other Nordic cultures. Swedish and Norwegian equivalents for these terms could be proposed – equivalents that could be useful in the northology studies presently under way (Chartier, 2007, p. 41).

In this way, due to the broad meaning of the term Nordicity referring to both, a vast area of the Nordic hemisphere and the aspects of cold and winterity, in this thesis the term Nordicness will be employed.

3.5 Construction of a common Nordic identity

Community is a broad concept that can refer to mutual relationships in groups of different kinds. Thus, there is nothing that can define how large or small a group must be to form a community. However, the characteristics of a community are common norms, that is, shared views of what is acceptable and normal within the community. In relation to conventions, which are based on customary patterns and traditions, norms are much more binding and thus characteristic of a community (Nordman, 2009, p. 103). In the case of the Nordic region, it constitutes a more advanced version of Anderson's imagined community that is "natural entity" (Janfelt, 2005, pp. 33–34):

In the Nordic countries, "Norden" is an idea and a concept that evokes unequivocally positive associations for almost everyone connoting notions of a community of values that transcends boundaries of language and culture. (Østergård, 2002)

Is it then possible to trace the emergence of the idea of Norden? How can the relationship between Norden as a mental construct and the geographical realities be described? When we refer to this part of Europe from a strictly geographical point of view we should employ the term "Northern Europe" rather than Norden. This location has a major drawback, especially for Danes, because of locating Denmark as a part of Northern Germany, an area from which Danes usually try to dissociate themselves from. Despite the popularity of the notion of an assumed Nordic unity, the relationship between a common "Nordic" identity and the sovereign nation-states of which Norden actually consists, remains basically vague for the citizens of this North European region (Østergård, 2002). Sweden and Norway dissolved their

union in 1905 on relatively good terms. Finland became a distinct entity in 1809 and achieved complete independence in 1917. Iceland separated from Denmark in 1944. The Faroe Islands gained their autonomy in 1948, and Greenland in 1979. The Åland Islands were accorded status as a self-governing part of Finland in 1921 (Björkman, 2011; Gustafsson, 2017; Hastrup, 1992).

Nowadays, the independent nation-states of Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Finland and Iceland, together with the autonomous regions, the Aaland Islands, the Faroe Islands and Greenland, perceive themselves as small, peaceful and peace-loving democratic countries. There is for example a well-known concept, the so-called "Third Way", the model of the "Nordic" welfare state represented between the two dominant superpowers and their attendant ideologies, which lasted until the breakdown of the Communist block (Andersson, 2006). It may be questionable whether a "Nordic model" from an "intra-Nordic" perspective in the real sense ever existed at all. Danes, Norwegians and Swedes have never seen themselves as representatives of one consistent and distinctive social model (Christoffersen & Hastrup, 1983, p. 3), as national differences have always been considered too significant. The idea of Norden as a conscious Social Democratic equivalent to the continental European class struggles between bourgeoisie, workers and peasants first emerged abroad with the classic work of American journalist – Marquis Childs'– from 1936, and peaked with Gösta Esping-Andersen's analysis of the Nordic welfare states as different variations on a one Social Democratic strategy. Esping-Andersen names three variations of "welfare capitalism": the social democratic, the liberal and the conservative one (Esping-Andersen, 1990).

Despite various difficulties, the Nordic countries still provide a shining example of social order and internal democracy – not only for the insiders but also for citizens of other countries also outside Europe. Regardless of the existence or otherwise of a Nordic model based on a shared identity, the five Nordic countries function more smoothly than the majority of societies. Most inhabitants of non-Nordic European countries have embraced the notion to such an extent that it transmuted to the mythical notion of Nordic unity as forming an equipoise to the idea of Europe (Hilson, 2013). However, Nordic history and culture is just one dimension of European patterns and themes, that as a result of different geopolitical conditions, has developed into Lutheran, nationally homogeneous and socially democratic small states. Nevertheless, a dimension on common European values. With two republican exceptions, contemporary Nordic states share the Lutheran monarchical heritage. Their

heritage is symbolized by the Christian cross in eight of the national flags of the Nordic countries (Göthe, 2006).

We may definitely acknowledge that Norden has been constructed and reconstructed as time went by through the dynamics of everyday life, different encounters and interactions. Historical and archaeological research confirms that the present-day Nordic region communities progressively established a tight network of political, social, economic and cultural exchange since the Early Middle Ages. The Kalmar Union (1397–1523) was the longest constellation of that kind. It joined Denmark (including territories of contemporary Norway, Greenland, Iceland and the Faroe Islands) with Sweden (including the South-West of contemporary Finland). The elements that are considered to have the most significant impact on Nordic people's identities and mentalities were common historical structures and institutions such as the Lutheran state-church, centralization of the state, pragmatic character of the Nordic form of Enlightenment, and the relative freedom, as well as early political participation of the land-owning peasants (Götz, 2003, pp. 328–331; Hilson, 2008, pp. 11–17; Stenius, 1997, pp. 21–23).

Eventually, after 1864 and the failure of political pan-Scandinavianism due to Sweden-Norway refusal to military aid to Denmark during the Second War of Schleswig against Prussia-Austria, the visions of pan-Scandinavism gave place to "Nordism". The idea based on common Nordic identity and heritage remained but is now constructed on the principle of particular nation-states. It means that Nordicness as a regional kind of identity was now based on what it meant to be a Swede, Dane, Finn, Norwegian, or Icelander, instead of being just a complement to the primary national identifications (Jalava, 2013, p. 251). The pan-Nordic cross-national identification had its heyday during the times of the postwar era until the collapse of the Soviet Bloc. Thenceforth, the Nordic countries, with first and foremost Sweden, were perceived as the leaders of modernity. At that time, the Nordic welfare state functioned as a demarcation from the rest of Europe. The North was Protestant, democratic, progressive, and egalitarian, whereas capitalist Europe, as well as the Eastern Bloc was Catholic and conservative (Stenius, 1997, p. 22).

The relativity of the concept of the Nordic region from a language perspective has been approached by Östman when he discussed language contacts and community in the Nordic countries (2011). Traditionally, the Nordic countries have been perceived linguistically as a

very homogeneous area (Östman, 2011, p. 120). This view persists today, despite the fact that the Nordic countries occupy a number of both, linguistic and cultural areas and the number of languages in the Nordic countries has also increased dramatically in the last decades (Sanders, 2017, p. 20). The image of the Nordic region as a unit, both linguistically and culturally, leads to the definition of the Nordic region as a represented community according to Anderson's definition. As an important background factor to the imagined community of the Nordic region, Östman sees the mythical image of "the old good days" when the Nordic countries formed a welded community with shared linguistic, ideological and political interests (Östman, 2011, p. 97).

It is also important to emphasize the role of associations in the Nordic countries in the formation of a Nordic identity and of "the Nordic idea", which can be referred to as an imagined community with "the emotional and ideological soundbacks of Nordic cooperation" (Janfelt, 2005, p. 86). In other words, the region as an imagined community had been formed through a purposeful identity-building that has emerged as a result of nationalism (Janfelt, 2005, p. 14). As a backdrop to the Nordic idea, the romanticization of Old Norse culture and 19th-century Scandinavism are regarded as critical (Piotrowski, 2006, p. 45). However, the 19th-century political Scandinavism perceived Nordic associations as "hopeless and overly imaginative project", whereas, by contrast, 20th-century Nordicism was considered "factual and reasonable" (Piotrowski, 2006, p. 90). What made Scandinavism perceived as unrealistic was the goal to purely politically "complete the unity of the Nordic countries" (Janfelt, 2005, p. 220). Nordicism on the other hand was meant to become a natural part of nationalism. The parallels to a nationalist ideology were perceived as one of the cornerstones of Nordicism (Piotrowski, 2006, p. 124).

The founding of the Nordic associations after the First World War is an important element in the creation of the Nordic unity idea. This argument is reinforced by the fact that the Nordic associations actively worked for the naturalization and reproduction of the Nordic unity thought by, for example, publishing annual books, arranging meetings and exchanges and introducing a Nordic perspective and a Nordic education to school and education (Janfelt, 2005, pp. 76–89). Despite the active role of the Nordic associations in the creation of a Nordic identity, the early 20th-century Nordicism and the distancing from Scandinavianism in Nordic research was hardly noticed (Østergård, 2016, p. 43).

3.6 The Nordic region – center or peripheries?

The unity of the Nordic countries has been formed both, consciously and subconsciously in recent decades (Kurunmäki & Strang, 2018, p. 182). Namely, what creates the Nordic region and the Nordic community has changed over time, which has also led to changed perspectives on the Nordic region, both inside and outside the Nordic region. In this section, I look at how the Nordic countries have changed from an inside perspective since the Scandinavian 19th century, focusing on the concepts such as center and periphery.

Both, during the 19th century Scandinavism and the 20th century Nordicism, the initiatives for increased Nordic cooperation were mainly taken by Danes and Swedes. The basic idea of political Scandinavism was to unite Sweden, Norway and Denmark. The fact that Norway was already in union with Sweden was seen as a step towards a union despite the fact that the Norwegians had a reserved attitude to a Scandinavian union (Haapala et al., 2017, p. 80). During the mid-1800s, there were also strong sympathies for reuniting Finland with the former motherland of Sweden, but otherwise, Finland and Iceland were hardly noticed in the Scandinavian project. A dominant reason for this was that the Scandinavian idea was largely based on the idea of a common Scandinavian language, which thus constituted a community that Icelanders and Finns fell outside. Scandinavism can thus be described as a predominantly Danish-Swedish matter, which also places these countries in the center of Scandinavism (Gustafsson, 2017, p. 190).

Although the Scandinavians distanced themselves from Scandinavianism and were keen to present Nordicism as something modern in the new Nordic community, Scandinavianism nevertheless constituted an indisputable background (Haapala et al., 2017, p. 76). As in Scandinavianism, initiatives were again taken to increase Nordic cooperation in the form of the Nordic associations of Denmark and Sweden. Norway, too, joined the Swedish-Danish association initiatives, despite some doubts about the recent union dissolution with Sweden. (Janfelt, 2005, p. 25). From the perspective of the Norwegians, therefore, these three countries came to be perceived as the Nordic region's core area and center (Janfelt, 2005, p. 126). In other words, Denmark, Norway and Sweden discussed the borders of the Nordic countries, while Finland and Iceland were included as "complementary Nordic countries", which in practice came to appear as a Nordic periphery (Janfelt, 2005, p. 135).

The Scandinavian countries appear until today to be the center of the Nordic region, while Iceland and Finland are perceived "peripherical" both by themselves and by the Scandinavians (Faber & Nielsen, 2015, p. 3). However, if one approaches the Nordic region in a wider sense as a region of Northern Europe, the Nordic borders and periphery can be further discussed. For instance, while looking at Denmark's role as both, the southern border of the Nordic countries and the Nordic region's door to Southern Europe. Also, the concept of the Nordic region is sometimes extended to Estonia and Latvia (Björkman, 2011, p. 125). Among other things, Finland, in the early 1800s, was regarded with particular interest by Latvian journalists because the country, belonging to the Russian Empire, was perceived as more Baltic than Scandinavian (Ščerbinskis, 2011, p. 126). One must also have in mind the Arctic's role in the Nordic region, which from a political and historic perspective will not be discussed further in this thesis. Yet, the Arctic will appear in the context of representations of the region in question. Discussion about the scope of the Nordic region thus results in the finding that the Nordic borders are formed from the eyes of the beholder and the Nordic periphery can extend anywhere from southern Denmark to the northern capes of Greenland. Today, Nordic co-operation also extends beyond the "traditional Nordic borders" through a developed collaboration with the Nordic metaregions, that is Nordic partners such as the Baltic countries and western Russia (Östman, 2011, p. 359).

Finally, the space surrounding people is constantly adapted by them, assimilated, used and shaped. Unknown and uncharted areas are at first conceptualized as homogeneous. By visiting them or simply getting to know better, those areas have been divided and diversified by setting boundaries, giving them different values, meanings and individual names. While dividing the world man separated the world that was known well from the one that remained alien. Regions and their spaces have become a system of information and meanings for residents and newcomers. This system was noticed by them, classified and structured constituting the basis for various spatial decisions (Wódz, 1989). Constant looking at the Nordic region leads to the emergence of its representations. The places we live in play a special role in this process. Consciously or not, they are compared to other places, which leads to the emergence and then consolidation of some collective beliefs about the existence of regions: better and worse, more colorful and more gray, more interesting and boring. A certain stereotype arises and perpetuates in the minds of people, i.e. a set of various features being arbitrary and characteristics of parts of the region. People adapt the existing space to their imaginations and needs and mark it through their behavior (Jałowiecki & Szczepański,

2006) and this is also the case in the example of the Nordic region. The outcome of these common beliefs in the form of representations leads to a preliminary observation based on women's magazines, that the Nordic region became the new center of Europe, when it comes to cultural, social, and economic aspects and this will be elaborated in the empirical chapter.

4. Representations of the Nordic region and Nordicness in Polish and French women's magazines

4.1 Cultural capital of Norden

By following methodological assumptions in this thesis and the process of classifying the articles to the particular frames, it appears that both, Polish and French women's magazines do not turn meticulous attention to the aspects of popular culture of the Nordic region. This ascertainment is made on a purely quantitative basis, that is the number of articles from Polish and French magazines. There are 25 articles from the analyzed magazines in the Polish journalistic field concerning popular culture and 12 extracted from the French journalistic field. It constitutes the second least numerous meta-frame from the whole analyzed material. It does not mean, however, that the Nordic culture in terms of, for instance, the film industry, tv-series, books or music is underestimated in the women's magazines in both countries. The content shows that the Nordic culture is framed as popular and of outstanding qualities.

In this thesis, I understand popular culture as a sub-field of the cultural field. Popular culture is the field that is interesting for women's magazines in general, Polish and French magazines are not an exception here. From this perspective, we can ask the question what does the popularity of certain popular culture phenomena consists of? In this context, what is the reason for the popularity of certain movies, books or TV series from the Nordic countries? One possible answer would say that these phenomena, people, places and works are popular because they "deliver varied pleasures, socially significant diverse features (gender, age, place of residence, education, place occupied in social hierarchies, etc.) to individuals" (Krajewski, 2003, p. 54). So what becomes popular is what allows individuals to fulfill different needs, desires or aspirations. Women's magazines need to adjust to the taste of their readers on the one hand and on the other also create certain representations of the popular culture and the Nordic culture is one of the examples.

4.1.1. Literature and film

Compared to books sold, lent by libraries, publishers and media attention, the crime literature (and more generally the crime fiction in the visual media) in the Nordic region is one of the

most voluminous and perhaps the most influential cultural genres and consumer goods (Agger & Waade, 2010, p. 5). The Nordic crime has been characterized as special both in the home countries and abroad reality-facing and socially critical reflective of everything from late modern family patterns and gender issues for the welfare society finally exposed to a growing neoliberal agenda with associated globalization dynamics. The Nordic version of contemporary crime is the welfare state crime – a term that points to a large part of the criminals' preoccupation, especially with welfare issues on both, the social and individual plan. The Scandinavian crime culture as a whole has gone from being a primarily importing culture to exporting culture. This means that it can offer something to an international audience, as well as to a home audience (Nestingen, 2008, p. 13).

From the articles found in the Polish magazines, the Nordic countries are constructed as being characterized by large stock of cultural capital, which is coined with the symbolic capital. For instance, bringing up the awards given to a book, author, film or its director is a form of reference to the symbolic capital. It also occurs by referring to, for example, the number of book translations:

Powieść jest wprawdzie mocno związana ze Szwecją, ale zachwyciła czytelników na całym świecie. Została przetłumaczona na około 60 języków, a Francuski dziennik "Le Monde" uznał ją za jedną ze stu najlepszych książek XX wieku. (Kołaczek, 2017)
[Novel is admittedly strongly connected with Sweden, it has yet fascinated readers all over the world. It was translated into around 60 languages, and the French daily "Le Monde" recognized it as one of the hundred best books of the twentieth century.]

All such rankings, lists or overviews legitimate the positions of broadly defined Nordic artists in the global cultural field. Just like in the above case of "the Wonderful Adventures of Nils" by Selma Lagerlöf. This kind of cultural recognition, the objectified forms of the legitimacy of cultural capital consist also in institutional recognition whether in form of prizes, awards, reviews, and others is a frequent measure in the analyzed texts. Women's magazines from both countries tend to focus exclusively on the recognized representatives of the Nordic cultural field. They do not write about less popular or hardly known artists and cultural events. In other words, to appear in the women's magazines in Poland and France, the Nordic artists should be characterized by a considerable degree of recognition. The artists evoked in the analyzed articles were for instance Björk ("Kolejny Nowy Utwór Bjork w Sieci!," 2011; S. O'Brien, 2015) or Thomas Vinterberg:

(1)Thomas Vinterberg – najważniejszy obok Larsa von Triera reżyser – zaprasza w sentymentalną podróż do czasów własnego dzieciństwa. Ale jego "Komuna" to nie tyle opowieść o czasach filozofii love&peace, czasów dzieci-kwiatów, ale opowieść o dramacie rodzinnym z nieoczekiwanym zwrotem akcji. ("Film Na Weekend: Komuna, Czyli Do Czego Może Doprowadzić Nuda," 2016)

[Thomas Vinterberg – the most important director next to Lars von Trier – invites into a sentimental journey to his childhood. But his "the Commune" is not a story about times of love & peace philosophy, times of flower children, but the story of a family drama with an unexpected twist.]

(2)Vinterberg sam spędził dzieciństwo z rodzicami w hipisowskiej wspólnocie, dzięki czemu w "Komunie" z autobiograficzną przenikliwością obserwuje swoich bohaterów i sytuacje, w jakich się znajdują. ("'Komuna'. Najnowszy Film Thomasa Vinterberga," 2016)

[Vinterberg himself spent his childhood with his parents in a hippie community, thanks to which he made "the Commune", where with an autobiographical insight he observes its heroes and situations.]

"The Commune", movie from 2016, was one of the few movies, which reviews could be found in the analyzed Polish magazines. The director, Thomas Vinterberg is described as one of the most important Danish directors next to Lars von Trier. Not many other directors or movies from the Nordic region were mentioned in the analyzed articles. To illustrate the main topic of the articles about Nordic films or books, there are usually photos of the film posters or action shots[1]:

Picture 1 The Commune of Thomas Vinterberg /press materials ("'Komuna'. Najnowszy Film Thomasa Vinterberga," 2016)

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[1] The photographs included in this thesis are used pursuant to Article 29 of the Act on Copyright and Related Rights, which allows their use as part of research activity.

While in the Polish magazines the visual material usually contains some screen shots from the movies (like the example of Thomas Vinterberg's film), the French magazines usually depict the official movie posters, like the one below:
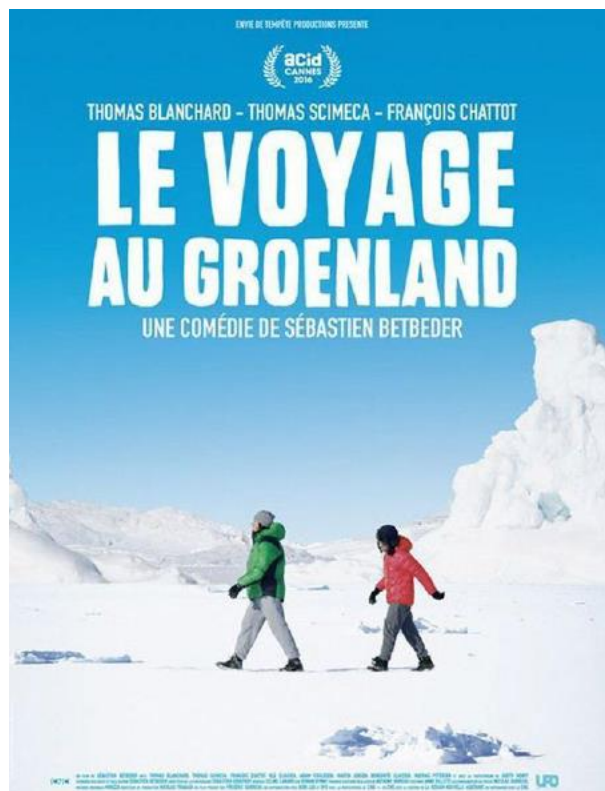
Picture 2 Le Voyage au Groenland movie poster / Production (Moussou, 2017)

Apart from the movies, Nordic literature is mentioned in the articles. The most representative example is Astrid Lindgren:

Odeszła w ciszy, dyskretnie, podczas snu. Miała 94 lata. W imponującym kondukcie z udziałem ponad stu tysięcy osób, w tym premiera Szwecji, rodziny królewskiej, ministrów i ambasadorów, wzrok wszystkich przykuwała mała dziewczynka z warkoczykami prowadząca za trumną białego konia. Takie było ostatnie życzenie Astrid Lindgren. ("Asteroida Lindgren," 2015)

[She passed away in silence, discreetly, while sleeping. She was 94 years old. At an impressive funeral with the participation of over one hundred thousand people, including the prime minister of Sweden, the royal family, ministers and ambassadors, everyone's attention was caught by a little girl with pigtails leading behind the coffin of a white horse. That was Astrid Lindgren's last wish.]

Even the description of her funeral constructs her as a legend. Despite being a distinguished writer, she is framed as a modest person, who lived a simple life. The articles found in the

Polish magazines ("Asteroida Lindgren," 2015; "Astrid Lindgren Jakiej Nie Znamy," 2017), referred not only to her works but also contextualized living in Sweden back then. They outline the social relations in Scandinavia at the beginning of the 20th century, which contrasts with the contemporary image of the progressive and tolerant place:

Lekarze z "Królestwa" jako jedyni w całej Skandynawii nie informowali władz, gdy na oddziale rodziła niezamężna nastolatka. Dzięki temu Astrid mogła sama zdecydować, co zrobi z synem (w Szwecji zgodnie z prawem zaraz po porodzie trafiłby do przytułku bez możliwości kontaktu z matką). ("Asteroida Lindgren," 2015)

[Doctors from the "the Kingdom" were the only ones in all of Scandinavia who did not inform the authorities when an unmarried teenager gave birth. Thanks to this, Astrid could decide for herself what she would do with her son (in Sweden, he would be taken to a shelter right after the birth without the possibility to contact his mother).]

Astrid Lindgren has been described as a person, who lived a normal life, having problems like average people. Yet, the articles pay homage to her as am eminent writer ("Asteroida Lindgren," 2015; "Astrid Lindgren Jakiej Nie Znamy," 2017; Bonte, 2015b; Dussard, 2010). Her books have been translated into over a hundred languages, and that is the main axis around which her image as an icon is constructed. Astrid Lindgren has been framed in the analyzed magazines as a person of strong integrity yet balancing the division between a private and a public person, which is visible in the differentiations between the various roles she was portrayed in. Like many others, she struggled with becoming a teenager in love with the wrong man, marital problems and concerns about the children and aging parents. The articles about Astrid Lindgren consist also of photos of the author, for instance:

Picture 3 Astrid Lindgren / East News, ("Asteroida Lindgren," 2015)

These photographs are predominantly taken from photography agencies (like the East News in the above example) and depict portraits of Lindgren. It leaves no doubt when looking at the picture as to whom the article is devoted. Here, we have the photograph of an eminent writer being an older lady, yet having a bright appearance (even though the eyes are not visible through the sunglasses). This picture corresponds with what is often underlined in the articles, that Astrid Lindgren was indeed a "lovely" or "cheerful" person ("Asteroida Lindgren," 2015; "Astrid Lindgren Jakiej Nie Znamy," 2017). This brightness has a double meaning here, since it refers both to the appearance of the writer and the ray of lights illuminating her. But except for portraits, there was one photograph from "Twój Styl", where we can see a family portrait:

Picture 4 The Lindgren family / The Astrid Lindgren Company, ("Astrid Lindgren Jakiej Nie Znamy," 2017)

Little Astrid (the third from the left) in this black-and-white photograph looks like coming from a close-knit family (holding hands, discrete smiles of some of the members, children in the center). It is a visual record of the history of his family at a given moment in time. It took place in the interiors of a photographic studio, yet gives a reader of the article an insight into a private sphere of Astrid Lindgren's life. The photograph corresponds with the title of the article: "Astrid Lindgren we do not know much about".

Tove Jansson is another writer coming from the Nordic region, who's figure appears in the articles:

Miałam niespełna 6 lat i sylabizując uparcie słowa, pochłaniałam kolejne tomy, nie wychodząc prawie z pokoju. Zaniepokojona rodzina wezwała w końcu lekarza, który roześmiał się tylko i oznajmił moim zaniepokojonym

rodzicom, że nic mi nie jest. To tylko Muminki wciągnęły mnie w swój świat, a to jest jak choroba. I tak dorastałam wraz z sympatycznymi trollami pod ręką, które wspierają mnie nadal, gdy jestem chora albo gdy mam zły dzień. (Kuydowicz, 2013)

[I was less than six years old and while willfully spelling words, I absorbed more volumes without almost leaving the room. The worried family finally called the doctor, who only laughed and told my concerned parents that I was all right. It is only the Moomins who had drawn me into their world, and it is like a disease. And so I grew up with nice trolls close at hand, who support me still when I'm sick or when I have a bad day.].

These types of articles are very personal or even intimate, they reveal the most personal spheres of life of the writers. However, the articles about iconic writers like Jansson (appeared only in the Polish magazines) or Lindgren, are just exceptions in comparison to other type of writers due to the position of the popular culture in the modern societies. This interest in popular or folk aesthetics can be observed in the analyzed articles, as they mainly refer to the uncomplicated yet intriguing type of literature. It is then not surprising that one of the most popular genre of Nordic literature in Poland and France is crime fiction and thrillers. The cultural sections of magazines contain reviews of such books. Norden provides a perfect setting for crime stories and detective riddles, as we can read about "unfamiliar setting" or "Scandinavian melancholy" ("Śnieg Przykryje Śnieg," 2015). However, apart from being a sort of entertainment for the audience, quite often they also convey messages about serious matters:

To również główny wątek najnowszej ekranizacji powieści Nesbø „Pierwszy śnieg". Feminizm w Skandynawii jest najbardziej radykalny i ugruntowany. Ale pod tą nowoczesną powierzchnią być może nadal bulgocze, wrze seksistowski patriarchalizm. Mówi o tym głośne „Millenium" Stiega Larssona. Pierwsza część trylogii nosi nawet tytuł: „Mężczyźni, którzy nienawidzą kobiet". Objawieniem tej prozy jest jej bohaterka, Lisbeth Salander. Genialna hakerka, która z zimną furią bierze brawurowy odwet za wszystkie okrucieństwa, jakich doznała z rąk męskich oprawców. Nic dziwnego, że stała się feministyczną ikoną. Jest symboliczną figurą krwawej wendetty kobiet za ich wielowiekowe tortury i cierpienia. (Harland, 2018)

[This is also the main theme of the latest screening of Nesbø's novel 'the First Snow'. Feminism in Scandinavia is very radical and well-established. But under this modern surface, it may be, that the sexist patriarchism is still bobbling, boiling. This is what Stieg Larsson's 'Millenium' is about. The first part of the trilogy even bears the title 'Men who hate women'. The revelation of this prose is its heroine, Lisbeth Salander. A brilliant hacker who, with cold fury, takes a daring retaliation for all the atrocities she suffered at the hands of male tormentors. No fcookie

wonder she has become a feminist icon. She is a symbolic figure of the bloody vendetta of women for their centuries-long torture and suffering.].

The aspect of feminism in the Nordic culture is often evoked in this context. The Nordic region is being framed as progressive, where women have a better position in their own society in comparison to other societies. Yet, there are also flaws in the social systems, and the according to the articles, these books reinforce them. Lisbet Salander is considered the most vivdi example here. An icon. The same applies to the Tv series, like in the case of the "Borgen", which raises the problem of power and politics:

On y suit les aventures politiques d'une femme Premier ministre. Mais à l'écran comme dans la vie, être femme au pouvoir n'est toujours pas chose évidente. (Sigrist, 2012)

[We follow the political adventures of a female prime minister. But on the screen, as in life, being a woman in power is still not obvious.]

Usually, the articles about such socially involved books and series analyze the ones that touch upon problems of women. The genre has its term: "femi-crime" and it appears in magazines for describing crime novels written with a special focus on women. The prefix "femi-" has a double meaning. "Femi" can both mean feminine and feminist, yet both words can be traced back to the Latin word "femina", that is "woman". Femi-crime is framed as both the author's gender, the point of view from which the fictional world is viewed, and the basic attitude of the work. Femi criminal novels are thus feminine, because they are written by women and from a female perspective on the world. They are feminist, because the basic attitude of the works is feminist.

The term has been used in relation to the authors such as: Kim Småge, Ditte Birkemose, Anne Holt, Liza Marklund, Gretelise Holm, Sara Blædel, Elsebeth Egholm and Camilla Läckberg (Dussard, 2010; Potel, 2016; Poyer, 2017; "Śnieg Przykryje Śnieg," 2015). All of the books are characterized by being written by female writers and having a female detective as the protagonist. Thus, another distinction seems to be made in the magazines between the femi-crime and feminist criminal literature. In the word form, a femi-crime novel denotes crime novels written by female writers who have a female detective, while feminist crime literature is a broader term that covers all crime novels that have a feminist basic attitude. Both Peter Høeg's novel "Smilla's Sense of Snow" (1993) and Stieg Larsson's "Men Who Hate Women" (2005) and the following volumes of the Millennium Trilogy are framed as feminist crime novels, though the authors are men. The analysis shows that femi-crime is based on the assumption, that a genre is made up of a group of texts that share many codes

concerning, for example, author, environment, character gallery, and plot. The genre is also perceived as having a specific esthetic.

The articles about the strong women figures in literature or films often depict them as below:

Picture 5 Lisbeth Salander from "Millenium" thrilogy / no caption (Dussard, 2010)

This scene photo has been placed above the title of the article about the Nordic noir genre in the film industry. It presents an almost iconic character from Stig Larsson's book (here her movie counterpart). It depicts a quite unusual feminine heroine – a strong and rebellious one. Her appearance (black clothes and make-up, gun in her hands) is gloomy and grim. Maybe even evil. Lisbet Salander represents a new and different type of heroine who, like a litmus test, shows what is happening in the world around them. She is a symbol telling us that under the surface of Scandinavian, seemingly optimistic societies, there is some inexplicable darkness.

Nordic popular culture and its representatives usually seem to touch upon very fragile topics, when analyzing especially the Polish articles. Also, it seems that movies made mainly by foreign directors are an opportunity to deconstruct the image of Scandinavia as a space of liberty, independence and happiness (Chorębała, 2010; Czerkawski, 2018; "Film „Obce Niebo": Historia Polskich Emigrantów Oparta Na Faktach," 2015; Kazimierowska, 2013; Pluciński, 2013). These controversies capture the attention of journalists and are ground for a deeper analysis of the Nordic society. This is also relevant to books, for instance, Steinar Bragi and his book "Women" ("Konur"):

Autor z przerażającą dosadnością ukazuje problemy nękające islandzkie społeczeństwo – alkoholizm, przedmiotowe traktowanie kobiet oraz przemoc wobec nich, a także wewnętrzną pustkę i moralny upadek elit,

zwłaszcza kręgów wielkiej finansiery. Książka – nazywana przez wydawcę thrillerem politycznym – przedstawia nacisk, które właśnie ta grupa wywiera na życie klasy średniej. (Chorębała, 2010)

[The author portrays the problems of the Icelandic society with frightening bluntness – alcoholism, the treatment of women and the violence against them, as well as the internal emptiness and moral collapse of the elites, especially the milieu of finance. The book – called by the publisher a political thriller – presents the pressure that this group exerts on the life of the middle class.]

Some of the analyzed articles, like in the above example, evoke the issue of alcoholism or violence as topics raised in the books. Yet, it is often mentioned in such contexts that a given book or film constitutes a type of deconstruction of Norden. Norden, which is often framed as a wonderful place to live, is from time to time deconstructed in such articles (Bonte, 2015b; Czerkawski, 2018; Pavi, 2009). This kind of narrative, representing an anti-utopia of lack of recognition, tolerance and mutual respect regardless of individual differences (such as gender), is framed uncritically as a representation of the society, like in the above "the author portrays the problems of the Icelandic society with frightening bluntness" (Chorębała, 2010).

4.1.2. From peripheries to center of the cultural field

In both, Polish and French magazines, Nordic books or movies are framed as a type of conveyors of the Nordic culture – a kind of lens through which the recipients or viewers experience another culture and the intricacies of the Nordic society. In recent years, especially the Nordic crime fiction and detective series have become a specific cultural phenomenon. In the literature, the popularity of the genre was initiated in the 60s and 70s by Maj Sjöwall and Per Wahlöö, as well as, among other book series, "Millennium" by Stieg Larsson, contributed to the immense popularity (Rogoż, 2019; Helgesson et al., 2018; Waade, 2017; Nestingen, 2008). These books are frequently referred to in the press as a "phenomenon" or "cultural phenomenon", for instance, in the articles about Stieg Larsson's phenomenon and the Nordic crime fiction as a larger cultural framework (Harland, 2018; Neveux, 2008; Poyer, 2017; Thierry, 2014).

As far as Nordic noir is concerned, Polish and French women's magazines construct the Nordic region as possessing large amounts of capital (both cultural, symbolic and consequently economic), which resulted in placing the region in the center of the cultural field when it comes to noir, while previously dominating Britain and the USA seem to occupy more

peripherical position in the field. Therefore, by analyzing women's magazines one gets the impression that this relationship between the periphery and the center for crime fiction production has indeed been moving in recent years. This is coined with the situation, where in the past, crime novels or crime movies and series were imported from the United States and the United Kingdom on a large scale. Today the Nordic crime fiction and movies achieve widespread popularity, and are therefore widely exported. Previously, Nordic noir focused primarily on the domestic public, but today they increasingly target a common Nordic and international audience (Agger & Waade, 2010, p. 5).

With the spread of popular culture, or with the advent of mass culture, the status of the center in the sense of the dominance of specific and universally significant symbolic capital – in the understanding of the main source of culture patterns – has been blurred. Popular culture itself disturbed a certain hierarchy resulting from the classical division into a high and low culture. From the historical perspective, this division was usually correlated with the spatial empowerment of specific cultural centers, which were usually contained in large urban centers, as they had adequate cultural and economic facilities (Roudometof, 2016, p. 102). In one newspaper about the Nordic culture, we encounter the names such as Bergman or Tord Gustavsen next to Nesbø or Lykke Li in the articles (de Montmorin, 2014; Girard, 2016; Maad, 2014b; Mereu-Boulch, 2011).

Popular culture breaks this vertical order and, along with access to the media – especially those pluralistic, armed with the possibility of widespread distribution of content – gives a new shape to culture and creates a new order in center-peripheral relations. Elite culture, even if perceived as the "real", appreciating the importance of tradition, appealing to values, full of reflection over the world, covering many sublime activities and meanings from literature to categories of good taste, is not often touched upon in the women's magazines, unless in a particular, rather a superficial way. Popular culture is associated with the constant changeability of ideals, fast consumption, superficial values and the drive towards new things. This fits more in the interests of women's magazines and is a tendency typical for both, Polish and French magazines. However, when it comes to the photographs attached to the articles about the popular culture, they seem to represent this type of culture more sublimely and artistically.

4.1.3. Nordic noir

Women's magazines construct a special joint Nordic brand in the context of already evoked crime stories, with an aesthetically specific kind of realism, rooted in concrete, regional environment, and thematically a special kind of concern for the development of the welfare society. Social engagement is seen in both, the chosen themes (focus on respectable citizens and the culprits who manage the criminal activities, whether drug dealing or trafficking), coupled with a deep social contention by the protagonists, whether conscientious, male, middle-aged police commissioners or female journalists who practice the art of investigations and insist on the right to work-life balance:

Partout, la mention Nordic crime fiction suffit à garantir le succès de ces romans (…). Le roman policier scandinave est devenu un genre à part entière. Du genre féminin, car il met souvent en scène des femmes (…). Dans le roman scandinave, les personnages sont plus importants que l'intrigue (Dussard, 2010).

[Everywhere, to mention Nordic crime fiction is enough to guarantee the success of these novels (…). The Scandinavian crime novel has become a complete genre. The feminine genre, because it often puts women in the spotlight. (…) In the Scandinavian novel, the characters are more important than the plot.]

As we can see in the above quotation, Nordic crime fiction is a known brand, where the nouns such as "success", and "complete genre" are evoked in this context. There are often references to the awards such as Norwegian Booksellers Prize ("Śnieg Przykryje Śnieg," 2015) or as Glass Key Award (Harland, 2018), as it legitimizes and sustains the Nordic crime fiction and crime movies or series as a brand.

There is however another dimension of the Nordic crime stories according to the analyzed articles. Since crime involves real places and environments, it can have both regional, national and transcultural elements. The articles show that the Nordic region covers a specific locality that helps to set the mood for crime. Regarding the national level, there are many national characteristics, such as linguistic or cultural ones. Finally, in the books, movies and series there are many transcultural traits thanks to which the genre can be easily exported and imported. Nevertheless, the Nordic environment plays an important role "(...) both, for the domestic audience who recognizes the sites and for the international audience who gets a perception of the sites" (Agger & Waade, 2010, p. 23). It also exerts its impact on social practice:

Après les best-sellers 'Da Vinci Code' et 'Sex and the City', la trilogie suédoise 'Millénium' inspire à son tour un circuit touristique, dans les rues de Stockholm. Son nom: Millénium Tour (…) Sur les lieux cultes de cette trilogie policière vendue à plus de 8 millions d'exemplaires dans le monde. (Neveux, 2008)

[After the best sellers 'Da Vinci Code' and 'Sex and the City', the Swedish trilogy 'Millenium' inspires in turn a touristic circuit, on the streets of Stockholm. Its name: Millenium Tour (…) On the cult places of this crime fiction trilogy, there were sold over 8 million copies worldwide.]

This special kind of social practice contributes to the accumulation of symbolic capital of places and regions as in the above example of special tours inspired by Nordic literature. It may be inspired by crime novels, but also fairy tales or legends (Kołaczek, 2017; Moussou, 2017). In this case, the symbolic capital of the Nordic region (and the representations of Norden) arises as a socially constructed process that leads to the legitimacy of social values and that is happening among others by such articles. It is thanks to the journalistic fields in Poland and France and, more specifically, articles in the women's magazines, that the recognition of such elements of symbolic capital as a good name, prestige, popularity, fame or reputation can become valuable. Since symbolic capital can use and manipulate symbolic "resources" such as language, stories and myths (Bourdieu, 1986), we observe in the example of the analyzed articles, that today, media also contribute to the process of accumulation of the symbolic capital by framing places in a particularly favorable way, like the women's magazines do to the genre and the Nordic region incidentally:

Le roman policier nordique est devenu un genre littéraire. Bienvenue aux pays des horreurs boréales. (Dussard, 2010)

[The Nordic detective story has become a literary genre. Welcome to the countries of boreal horrors.].

To the above-mentioned examples of references to Nordic crime fiction, there also appear expression such as: "polar nordique" or "des horreurs boréales" (Dussard, 2010; Potel, 2016), which frames the Nordic region as a place of production of a unique literary and movie genre. The same refers to the writers and directors coming from the region in question:

Ils viennent du froid, des pays de là-haut, avec des histoires qui ne sont pas faites pour vous réchauffer le coeur. Deux auteurs scandinaves frappent fort. Très fort. (McGarry, 2007)

[They come from the cold, countries from up there, with stories that are not written to warm your heart. Two Scandinavian writers strike hard. Very hard.]

They are often alleged attributes such as specific cultural or social capital. They also seem to have a particular "Nordic" habitus and develop a "narrative conducted in a truly Scandinavian style" (Chorębała, 2010). If it comes to the genre, however, there appear terms such as Nordic noir. The concept originates from the traditions of noir and neo-noir in the film world (Agger & Waade, 2010, p. 30). The Nordic noir genre is framed as a specific mix of miscellaneous Nordic phenomena. It can be nature and other surroundings (lakes, forests, harbors and bridges (de La Roche, 2011; Kuszewska, 2014; "Śnieg Przykryje Śnieg," 2015)), the light (bright summer evenings, hazy mornings and cool black nights (Blanc, 2008; Kazimierowska, 2013; Mróz, 2011; Rosière, 2017)), the climate and the seasons' change (mild summers, but windy and cold winters ("LAGOM Czyli Szwedzka Szkoła Szczęścia," 2018; Lucas, 2013; Morère, 2018)) and the language (typical Scandinavian names, linguistic misunderstandings between Norwegians, Swedes and Danes (Chaellle, 2013; Gutek, 2012)), which are used in conjunction with topics usually associated with Scandinavia, such as gender-political issues, life outside metropolitan cities and the social democratic welfare state. Nordic noir is also framed as drawing on a Nordic melancholy, where the protagonist's problems, alcoholism, loneliness and social incompetence are shown through the action, while the surroundings resonate:

Chropowata, pół-amatorska estetyka skandynawskiej dogmy zamienia się w czytelny hollywoodzki szablon, nie tracąc przy tym nic na sile oddziaływania (Pluciński, 2013).

[The rough, semi-amateur aesthetics of the Scandinavian dogma turns into a clear Hollywood pattern, without losing anything from its poignancy.]

This "rough" climate or aesthetics is in the analyzed articles substituted with the adjectives such as "cold" or "dark", in the texts about the Scandinavian cinematography is often identified with the dogma movement, yet the concept of Dogma is only twice evoked in the articles. Apart from the above, where the specificity of the movement:

Nie jestem fanem Dogmy. Ona zakazuje używania jakichkolwiek efektów specjalnych w kinie: nie wolno stosować żadnych rekwizytów, kręcić można tylko amatorską kamerą. Ma być jak najautentyczniej, a przecież naturą filmu jest udawanie! Ale doceniam Dogmę za to, że wypromowała duńskie kino na świecie. (Nyc, 2013)

[I'm not a fan of Dogma. It prohibits the use of any special effects in the cinema: you cannot use any props, you can only shoot with an amateur camera. It has to be authentic, and yet the imitation is the nature of the movie! But I appreciate Dogma for promoting Danish cinema in the world.]

The Dogma phenomenon is barely mentioned in the articles. This kind of avant-garde movement is probably not in the scope of interest of the women's magazines. When it appears, it is just mentioned without any detailed information on what it is. The main connotation with Nordic cinematography is however crime movies and thrillers. Through the dark narratives of the cold North, a picture of the Scandinavian welfare societies is constructed as disturbing the impression of the Nordic countries being a utopian region of happiness. When international happiness reports place of the Scandinavian countries on the top year after year, the popular crime stories, which have conquered the international market of popular culture, help to nuance the representations created by the Nordic welfare model success story.

Nordic cinematography in general, however, is rather a broad topic when it comes to the Nordic culture. Some of the newest or most popular Nordic movies are mentioned in articles both, in France and Poland. For instance "Jagten" or "Kommune" could be the first examples ("Film Na Weekend: Komuna, Czyli Do Czego Może Doprowadzić Nuda," 2016; "'Komuna'. Najnowszy Film Thomasa Vinterberga," 2016; Pluciński, 2013). It is framed as "unique", "distinctive", and as having something that makes it visible in the film diversity. What is also regarded as unique and distinctive is the characters and the meetings between them, as well as the landscape that the story is played in. The combination of black humor appears to be at the same time. These are qualities that characterized the film and constituted its aesthetic, which appealed to the abroad audience:

Każdy gatunek filmowy, gdy dodamy do niego przymiotnik „skandynawski", nabiera lub traci swoje pierwotne znaczenie. Nagle film sensacyjny staje się mrocznym horrorem, a komedia romantyczna – studium ludzkiej duszy. Po prostu rozumienie gatunków filmowych przez Skandynawów wykracza poza nasze proste ich postrzeganie. I chwała im za to. (Kazimierowska, 2013)

[Each film genre, when we add to it the adjective 'Scandinavian', takes on or loses its original meaning. Soon, the sensational film becomes a dark horror movie, and a romantic comedy – a study of the human soul. Simply, understanding the film genres by the Scandinavians goes beyond our simple perception. And praise them for that.]

Again, we observed that the adjective "Scandinavian" has its specific dimension. It entails a set of characteristics, choices, and taste preferences that makes a film "typically Scandinavian" (Girard, 2016; Kazimierowska, 2013). It is assumed in these articles and the above quotation could be the exemplification of the fact, that there exists a distinctive version of the habitus of the film makers coming from Norden. In other words, this specific habitus, first and foremost, has served internationally to describe the sum of film production in five small nations (here the term "Nordic movies" does not occur in the press, it is common to use the term "Scandinavian movies" (Gouslan, 2009; Sene, 2012; Strojwas, 2015; Girard, 2016; "Film Na Weekend: Komuna, Czyli Do Czego Może Doprowadzić Nuda," 2016) in the articles in Poland and France), each one is too small to be described in its own right, possibly except for Sweden.

Another aspect of the reviewed articles (let it be film, books or music) is that when taking the role of the women's magazines into account, it appears that they frame a specific representation of Nordic cinematography, they take up the role of cultural intermediaries (Bourdieu, 1989a, p. 365). Cultural intermediaries can thus be seen as a kind of intermediary between producers and consumers and women's magazines seem to be a part of the whole process. The women's magazines in Poland and France want to play an important role in the assessment of "good taste" and they are thus actors that contribute to the production of consumer tastes, since they are a popular type of media.

Going back to the concepts of center-periphery dichotomy, the center is associated with a certain rank of the area inside a specific cultural system. It is expressed by the position of the group or unit in social stratification (Jałowiecki, 2007, p. 87). It seems that in the case of cultural capital and popular culture, the center is giving a position of dominance to the individual (or group) who occupies it and the Nordics have begun to occupy the center of the cultural field, when we, for instance, look at their position in the crime fiction and crime movies field. This is a center in a sense of cultural center of the cultural area in which the greatest concentration of most characteristic features and cultural patterns occurs .

Finally, the actors form the cultural field in Norden, who are mentioned in the Polish and French magazines are the ones who own the largest amounts of capital that is directly associated with the category of domination is symbolic capital, occurring when other types of capital are seen and recognized as legitimate (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 38). It means that they

"won" the game that takes place in social space and is based on the effort to make "they" capital (and also the logic of the field in which I am/we are the dominant player as a group or social class) transformed from economic, cultural or social capital (or theirs) subtypes in symbolic capital, if we follow Bourdieusian thinking. Moreover, establishing symbolic dominance makes it easier for representatives of the dominant group to carry out the conversion of symbolic capital into other types of capitals, for instance, the economic one. Therefore, I believe that the representation of the Nordic cultural field in women's magazines is very narrow and selective.

4.2 Social capital of the Nordic countries

The following chapter presents the way of mediating the Nordic region through the prism of a frame referring to the characteristic features of its social field. The first apparent difference between Polish and French magazines is the number of articles coded in this area. The Polish magazines tackle these topics in 12 articles, whereas in the French magazines there are 96 of them. This disproportion shows again that the interest in social matters is readily covered by the French journalists in the women's magazines. Also, the topics explored by them seem to sometimes consider a very controversial or sensitive matters, which I will demonstrate later in this chapter.

4.2.1. Equality

If we accept the traditional understanding of ideology, i.e. one that presupposes the existence of some kind of representation of reality that is common to a certain group of people (shared by the community), its development is utopia – a kind of imaginary pursuit of the expected state of society, containing at the same time specific spatial and temporal conditions. It is indeed a representation in the strict sense (Claeys & Sargent, 1999, pp. 1–2). In principle, any space can be analyzed as utopian and dystopian at the same time, depending on the position we take, because in the literary work, film work or media, they are the reverse sides of the same process, i.e. the image of a certain model of society (Levitas, 2013, p. 23). In the case of the Nordic region, women's magazines create mainly a utopian version of its representations.

If utopia is an image of an ideal social order, it realizes the victory of people over space, i.e. their living environment. On the other hand, dystopia means the victory of space over society, i.e. a system in which its problematics (obstacles it poses, the impossibility of its transformation) is maximized, which leads to disturbances within the society itself (Levitas, 2013, p. 89). The analyzed magazines, the French one in particular due to their predominant amount, construct the representations of Norden as a region, where particular nation states demonstrate the ideal social order and which seems the pleasant place to live in. For example, such a nice place to live in could be Denmark:

Mała, ale doskonale ukształtowana Dania jest ojczyzną ludzi rozmiłowanych w zabawie i świadomych problemów środowiska naturalnego ("Dania i Jej Mieszkańcy," 2011).

[Small, but perfectly formed Denmark is a home for people who love fun and are aware of environmental problems.].

Very often, these kinds of statements are to a large degree generalizing (as if all Danes were fun-loving environmentalists). Such stereotyping and generalizing expressions relate also to the working culture in Sweden for instance:

Szwedzi nie cierpią na przepracowanie, a są wydajni. Jak oni to robią? Po prostu są wierni zasadzie lagom, czyli „w sam raz". Oto skandynawski przepis na to, jak zrównoważyć harówkę relaksem, a rywalizację współpracą ("Co Warto Wiedzieć o Szwedzkiej Kulturze Pracy?," 2018).

[Swedes do not suffer from overwork, however, they are efficient. How do they do that? They are simply faithful to lagom principle, meaning "just in time". Here is a Scandinavian recipe on how to balance drudgery with relaxation and competition with cooperation.]

The French magazines however frame the Nordic region in a more detailed and multi-faceted way pertaining not only to simplified representations, but by giving examples and mentioning some research, statistics or measurable data. While covering the topic referring to the Nordic social field, they often use the notion of "the Nordic Welfare States" when considering the issues of equality and inequality between sexes. It is a rather coherent representation of a region marked by a high proportion of women in the workforce and well-developed social measures for children, young people and the elderly. The French magazines refer to facts such as gaining by women voting rights relatively early and having one of the world's highest representations in the political assemblies. It is then not surprising that topic of equality and gender has so far been highly prioritized in the analyzed articles in the context of the Nordic countries: "Le pays de l'égalité des sexes, qui prouve au monde que parité peut rimer avec réalité." (Kerchouche, 2014) [The countries of gender equality, which proves world that parity can rhyme with reality]. The region is framed as a place where gender and women's demands have stood strongly on the political agenda:

La Suède s'élève une fois de plus au rang de bon élève. Le pays nordique montre cette fois-ci l'exemple dans le domaine de l'égalité salariale. Selon le magazine hebdomadaire *Dagens Samhälle*, les Suédoises sont désormais mieux payées que leurs homologues masculins aux postes les plus hauts gradés des administrations locales (Ostermann, 2016).

[Sweden has once again risen to the rank of a good student. The Nordic countries are setting an example this time in the area of equal pay. Swedish weekly *Dagens Samhälle* says Swedish women are paid better than their male counterparts in the most senior positions in local government.]

A relational perspective on place implies that place can help define another place by being seen as its contrasting image, idea or experience, for instance, by producing dualities such as rural-urban, modern-traditional and center-periphery. These dualities and relationships are likely to reinforce spatial and socio-economic hierarchies. The place becomes a sense of identity and the representations become social facts and thereby produce real material and relational consequences. We can extract comparisons to the situations in France, where exact numbers are elicited. The Nordic model constitutes here a frame of reference:

Comme en Islande, l'égalité salariale n'arrive toujours pas à s'imposer dans les entreprises françaises. L'écart de salaire entre les femmes et les hommes stagne toujours autour de 25%, dont 9% qui relèvent d'une discrimination pure liée au genre. Le 8 mars 2017, à 15h40, les Françaises s'étaient elles aussi mobilisées pour dénoncer cette inégalité à l'occasion de la journée internationale de la lutte pour les droits des femmes (Lecerf, 2019).

[As in Iceland, equal pay still cannot prevail in French companies. The wage gap between women and men still stagnates at around 25%, of which 9% is pure gender discrimination. On March 8, 2017, at 3:40 pm, the French women had also mobilized to denounce this inequality on the occasion of the international day of the struggle for the rights of women.]

The representations of the social field are predominantly linked to the different aspects of women and society. In general, the region has been portrayed as almost a mythological place where many dimensions of life function better than in other places. Nowadays, Norden is framed as a progressive also in the case of the labor market. In the face of equal rights and education, women are framed as realizing their position, they began to expect greater equality, partnership at work and in family. Like in the case of Iceland:

Elles n'abandonnent pas leur combat. Comme en octobre 2016, les Islandaises se sont mises en grève et ont de nouveau manifesté pour dénoncer les écarts de salaires et les violences qu'elles subissent au travail. Une loi est pourtant entrée en vigueur, le 1er janvier 2018, pour que l'égalité salariale entre les hommes et les femmes soit respectée en Islande, mais il semblerait que les entreprises aient encore besoin d'une piqûre de rappel (Lecerf, 2019).

[They do not give up their fight. In October 2016, the Icelanders went on strike and again demonstrated to denounce the wage gaps and violence they suffer at work. However, a law came into force on 1 January 2018 to ensure that equal pay for men and women is respected in Iceland, but it seems that companies still need a booster].

Comparing and contrasting the situation in France to the one in the Nordic countries is a common practice:

La Suède est un pays où il fait bon vivre. Elle possède l'un des PIB les plus élevés d'Europe, et son peuple se déclare l'un des plus heureux. Mais c'est aussi un pays où l'égalité hommes - femmes semble la plus aboutie. De la législation aux conditions de travail, en passant par les initiatives sociales en avance sur leur temps, voici pourquoi la Suède est le meilleur pays du monde où vivre en tant que femme. (…) Une manière de dire, peut-être, que la France a plein de choses à apprendre de ce pays en constante réflexion et amelioration concernant l'égalité des genres. (Bonte, 2015b).

[Sweden is a country where you live a good life. It has one of the highest GDPs in Europe, and its people declare to be one of the happiest. But it is also a country where equality between men and women seems the most successful. From legislation to working conditions, including social initiatives ahead of their time, this is why Sweden is the best country in the world to live as a woman. (…) A way of saying, perhaps, that France has a lot to learn from this country in constant reflection and improvement concerning gender equality.]

In Norway, equality between men and women reached even the army, which is seen in the articles about the gender issues in the Nordic countries:

En Norvège, l'égalité hommes-femmes s'étend jusqu'aux rangs de l'armée. Le Parlement a adopté mardi les amendements nécessaires à l'extension du service militaire aux femmes, une mesure qui vise avant tout à améliorer la qualité des recrues. (…) Avant même l'adoption du service « sexuellement neutre », le gouvernement s'était fixé pour objectif d'avoir 20% de femmes dans les rangs de l'armée d'ici à 2020. Hors d'Europe, certains pays comme Israël ont déjà un service militaire obligatoire pour les deux sexes (Verduzier, 2014).

[In Norway, gender equality extends to the ranks of the military. Parliament adopted on Tuesday the necessary amendments to extend military service to women, a measure which aims above all to improve the quality of recruits. (…) Even before the adoption of the 'sexually neutral' service, the government set itself the objective of having 20% of women in the ranks of the army by 2020. Outside Europe, some countries like Israel already have compulsory military service for both sexes].

Again, even such an interesting topic was not accompanied by press photography, but a random picture of soldier women:

Picture 6 Picture of women soldiers / no caption, Verduzier, 2014

The photo refers only to the general topic, that is feminine presence in the military, and not specifically to the case of Norway. The text in these articles is the conveyor of massage, not the picture, which is an illustrator material.

However, this picture is not completely positive, as there are some scratches on this perfect image. It should be remembered that the habitus is strictly gender-dependent. In the social world, femininity and masculinity are two distinct "ways of being in the world" (Bourdieu, 1985, 1989b). According to Bourdieu, there are some differences in social positions occupied by women and men, but they are commonly not called inequality, yet accepted as dictated by nature. Women, although they remain in constant oppression, take this order of things as "natural" and even beneficial to themselves". In general, the Western culture and the Nordic region is framed as opposing to this naturalization. However, even in the Nordic countries the social positions still vary. There appear examples of abusing power in the workplace:

Un chef d'entreprise norvégien a demandé à ses salariées féminines de porter un bracelet rouge lorsqu'elles avaient leurs règles. Motif ? Justifier leur temps supplémentaire passé aux ladies rooms. Cet exemple est issu

d'un rapport du syndicat Parat qui révèle l'obsession des patrons en Norvège à restreindre les pertes de productivité (Trinit, 2010).

[A Norwegian entrepreneur asked his female employees to wear a red bracelet when they had their period. Reason? Justify their extra time spent in the ladies' rooms. This example comes from a Parat union report which reveals the obsession of the bosses in Norway to restrict productivity losses].

Equality is a broader notion and does not only refer to equality between men and women. In the Nordic region, it is also about equal rights for sexual minorities. In Denmark, for instance, homosexuals have, since the implementation of the registered partnership law in 1989, been framed as a symbol of Denmark's modern and liberal society. From being a figure associated with degeneration and death, the homosexual became recognizable in the community as they got the right to enter into a registered partnership (later marriage), adopt children and access artificial insemination and thus being part of the heteronormative society (Siverskog, 2016, p. 86). The most progressive in this aspect is the above-mentioned Denmark and Sweden:

La Suède reconnaissait depuis 1994 l'union civile entre deux personnes du même sexe mais pas le terme de "mariage". Cette nouvelle loi ouvre par la même occasion le mariage religieux aux homosexuels. L'Eglise luthérienne avait pourtant devancé l'Etat puisqu'elle propose une bénédiction de l'union homosexuelle depuis 2007 (Dupré, 2009a).

[Sweden has recognized since 1994 the civil union between two persons of the same sex but not the term "marriage". This new law opens at the same time religious marriage to homosexuals. The Lutheran Church, however, had preceded the state since it offers a blessing of homosexual union since 2007].

The frame of equality applies also to children. The region is straightforwardly called: 'le pays où l'enfant est roi' (Chabal, 2012) [the countries where the child is king]:

Kraje skandynawskie są prekursorem pełnego szacunku podejścia do dziecka – jako istoty kompetentnej, posiadającej wszystkie ludzkie cechy, jak empatia, zdolność do kontaktu i współdziałania. U nas wciąż dominuje przekonanie, że dzieci nie potrafią funkcjonować w społeczeństwie, trzeba je kształtować, zmieniać. Skandynawowie już dawno odkryli, że my, dorośli, możemy się wiele nauczyć od dzieci. Bardzo serio potraktowali problem przemocy wobec najmłodszych. W Szwecji zakaz bicia wprowadzono pod koniec lat 60., w Polsce – dopiero w ubiegłym roku (Gutek, 2012).

[Scandinavian countries are the precursor of a respectful approach to the child – as a competent being, possessing all human qualities, such as empathy, the ability to contact and interact. Our belief is that children cannot function in society, they need to be shaped and changed. Scandinavians have long ago discovered that we, adults, can learn a lot from children. They took the problem of violence against children very seriously. In Sweden, a beating ban was introduced in the late 1960s, and in Poland only last year].

Attitude towards children especially in Sweden comprises to "national treasure". In both, Polish and French magazines manifold images of parenthood interlace. In one of the articles, I encountered a statement that Norwegians have a rational approach towards raising their children. It is said that raising a child in Nordic countries is called "cold upbringing"(McGurk, 2018). This does not mean, however, that the attitude to children is insensitive or overly disciplined. The main point is that children are taught independence from the beginning. Also, they often quote sentence: "There is no bad weather, only bad clothes" (Chabal, 2012; McGurk, 2018). The Nordic children are presented as spending a lot of time outdoors (at least a few hours a day), regardless of temperature, rainfall or high winds. The idea of forest kindergartens is also evoked in the magazines (McGurk, 2018; Tricoche, 2001). It is place where children spend all their days outside, no matter if it is snowing, raining or plush. In the analyzed articles, equality has been presented as a basic Nordic value. Together with democracy and freedom of expression, equality is one of the core values of Nordicness, and these values are the prerequisite for Nordic citizens to exist as a good community. Thus, equality, democracy and freedom of expression are constructed as being part of Nordic national values. Furthermore, the Nordic region is constructed through a frame that invokes the Law of Jante (Danish: *Janteloven*), even if not expressed directly. Yet, when in the articles one can read about equality and unity, it is about this doxical knowledge, a taken-for-granted morality, which is embedded in the social and political order of the Nordic countries. It is knowledge so strongly imprinted that it appears as a natural order.

When it comes to photographs in the articles, these are mainly pictures taken from a photo bank, without any caption:

Picture 7 Picture illustrating an article about female payment rate in France and Nordic countries, (Bonte, 2015)

These stock photos are commercial products and are created as universal visual content that can be used as an illustration in many articles. This type of image appears as a visual element of journalistic material, yet does not constitute press photography.

4.2.2. Progress

There were no articles from the progress-frame from the analyzed Polish magazines at that time. However, the French magazines referred to this topic:

Le Danemark a été le premier pays au monde à autoriser le mariage civil des homosexuels à la mairie en octobre 1989, leur accordant les mêmes droits que les hétérosexuels à l'exception de l'insémination artificielle (interdiction levée en 2007) et l'adoption. L'adoption d'enfants par des couples homosexuels était déjà autorisée en Suède, en Norvège, au Pays-Bas ou encore au Royaume-Uni. F.B. (Dupré, 2009b)**.**

[Denmark was the first country in the world to allow the civil marriage of homosexuals to mayor in October 1989, granting them the same rights as heterosexuals with the exception of artificial insemination (ban lifted in 2007) and adoption. Adoption of children by same-sex couples was already allowed in Sweden, Norway, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom. F. B.].

This frame of progress is also apparent on the occasion of the debate about introducing the third sex into the Swedish language.

« On ressent le besoin d'un troisième sexe, d'une troisième position », défend une responsable du Conseil des langues (Spraakradet), Susanna Karlsson. « Il faut cependant garder 'il' et 'elle' car ce sont des catégories vis-à-vis desquelles tout le monde s'oriente. On veut volontiers savoir si on s'adresse à un homme ou à femme ». Si la Suède est un pays pionnier en matière de parité, ce petit mot ne fait pas l'unanimité (Chaellle, 2013).

["We feel the need for a third sex, a third position," says Susanna Karlsson, a spokesperson for the Language Council (Spraakradet). "It is necessary, however, to keep 'he' and 'she' because these are categories to which everyone refers to. We want to know if we are talking to a man or a woman ". If Sweden is a pioneer country in terms of parity, this little word is not unanimous.]

A better example is a Danish hotel that offers one floor exclusively for women reservations. The only men who can enter this floor would be "firefighter in case of fire" ("L'étage d'un Hôtel Danois Réservé Aux Femmes Fait Polémique," 2009):

Des fleurs, du chocolat noir, de nombreux oreillers, des douches spacieuses, des miroirs mais pas d'alcool fort ni de films porno : non, vous ne rêvez pas, c'est bien avec ce genre de prestations que l'hôtel Bella Sky Comwell de Copenhague (…) pense séduire sa clientèle feminine ("L'étage d'un Hôtel Danois Réservé Aux Femmes Fait Polémique," 2009).

[Flowers, dark chocolate, many pillows, spacious showers, mirrors but no strong alcohol or porn movies: no, you are not dreaming, it is with this kind of service that the Bella Sky hotel Comwell from Copenhagen (…) thinks of attracting its female clientele.]

The representation of the Nordic "emancipated" women is based on specific lifestyle and values. The most frequent elements falling into this frame are self-development, many interpersonal relations, and doing what a person wants to do. It is worth adding that it is a key element of identity for flexibility and openness, readiness for change. Also, agency, dynamism and plasticity are constructed as part of Nordicness. In the context of the arguments presented above, the representation of the lifestyle of "emancipated Nordic women" can be described as performative. That postfeminist emancipation defined as liberated woman sexuality, tendency to "brief affairs", lack of determination in finding a lifelong partner and the ability to derive profits from staying unmarried contains itself in this frame.

The social relations in the Nordic countries (especially in Denmark and Sweden) are also marked by the frame of progress:

Dans un pays où le don de sperme est banalisé, de plus en plus de Danoises, lassées d'attendre l'homme idéal, choisissent de fonder une famille sans père. (…) Qu'advient-il de ces enfants sans père ? Ils semblent parfaitement heureux et performants, si l'on en croit les études scientifiques. Ils seraient même plus forts à l'école que les enfants de familles traditionnelles ou de divorcés (Bonte, 2015a).

[In a country where sperm donation is common, more and more Danes, tired of waiting for the ideal man, choose to found a family without a father. (...) What happens to these children without a father? They seem perfectly happy and successful, according to scientific studies. They would be even better at school than children from traditional or divorced families.]

The dynamics of the rhetoric of othering are much more complex, and this is especially so within nations where modernity is considered a national characteristic. Positioning Norden by using rhetoric accentuating modernity and progress, seen as a system of differentiation and a system of social reproduction, is confronted with contradictory images of the place. Since the mid-twentieth century, most of the Nordic countries have successfully marketed their image as progressive and modern nation where equality persists and racism, sexism, class boundaries and other conflicts are long gone (Ehn et al., 1995; Pred, 2000). Following the frame of progress and liberalism in its controversial or even shocking version, we can look at the example of a contest that took place in Denmark:

Il y a des pays où la taille ne compte pas ! Après avoir lancé le concours du plus beau pénis, un site érotique danois se place sur le créneau du plus petit attribut masculin. (…) Le principe est simple : tout homme peut envoyer une photo de son sexe en érection, le long d'un mètre ruban. A l'issue de cette compétition, deux gagnants seront désignés. « L'homme au plus petit pénis mesuré avec un mètre gagnera le concours. Celui avec le pénis qui a l'air le plus petit d'après les votes de nos membres féminins remportera aussi un prix.

[There are countries where size does not matter! After launching the contest for the most beautiful penis, a Danish erotic site is placed on the niche of the smallest male attribute. (…) The principle is simple: any man can send a photo of his erect penis, along with a tape measure. At the end of this competition, two winners will be chosen. "The man with the smallest penis measured with a meter will win the contest. The one with the penis that looks the smallest according to the votes of our female members will also win a prize].

The Nordic region is though not framed homogenously as a utopian place where everyone has equal rights and which is characterized by an extraordinary degree of liberalism. The other side of the social field is also framed in the press and touches the question of affiliation of the Other — who is included and excluded — has been a key issue in the light of growing globalization and multiculturalism. It is suggested that the biggest democratic challenge today is linked to the inclusion of ethnic minorities, but also that belonging and ethnicity have become the dominant discourses in the public debate (Bonte, 2015c; Le Naour, 2012; Pavi, 2009; Riatto, 2013). It has been underlined that the Nordic countries have experienced, in the style of other European countries, a series of debates and discussions about Muslim women's head and body garments. In the debate in French articles, the burka is used as a cultural, religious, and political symbol. It is also considered an expression of women's autonomy and identity or an example of woman oppression.

The Nordic are constructed as countries having several common features of citizen and gender politics models, yet having adopted various immigration and integration policies. Sweden is considered the most multicultural country in the Nordic countries. Denmark and Norway's

integration policies are to a greater extent based on assimilation, and in both countries have been raised the questions of banning wearing scarves in private workplaces:

Le débat est clos… Après avoir envisagé d'adopter une loi contre le port de la burqa, le Danemark a finalement jeté l'éponge. Voter une loi contre le port de la burqa remettrait en cause les textes juridiques de la Convention européenne des droits de l'Homme et de la Constitution. Une mission que le ministre de la justice et le parti conservateur se refusent d'assumer. Mais la bataille contre le port de la burqa n'est pas pour autant terminée. Un groupe de travail planche toujours pour trouver d'autres moyens de lutter contre la propagation de la burqa dans l'espace public. En France, une mission parlementaire a été mandatée pour réfléchir à la création d'une éventuelle loi (Pavi, 2009).

[The debate is closed... After having considered adopting a law against wearing the burqa, Denmark finally threw in the towel. Voting a law against wearing burqa would call into question the legal texts of the European Convention on Human Rights and the Constitution. A mission that the Minister of Justice and the Conservative Party refused to assume. But the battle against wearing burqa is not over yet. A task force is still working on finding other ways to combat the spread of burqa in public spaces. In France, a parliamentary mission was mandated to reflect on the creation of a possible law].

The debate on scarves and veils was framed also as a debate about gender and equality. Implicit constructions of Danishness circulate in the debates on gender equality. "The battle" for the burka (and its symbolic dimension) – becomes a platform from which cultural and religious minorities can be included or excluded from the Danish national community.

The magazines have been portraying the Muslim scarf-wearing woman as an antithesis to Nordic culture, as being suppressed on several levels. The women were also portrayed in the media from the historical perspective, as irrational and inflexible because they significantly limited their employment opportunities when choosing to wear a scarf. The women who, based on their scarf, had no work, and stayed, therefore, at home, were considered to be doubly oppressed because they were both, women and veiled. The French magazines still seem to veil an image of oppression. In the Polish magazines, the matter of burka or veils did not occur. The media production of the Muslim woman with a scarf that is exclusively suppressed gives little opportunity to interpret the woman as anything but oppressed. These representations have reinforced the image of the oppressed Muslim woman by applying specific questions, visuals, and ways to tell the "good" story of where the woman is most often produced as a victim of e.g. domestic violence, forced marriages or honor killings. The woman with the scarf, at the expense of the value the news story has, is produced as suppressed, which becomes the dominant notion of women with a scarf. The lack of nuance in the look and description of the woman with the scarf helps to create an image that many

Muslim women are generally oppressed, even in the Nordic countries, and contrary to the Nordic culture and values.

The press uses feminism and equality arguments to advantage a restrictive policy towards religious and ethnic minorities and as a justification for a critical attitude towards Muslim scarves. It is clear from the analysis that equality in the debates is synonymous with Danishness and thus, it will act as an inclusion and exclusion mechanism.

4.2.3. Hostility and oppression

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the representations of the Nordic region in the aspect of social field and the habitus of Nordic people (Nordicness) are not entirely positive. The starting point of this passage is that representations are of importance, as they have real material, positive or negative, consequences and may, for instance, influence employment rates, financial investments, influx of tourists, population flows or industrial reforms. Also, as it was mentioned in the theoretical part of this thesis, these cognitive constructions of certain regions or places, like Norden in this case, shape and are shaped by geographical imaginations of what places are and should be, by norms of spatial justice and representations of different actors; their capabilities, rights and obligations. Actors of the journalistic field are never neutral, they would always be inclined to certain ideologies, world views, and opinions which would come to light in the rhetoric they use and that comes to light in the analyzed articles. Therefore, the representations must be diversified to some extent. Also, it must be stressed that more negative representations in this context were found in the Polish magazines.

By way of giving Norway as an example and by drawing on concepts of space, place, power and difference, Dariusz Gajewski, Polish movie director (among others "Obce niebo") shows national differences and reproduces specific media representations of Norway and endures qualities to them. Building on theories of constructivism, this contribution aims to add to our understanding of the recurrent and concurrent construction of spaces and people of the given region within countries that so far have been considered practically exempt from injustices and inequalities such as racism and class divisions, nations that in the popular geographical imagination are considered as so-called "welfare states". Moreover, his strategy of conceptualizing Norway and Norwegians relies upon "othering" that emphasizes the most

glaring examples of discrepancies between the Polish and Norwegian systems of values, hidden in the way "we" and "they" arrange the way of living:

Mam wielu szwedzkich przyjaciół, głównie ze szkoły filmowej. Szwecja jawi mi się jako kraj sensownych, rzetelnych i uśmiechniętych ludzi. Kilka lat temu moja przyjaciółka opowiedziała mi historię swojej siostry i jej zderzenia z pomocą społeczną. Była tak koszmarna, że w nią nie uwierzyłem. Potem, co jakiś czas docierały do mnie kolejne historie, równie dramatyczne. Nie rozumiałem, jak to jest możliwe, że ludzie w tak bogatym, liberalnym i szczęśliwym kraju mogą się tak źle, bezsensownie traktować. Szczerze mówiąc, dalej tego nie rozumiem. To jest zadziwiający paradoks, że mimo najlepszych intencji ludzie tworzą biurokratyczne struktury, które unieszczęśliwiają wszystkich. ("Premiery Filmowe. „Obce Niebo" w Kinach," 2015)

[I have many Swedish friends, mainly from film school. Sweden appears to me as a country of sensible, reliable and smiling people. A few years ago, my friend told me the story of her sister and her clash with social help. It was so nightmarish that I did not believe in it. Then, from time to time more stories came to me, also dramatic. I could not understand that people in such a rich, liberal, and happy country can treat themselves so badly and meaninglessly. Honestly, I still do not get it. This is an astonishing paradox that despite the best intentions, people create bureaucratic structures that make everyone unhappy.]

In order to support this disturbing or even dramatic image of the Nordic region, it is stated that the above mentioned problems with "the Nordic system" are not individual, but more and more common. Therefore, one can read or hear about "many" similar stories concerning for instance the cruelty of social help in the Nordic countries. So it is one of the strategies to provide some (often very personal) examples, that cannot be verified by the reader.

Even though the researchers such as Blanc-Noël (2018), Pred (2000) or Brommesson (2018b) claim that the Swedish self-image is based on the imagination of being one of the most equal nations in the world, there are attempts to deconstruct this self-image by finding flaws in it or its other side, like in the movie "the Swedish Theory of Love" from 2015 directed by Erik Gandini. The documentary is about social relations in Sweden and raised a storm of controversy. On this occasion, Gandini gave several interviews, and some of them appeared in the analyzed articles. He sketches a picture of Sweden, where loneliness dominates and where many people are single:

Choć wyzwolili się od konserwatywnego porządku, bardzo szybko wpadli w inną pułapkę. Wszyscy zgodzili się na to, by potraktować wolność jako towar i wyrażać ją przez pryzmat tego, jakiej słuchamy muzyki, jakie nosimy ciuchy i jakimi jeździmy samochodami. W konsekwencji staliśmy się niewolnikami konsumpcji. Chciałem pokazać, że ten proces cały czas się pogłębia. Czemu innemu niż właśnie konsumpcjonizmowi hołduje kobieta, która zamawia kurierem spermę z banku i zapładnia się nią bez wychodzenia z domu? (Czerkawski, 2018)

[Although they disentangled themselves from the conservative order, they quickly fell into another trap. Everyone agreed to treat freedom as a commodity and express it through the prism of what kind of music we listen to, what clothes we wear and what kind of cars we drive. As a consequence, we have become slaves of consumption. I wanted to show that this process accelerates all the time. To what does a woman, who orders sperm from a bank by a courier and impregnates herself without leaving home pay homage, if it is not consumerism?]

Is it thus a specific clash of values that is being constructed in such cases, like consumerism and liberalism versus conservative values and attitudes. Nordicness encapsulates in this case progressive (in a negative perspective) features. So the notion of "progress" has been contextualized as something rather negative or even harmful. However, there can be driven some positive conclusions from the movie:

Szwedzi, gdy czegoś pragną, na pewno to osiągną. Gdy ponad pół wieku temu uznali, że należy znieść kary cielesne wobec dzieci, przestać piętnować homoseksualizm i zrównać pozycję społeczną kobiet i mężczyzn, błyskawicznie wcielili te idee w życie. Wierzę, że jeśli będziemy wystarczająco często powtarzać, iż powinni skończyć z egoizmem i na powrót zatroszczyć się o siebie nawzajem, dadzą sobie radę i z tym problemem. (Czerkawski, 2018)

[Swedes, if they want something, they will achieve it. When more than half a century ago they decided that one should abolish corporal punishment of children, stop stigmatizing homosexuality and equalize social position of men and women, they quickly put these ideas into practice. I believe that if we repeat often enough that they should end with egoism and take care of each other again, they can cope with this problem.]

The strategy of constructing the image of progressive yet too liberated Nordic societies is a derivative of different social capitals between the Nordics and the movie director in this case. Not only are they different, but also positioned in the relation to each other. Moreover, the articles in the Polish magazines do not analyze the movie critically, they just reproduce the representation of Sweden where the social democratic welfare model has made the people isolated from others. The Scandinavian welfare model is regularly highlighted as a desirable example of Western prosperity and social security yet the social relations and way of living are framed as not so praiseworthy. The Swedes are framed as a society of lonely individuals. As proof of his thesis, Erik Gandini gives the example of conception via insemination. The fact that Swedish women buy sperm by mail ordered from Denmark and then inseminate themselves seems to be one of the film's (and article's) main evidence of Swedes' loneliness and quirk.

Sweden is constructed in the movie and thus reproduced by the women's magazines as a country where the social capital, especially regarding family relations, is deficient. This

representation concerns only Sweden, not the entire Nordic region, which should be noted. Also, these representations are not reflected upon or contextualized and they aim to represent "another side of the Swedish paradise":

Film jest brawurowo zrealizowanym kalejdoskopem tego bliskiego a zarazem bardzo egzotycznego z polskiej perspektywy kraju. To prawdziwe laboratorium przyszłości, przypominające niekiedy dystopijne filmy SF. Kontakty ludzkie realizowane za pośrednictwem organizacji społecznych, brak socjalizacji, ucieczka przed wszelkimi trudnościami, zanik umiejętności interakcji, niechęć do obcych (Szwecja to kraj, gdzie imigranci integrują się zdecydowanie najwolniej w Europie) – to wszystko ciemne strony kraju, który często stawiamy sobie za wzór. ("Ciemne Strony Niezależności. „Szwedzka Teoria Miłości" Już w Kinach," 2017)

[The film is a boldly presented kaleidoscope of this close, and yet very exotic from the Polish perspective, country. This is the real laboratory of the future, sometimes reminiscent of dystopian SF films. Human relations established by social organizations, lack of socialization, escape from all difficulties, loss of interaction skills, aversion to strangers (Sweden is a country where immigrants integrate slowest in Europe) – these are all dark sides of the country, which we often set as a model.]

The quality of social capital analyzed in the context of family relations is determined through the scope and range of family contacts, networks and the frequency of contacts, potential to provide social support from family members, bond effectiveness assessed from the perspective of the quality and type of resources possible to be mobilized through family contacts. Sweden is presented as being deprived of quality in all these spheres. It is presented as a dystopia, or, as it has been framed in the article reminiscent of dystopian SF films.

However, the pictures illustrating the articles are consequently taken from the iStock (we can

Picture 8 Photograph illustrating social relations in Sweden / no caption, Czerkawski 2018

see the description). This could be a random place, since the people and surroundings are rather generic, they are just responsible for illustrating social relations.

Even though the articles in the Polish magazines touch upon the topic of a particular movie, they do not depict the screenshots from it. Instead, we can see a random picture suggesting that the two people on the bench are in some kind of social relation. The movie, however, is about a very specific type of relation and some of the scenes would be worth adding to the articles. Due to some reason, perhaps economic, the journalist did not decide to do it.

There are also vivid examples in his rhetoric, which seem evocative in constructing the alternative image of the Nordic region. This alternative image of Norden is constructed in contrast to this exalted national self-image and in contrast to a relentless construction of national distinctiveness. This also means that the construction of the region involves some general characteristics, but also that these representations take very specific forms of peculiarities taken from "real life". Hence, the construction of "spatial others", that is Nordics, involves a paradoxical form of representation that inevitably needs to reproduce a national self-image of being the most modern and equal of nations and being overshadowed by the limitations of its system.

The category of "foreignness" allows to commence and then justify hostile attitudes and attempts to destroy what is alien:

L'objectif est simple : faire en sorte que les participants « sachent au moins la différence entre ce qui est bien et ce qui est mal », explique l'une des organisatrices du programme suivi par Abdu Osman Kelifa. Les élèves de ce projet reçoivent même un manuel dans lequel on peut lire que «forcer quelqu'un à avoir un rapport sexuel n'est pas autorisé en Norvège, même si vous êtes marié à cette personne» (Bonte, 2015c).

[The goal is simple: to ensure that participants at least know the difference between what is good and what is wrong', says one of the organizers of the program followed by Abdu Osman Kelifa. Students of this project even receive a manual in which one can read that 'forcing someone to have sex is not allowed in Norway, even if you are married to this person'].

This kind of conflict characterizes the topics that relate to migration, which have come to dominate news coverage in European media due to the immigration crisis since 2015 and they also appeared in French women's magazines in the light of intercultural relations and the attitude of Norway to the immigrants crossing the borders of this Nordic country, like in the above example.

The magazines frame the Nordic region predominantly as a challenging or even hostile place for immigrants. This is visible in the case of Denmark in particular. Denmark has been framed

as one of the most restrictive countries regarding citizenship rules due to which, among other things: long residence, Danish language skills, knowledge about the country, self-sufficiency and unpunishability is required. Citizenship gives voting and voting rights to national elections and is thus the prerequisite for full democratic inclusion, which is highlighted in the articles.

There are also evoked restrictions from October 5, 2015, when the Danish government signed an agreement on new rules for granting. The Minister of Integration Inger Støjberg (Venste party) had a further justification for the new rules and that was framed as a good practice in the attitude towards immigrants. Danish citizenship was described as "something very special", which one should "deserve and be willing to reach out for", and therefore, the government would "make it significantly more difficult to obtain Danish citizenship" (Gokieli, 2015, p. 209). The Minister of Integration acknowledged that some would have difficulty living up to these claims, but did not believe they were "unreasonable" and added that it was no "human right" to become a Danish citizen (Gokieli, 2015, p. 210).

The analyzed magazines paint a picture of Denmark as a country where immigrants and their children are the subjects of much attention in both, Danish politics and the wider Danish public. Integration is the overall and alt-dominant topic in the debate about "them", most often formulated in the question of whether immigrants and descendants are part of Danish society, and what it means at all. The Danish focus on the integration of immigrants and descendants is not framed as a unique one, but can be seen as part of a larger debate in Western democracies that in these years relates to how to maintain or create cohesion in communities that over the past decades have become more ethnically and culturally mixed as a result of immigration. It is thus, on the one hand, about how new citizens become part of our community, and on the other, what we set as conditions for this. Words or metaphors referring to battles to fight on the battlefield of integration occur quite often, which again evoked the conflict situation.

4.3 Nordic style and lifestyle

This frame constructs the Norden as a region where different dynamics shape every part of the life of the individual and in a larger societal context, that is Nordic lifestyle and style. The chapter about the journalistic field and women's magazines, in particular, signalized that fashion, trends, home decorating or way of living are predominantly in the scope of interest of this type of media. French and Polish magazines are no exceptions in this case. The number of articles coded in this frame is 53 in Polish magazines and 72 in French. It is a relatively high number in comparison to other frames.

4.3.1 Hygge and lagom

The concept of Nordic lifestyle appears very often in the analyzed articles and is referred to in many different contexts, including health, sexuality, free time and customs. The articles which I have coded into this frame, are written to provide the readers with inspiration on how to live like the Nordics, how to spend free time in a Danish "hygge" way or how to decorate a flat according to "lagom" principles. The lifestyle of the other culture promoted in the magazines is becoming a promise of a better life, different from our own and therefore so attractive or tempting. Nordic way of living is becoming more and more popular:

Slow life to idea, która powstała w kraju chłodu i dystansu – Norwegii. Świetnie koresponduje z innymi skandynawskimi koncepcjami dobrego życia, jak szwedzkie lagom czy duńskie hygge. Nawet rozkrzyczane i radosne włoskie la dolce vita mówi w istocie o tym samym. Umiar, wygoda, wolne tempo i drobne przyjemności to recepta na szczęście, jaką odkryli niezależnie od siebie ludzie żyjący na najróżniejszych szerokościach geograficznych. ("Dobra Kawa Pomoże Ci Zwolnić – Slow Life Od Podszewki," 2018)

[Slow life is an idea that originated in the country of coldness and distance - Norway. It corresponds well with other Scandinavian concepts of a good life, such as Swedish lagom or Danish hygge. Even the shouting and joyful Italian la dolce vita reflects, in essence, the same. Moderation, comfort, slow pace and small pleasures are a recipe for happiness, discovered independently of people living in various latitudes.]

"Slow life", a popular and common notion, is described as something coming from Norway, something invented there. Such articles are constructed as an instruction how to live pleasant and satisfying life. It contrasts "slow pace" or "moderation" of the North with the clamorous South and presumes that there exists an alleged "Nordic lifestyle" that could be followed once these rules are followed. These images also construct Nordic lifestyle as something unilateral or common for the whole region. 2

Hygge is also constructed as a revelation coming from Norden. It is framed as a lifestyle, an attitude typical for this culture, for instance:

Hygge jest nurtem, który stawia na docenianie i celebrowanie tego, co mamy w domu. Pośrednio wynika to z uwarunkowań czysto pogodowych. W Skandynawii - może nie licząc kilku miesięcy – nie mamy tak wielu możliwości wychodzenia i spędzania czasu poza domem, stąd też skupienie na tym, co cennego jest w domu, jak dobrze się w nim czujemy pośród rzeczy, którymi jesteśmy otoczeni, poświęcanie czasu na samych siebie i na lekturę. (Wilk, 2017)

[Hygge is a trend that focuses on appreciating and celebrating what we have at home. Indirectly, it results purely from weather conditions. In Scandinavia – not counting a few months – there are not so many opportunities to go out and spend time outside the home, hence the focus is on what is precious in the house, how well we feel among the things we are surrounded by, spending time with ourselves and reading.]

In order to justify such statements, pronouns such as "we" and "us" are used to underline the universality of this phenomenon. It is constructed as something everyone follows, a "trend" that entails certain reflexivity. Hygge in the above example is coined with the cold weather typically associated with the Nordic countries, despite the fact, that the weather in Danmark seems to be the most temporate in comparison to other, northern parts of the region. Therefore, phenomena such as hygge are being constructed as a logical consequence of living conditions in the Nordic region and a result of the particular "sense of place". Hygge is also constructed as a phenomenon preconditioned by Dane's habitus and social practice followed by it:

Życie w Danii kręci się wokół wspólnoty, a Duńczycy mają silne poczucie więzi z własnym domem, ulicą i krajem. Hygge to zjawisko, które odzwierciedla sposób, w jaki zakorzeniamy się w tym świecie. Poczucie wzajemnego połączenia jest klejem, który spaja nas w doświadczaniu hygge — w relacjach z innymi i z danym miejscem. ("Dlaczego Hygge Daje Poczucie Szczęścia?," 2017)

[Life in Denmark revolves around community, and Danes have a strong sense of connection with their home, street and country. Hygge is a phenomenon that reflects the way we are rooted in this world. The sense of interconnection is an adhesive that binds us in experiencing hygge – in relationships with others and with a given place.]

Again, we observe an image of omnipresence of hygge, as if it was something performed by all the Danes ("us"). The metaphor of an adhesive (literally "glue" in Polish) that is mentioned in the article suggests that hygge and other such phenomena are elements biding the imagined Nordic community together.

The word "hygge" very frequently appears in the lifestyle sections of the magazines: "O bardzo modnym ostatnio duńskim hygge wiemy już chyba wszystko." ("Hygge, Dolce Vita…

A Jak Cieszyć Się Życiem Po Polsku?," 2017) [We already know everything about very fashionable lately Danish hygge]. It is framed also as a fashion. The word has existed in the Danish language for a long time already, yet it recently achieved enormous popularity in media. Hygge seems to be assigned to the middle-class (Linnet, 2011). Again, referring to the theoretical part of this thesis and Pierre Bourdieu, a social distinction is not merely related to economic conditions, i.e. income, possessions and connection to the labor market, but manifests itself through all parts of the lifestyle, including those related to knowledge, skills, everyday practice, consumption and, last but not least, taste. Belonging to a class is not just correlated with economic capital, but also cultural capital, i.e. education and taste, including e.g. cultural consumption and leisure habits, and hygge is conceptualized as such a habit. In other words, the status manifests itself through a societal hierarchy of different modes of consumption (Bourdieu, 1989a) and living the life in the "hygge"-way seems to be characteristic to the mentioned middle-class. Women's magazines frame the phenomenon of hygge based on this social distinction. The peculiarity of hygge is evinced in the press in multidimensional usage and application possibilities, conviction, that it plays an important role in everyday life in Denmark, that it is difficult to translate, express certain values. The word comes in fact from Norwegian (Levisen, 2012), but this is not explained in the analyzed articles.

Furthermore, in Polish magazines, hygge is framed as a lifestyle or social practice and something embedded in the Nordic habitus. In the French magazines, hygge is assigned to a special philosophy:

Le Danemark serait le pays où l'on est le plus heureux. Pas étonnant que tout le monde cherche les secrets de leur bonheur. Je me suis intéressée à une de leurs philosophies de vie : « l'esprit Hygge » (Beer, 2013).

[Denmark would be the country where we are happiest. No wonder everyone is looking for the secrets of their happiness. I am interested in one of their life philosophies: "Hygge spirit".]

Again, hygge is constructed as something typical for one geographical region only and something that somehow can be imitated or followed. Also, hygge is being called a "spirit" or "philosophy" which is the key-construct in women's magazines. Hygge is also framed as a mystical phenomenon reserved to those who discover its secrets. Hyperbole is a tool often used in such articles – "everyone" wants to get to know the secret of happy life where "everyone" is happy. This sounds like a paradise.

Yet, this omnipresent happiness of the Danish society has a flipside, namely:

Dania zwycięża w rankingach na najszczęśliwszych mieszkańców. To nie oznacza jednak, że kraj cieszy się najmniejszym odsetkiem samobójstw. Bycie nieszczęśliwym w środowisku ogólnej szczęśliwości może być bardzo dojmujące. ("Być Nieszczęśliwym Wśród Szczęśliwych Ludzi," 2017)

[Denmark wins the rankings of the happiest nation. This does not mean, however, that the country has the lowest suicide rates. Being unhappy in an environment of general happiness can be very intense].

That shocking contrast implies a simplified duality of the Danish society. Either you are happy and live in accordance with hygge, or you are miserable. The picture is very black and white, there seem to be no other shades. The French articles also seem to follow this tendency:

C'est culturel. Ici, les gens se sentent obligés de dire qu'ils sont heureux. La construction de l'identité danoise, le storytelling national, c'est que les Danois sont des gens heureux, simples et positifs.

[It's cultural. Here, people feel obliged to say that they are happy. The construction of Danish identity, the national storytelling, is that Danes are happy, simple and positive people.]

Hygge has been exploited to an unexpected degree in Polish women's magazines. It has even been used in sponsored articles, which sometimes create a striking effect – the philosophy or the idea of hygge has been correlated with the softness and sensuousness of the toiletries:

Zwykłe chwile jak codzienna zabawa z dziećmi, spotkanie z przyjaciółmi, pełna bliskości kolacja z mężem, a także otaczanie się miękkimi, ładnymi i zapewniającymi komfort przedmiotami, tworzenie wokół siebie ciepłej atmosfery powoduje, że czujemy się szczęśliwi. I w takich codziennych momentach od wielu lat towarzyszy nam marka Velvet. Jest z nami w naszej prywatnej krainie miękkości i komfortu (Bartel, 2017).

[Ordinary moments such as everyday fun with children, meeting friends, dinner with husband, as well as being surrounded by soft, nice and comfortable objects, creating a warm atmosphere around us, make us feel happy. And in such everyday moments, the Velvet brand has been accompanying us for many years. They are with us in our private land of softness and comfort.]

This does not seem surprising though, when we realize that this relativity results from various entanglements and external conditions, the most important of which are economic in nature (I have mentioned it in the chapter about journalistic field). Yet, it is somehow symptomatic that the toilet paper and paper towels can evoke the hygge-effect.

The multidimensional aspect of hygge concerns also a style in home decorating:

Duńskie pojmowanie szczęścia odzwierciedla się bardzo w aranżowanych wnętrzach. Duńczycy, jak przystało na naród skandynawski, stawiają przede wszystkim na przestrzeń, minimalizm, jasne barwy, drewno i inne naturalne surowce. Niemniej to właśnie w duńskich wnętrzach połączono skandynawską prostotę z ciepłem domowego ogniska i to tu jest to najbardziej widoczne. Wszystko zostało zaaranżowane tak, aby przestrzeń

wpływała na dobry nastrój. Wbrew niektórym opiniom, duńskie mieszkania nie są zimne i sterylne, jak to czasem wygląda na zdjęciach i jak jest przedstawiane przez tych, którzy nigdy w duńskim domu nie byli. To nie drogie meble i 'design', ale dusza zawarta w posiadanych przedmiotach ma dla nich największe znaczenie (Mrugacz, 2018b).

[The Danish understanding of happiness is very much reflected in the interiors. Danes, as befits the Scandinavian people, focus above all on space, minimalism, bright colors, wood and more natural raw materials. Nevertheless, it is in Danish interiors that Scandinavian simplicity and warmth have been combined with home fire and this is where it is most visible. Everything has been arranged so that space influenced the good mood. Contrary to some opinions, Danish apartments are not cold and sterile as sometimes it looks in the pictures and how it is presented by those who have never been to a Danish home. It is not expensive furniture and 'design', but the soul contained in your items is most important to them.]

Here the particular key-words are attached to the hygge way of house decorating and they are: "space, minimalism, bright colors, wood and more natural raw materials". It is also the "soul" of items and belongings. Again we observe constructing hygge as something supernatural and elusive, yet, paradoxically, also physical and tangible (like furniture).

It is not surprising that the cultural dimension of globalization is manifested in the progressive unification and uniformization of the world within the broadly understood culture. First of all, it concerns a language that, along with other processes, also adapts to unification. Hygge was the first "Nordic word" to undergo the specific process of globalization. Lagom has also been framed as a Scandinavian, or Swedish, to be precise, lifestyle, just like hygge:

„Lagom" wprowadza zasadę rezygnacji z nadmiaru oraz potrzeby nieustannego posiadania. To połączenie rozsądku i funkcjonalności z komfortem i radością, jaką gwarantuje przebywanie w danym otoczeniu. Do jego głównych inspiracji należą minimalizm, ergonomia, natura oraz styl skandynawski ("Zasada „Lagom" We Wnętrzach," 2017).

["Lagom" introduces the principle of rejecting excess and the need for constant ownership. It is a combination of reason and functionality with comfort and joy that guarantees to be in a given environment. His main inspirations include minimalism, ergonomics, nature and Scandinavian style.]

Lagom is constructed in a similar way to hygge, as a philosophy or lifestyle. A freeing restraint. We have again a simple tip how to achieve the state of lagom. It is being framed as something even exotic or revealing and innovative. As hygge became so popular, another Scandinavian term paved its way to the consciousness of the readers. According to the articles:

(1) Szwedzkie słowo „lagom" nie ma odpowiednika w języku polskim, ale w przybliżeniu można je przetłumaczyć jako: „nie za dużo, nie za mało, w sam raz" ("LAGOM Czyli Szwedzka Szkoła Szczęścia," 2018).

[The Swedish word "lagom" has no equivalent in Polish, but you can roughly translate it as: "not too much, not too little, just right".]

(2) Être dans le "ni trop, ni trop peu", vivre en harmonie avec "juste ce qu'il faut", loin des excès, pour vivre heureux… Découvrez les bienfaits du Lagom, le mode de vie à la suédoise, et retrouvez les clés pour vous y mettre, dès demain! Après le *hygge*, la philosophie à la danoise, voici le Lagom, la nouvelle tendance tout droit venue de Suède, qui consiste à vivre en harmonie, en cultivant les plaisirs simples (Tixeront, 2017).

[Being the "neither too much nor too little", living in harmony with "what just is needed", far from excess, to live happily... Discover the benefits of Lagom, the Swedish way of life, and find the keys to get you there, tomorrow! After the hygge, the Danish philosophy, here is Lagom, the new trend straight from Sweden, which consists of living in harmony, cultivating simple pleasures.]

The above mentioned difficulties with the translation of these words create an aura of exoticism (or borealism) to these notions and make them specific to a concrete place. The French magazines, like in the above example, also construct hygge and lagom as something that could be adapted and performed (like "philosophy" or "trend"). The key to achieving "the state of lagom" is almost the same as with hygge, that is to enjoy little pleasures, "to be" instead of "to have", live close to nature, and cultivate relations. Therefore, it sounds very philosophical when these notions are being framed in this way. These alternating recipes for a better life are achieved by implementing a kind of lifestyle, which is encapsulated in these words:

Cnota, powściągliwość, pamiętanie o potrzebach innych – czy ktoś widział coś równie trudnego do wypromowania? Szwedom nie tylko się to udało, ale zrobili z tego pomysł na życie (Z. O'Brien, 2018).

[Virtue, restraint, remembering the needs of others – has anyone seen something equally difficult to promote? The Swedes not only succeeded, but they turned it into an idea for life.]

The idea of hygge and lagom and the values attached to it by the magazines is being incarnated in a broader notion of an alleged Nordic invention.

Usually, the pictures from the articles, even though taken from the stock, contain different representations of what according to a particular magazine hygge or lagom is. For instance, hygge is a cup of coffee, books and cookies:

Picture 9 Illustration to an articles about hygge / no caption, Hygge, Dolce Vita... A Jak Cieszyć Się Życiem Po Polsku?, 2017

It can also be a picture of and an apartment or a house decorated with blankets:

Picture 10 Illustration to an article about hygge / no caption, Tixeront, 2017

Or a photograph showing people spending time with friends while drinking some beverages:

The pictures bring to mind the feelings of warmth, coziness and comfort due to the bright colors, smiling people, and the "attributes of hygge" such as fur, blankets, warm beverages or books. They refer to the text.

4.3.2. Products

Since postmodern consumption shifts the focus from satisfying our needs to the symbolic nature of the goods consumed, a lamp or chair is no longer only used for practical reasons, but to show our status, especially, if it is a design lamp or chair. Consumer culture has almost become the creator of our identities (Guzik, 2013, p. 24). Style and fashion shape our image and personality. Media in general, and women's magazines in particular, homogenize these images and representations. The identity of the individual is modified by a more individualized and fluid identification associated with a specific lifestyle, based on a set of consumer goods and a set of images shown by the mass media, a style characteristic of famous Nordics brands such as IKEA, television personalities, or fictional media characters. The processes of self-determination are becoming increasingly dependent on the appropriation of the attributes of consumer goods (Dunn, 1998, p. 66). From the perspective of enterprises and companies, this process is also coined with the conversion of capital, from

116

the symbolic (the value of a brand or product) to the economic (generating income), which results in sponsored articles such as the ones in the women's magazines:

Katalog IKEA 2019 już jest! Długo wyczekiwany, w końcu jest dostępny również w Polsce - tym razem jednak w zupełnie innej niż dotychczas odsłonie! Co się zmieniło? Zajrzyjcie do środka! (Bukowska, 2018).

[The IKEA 2019 catalog is here! Long-awaited, available finally also in Poland – this time, however, in a completely different setting! What changed? Look inside!]

The publishing of the catalog is framed as an awaited event and the Scandinavian style in home decorating has been constructed in the articles from the Polish women's magazines as a popular way of designing and organizing interiors. The attributes such as "bright", "comfortable", "simple" or "practical" are the terms occurring in the context of this style. This type of style is besides often coined with Scandinavian values or way of living and transferred to home decorating. The Scandinavian style is therefore a self-contained term, which can be associated with different attributes often equal to the imaginings of the region itself. It is also constructed as a style for the wealthy, who can afford design furniture, as well as for the less prosperous, who are interested in an eye-friendly and neat interior. The Scandinavian style is thus framed as a bridge between different tastes and different social class needs. The Scandinavian style is however predominantly associated with IKEA and its products according to the articles.

Scandinavian style is a general expression that refers also to the way of dressing and different consumer goods. "Nordic" has become a synonym to "fancy" from what we can read in the articles. As already mentioned, for Bourdieu the style and taste was coined with social class, the women's magazines attempt to shape certain style and taste by suggesting that something labelled "Nordic" or "Scandinavian" is more sophisticated or in good taste, especially when it comes to furniture industry (IKEA being an exception):

Impossible de passer à côté du style scandinave ! Avec ses lignes épurées, ses matériaux nobles, ses imprimés géométriques et ses couleurs pastel, il a envahi les pages des magazines et les magasins de mobilier d'intérieur (Garenne, 2018).

[Impossible to go past the Scandinavian style! With its clean lines, noble materials, geometric prints and pastel colors, it has invaded the pages of magazines and interior furniture stores.]

However again, some trends appear to indulge the tastes of the masses:

Oui, les scandi-girls font la pluie et le beau temps dans notre dressing. Avec son allure faussement négligée et son amour pour les pièces pointues, la Scandinave s'impose comme la nouvelle fille à suivre. L'occasion rêvée de mettre le cap sur 5 marques qui cartonnent déjà là-bas (Jobert, 2018).

[Yes, the scandi-girls call the tune in our dressing rooms. With its falsely neglected look and love for sharp pieces, the Scandinavian is the new girl to follow. The perfect opportunity to focus on 5 brands that are already on the map.]

The neologism "scandi-girl" refers to a concrete way of dressing up. Even though France is famous for fashion, with Paris being the world capital of good taste and luxury, the Nordic style is also becoming popular. It is however not a sophisticated or luxurious style just like the French one but therefore is more available to average women or girls. If something gets and adjective "Nordic" or "Scandinavian" it instantly evokes positive associations.

Z badania przeprowadzonego przez Westwing Home & Living wynika, że Polacy najbardziej chcą mieszkać we wnętrzach urządzonych w stylu skandynawskim. (…) Pokochaliśmy go za jego funkcjonalność, prostotę i bezpretensjonalność.

[The study conducted by Westwing Home & Living shows that Poles want to live in Scandinavian-style interiors the most. (…) We loved it for its functionality, simplicity and unpretentiousness.]

The articles about how to decorate a house or flat in a Nordic way almost always include pictures depicting bright interiors with Scandinavian-style furniture and decoration:

Picture 5 Scandinavian style interior / Scandinavian Living, Bukowska, 2016

Picture 13 Hygge style interior/ no caption, Bukowska 2016

The light is again an important part of these photographs. It is usually soft, warm and slightly dim, in some of the pictures. It resembles the light of the setting sun or the flame of candles.

4.3.3 Design and fashion

The style-frame includes also the phenomenon of the Nordic design. Norden is ascribed the special qualities in this aspect:

Kopenhaga od lat uchodzi za światową stolicę designu, słynącą z prostego, a zarazem bliskiego naturze wzornictwa. ("Designerskie Mieszkanie w Kopenhaskim Stylu," 2016)

[For many years, Copenhagen has been considered the world capital of design, famous for its simple design, yet close to nature.]

119

Nordic design or the design of a particular country is framed as an important part of the Nordic cultural field. When the design is mentioned in magazines, it contains words like "functionality", "simplicity" and "quality". Although the term "design" has various uses, women's magazines focus mainly on a few of its dimensions. It seems that the design greatly expanded semantics. The notion of design is being attached to values linked to cultural and commercial high status such as creativity and expressiveness and perhaps above all timeliness. Maybe even wealth. However, in the Nordic region and Sweden in particular, design is constructed as a part of the habitus of every average Swede:

En Suède, les gens ont une conscience du design, contrairement à d'autres pays où cette conscience est réservée à l'élite (Escot, 2006).

[In Sweden, people have a design consciousness, unlike other countries where this consciousness is reserved for the elite.]

Nordic design is also constructed as a concept to which values such as variation, renewal, change, and good taste are attached. The design has become an autonomous entity of the socio-cultural field, which we observe in the articles devoted to it. The analyzed articles about Nordic design, reinforce designers' symbolic capital (their recognition and what is a "good project" (Alberge, 2015; de Beaumont, 2012; "Designerskie Mieszkanie w Kopenhaskim Stylu," 2016; Escot, 2006). The French and Polish women's magazines seek to influence a kind of consumers' identity, who through the journalistic field as a significant source of mythical and symbolic resources construct identity narratives, and fabricate a coherent or fragmented sense of self. Secondly, they take the role of producers of cultural representations, creators of feelings, and cultural worlds by devoting to shared consumption interests, for instance, the Nordic style. The notion of Nordic style occurs also in the context of the way of dressing or appearance. Nowadays, fashion crosses borders, not only cultural or spatial but also economical. Based on the suggestions given by fashion houses and photo sessions in women's magazines, it is easy to complete a matching outfit appropriate to a given style (for instance Nordic), regardless of limits of the budget. By following the latest fashion trends under the Nordic style, we can distinguish ourselves from other collectives and be fashionable. Democratization of society has meant that thanks to fashion man is not so much aspiring to "being better" in the context of imitating a better-situated group but to "being in line" with current trends. The determinant of fashion is becoming "being on time", being modern (in line with what is currently binding).

The phenomenon of the Nordic aesthetic of everyday life is framed on a similar basis to which fashion functions in human life. Procedure or choices of specific attributes of this style is not motivated by the desire for practical benefits, and only an attempt to highlight one's own uniqueness and originality. The matter of fashion and style according to women's magazines causes a limitation of the risk of failure in creating your own "project of yourself" is done by using for this purpose market identity offers. They are constructed on the basis of the complete selectivity of the individual, giving the final effect in the form of a certain image of oneself, which he or she wants to confirm in the eyes of other members of the group to which he or she belongs to. This type of construction, on the one hand, makes us aware of the widening scope of individual freedom, and on the other, of strong involvement in market mechanisms and processes. The articles are often sponsored:

To wyrafinowany styl casual i prawdziwy kulturowy miks: ubrania są szyte w Warszawie, ale z włoskich materiałów, a design jest islandzki. Znajdziemy tu niebanalne t-shirty (mnie urzekają te z kieszonką – są bezpretensjonalne, dobre jakościowo i mają super cenę- poniżej 100zł!), szaliko-tuby, szaliki, garnitury, koszule, krawaty, casualowe marynarki zwane „Roman Jacket" i inne. (Zasłona-Dukielska, 2011).

[This is a sophisticated casual style and a real cultural mix: clothes are sewn in Warsaw, but from Italian fabrics, and the design is Icelandic. We will find original t-shirts here (I'm captivated by the ones with a pocket, they are unpretentious, of good quality and have a great price, less than PLN 100!), tube scarves, scarves, suits, shirts, ties, casual jackets called 'Roman Jacket' and others.]

The selection of symbols necessary to construct own identity is done by detaching them from the source from which they grew and within which they performed a specific function. Highlighting the close relationship between fashion and identity is a tendency typical for this kind of magazine since fashion and identity are based on similar processes. Namely, they are to give people a sense of belonging to a particular group, as well as a belief in their uniqueness and distinctiveness by its Nordicness. This means that at the same time we need to experience community (in different dimensions: common personal characteristics, common goals or observed standards like the Nordic one) with other people and difference that allows us to break free from the "mass", thus becoming individuality. Therefore, we are talking about two processes of identification and individuation. "Being somebody" is a conglomerate of all experiments and identifications that are typical of an individual. The Nordic style is constructed as to allow people finding own place in social space. Customs or a specific lifestyle gives a sense of belonging to a particular social group, at the same time excluding membership in groups that seem less attractive. Creating your own image and social identification is an expression of the individual's desire to make "ideal", "real" and actual.

This means that man in his actions tends to reach for what is valuable. This value arises from social recognition. The more desire or demand for a given item whether the way of being exceeds the possibilities of achieving them (supply), the more valuable they are. A similar situation occurs when it comes to personal patterns that people try to assimilate and implement. Being someone "special" and "valuable" requires the realization of identity scenarios marked by social recognition. One of the proven strategies is to use market goods that are considered fashionable and desirable and thus socially sanctioned. A new quality, however, is the fact that consuming certain products is associated with the acquisition of specific lifestyles. This is clearly seen in advertising products such as Nordic clothes, cosmetics, or even cars (even though their Nordicness can be questioned due to the economic capital-based reason), e.g. "modern woman uses Nordic…", "attractive man cannot do without a this or that type of beard" etc.:

Ten drwaloseksualizm jest zupełnie nietrafiony. Właściwą nazwą powinien być "trend skandynawski", jest obecny w modzie od wielu lat, tyle że nie brzmi tak oryginalnie. A moim celem jest przełamanie stereotypu faceta, który o siebie dba i wygląda męsko, ale nie jest lalusiem .

[This lumberjack style is completely missed. The correct name should be the "Scandinavian trend", it has been present in fashion for many years, but it doesn't sound so original. And my goal is to break the stereotype of the guy who takes care of himself and looks manly, yet is not a preppie.]

The question that arises is why fashion and associated consumption so much interests people, in the process of building their identity? It needs to be noted that along with a sense of community and recognition, fashion and consumption can provide a source of pleasure and satisfaction from being different and new, being "the Nordic way". Sensual satisfaction is a strong motivation for constantly taking up this type of activity. Experiencing some kind of passion is associated with the individual's discovery of a self-image in the lifestyle offered by fashion. The market of goods and the advertisements or articles about them can be a form of a promise in which a person can see their own (often new and/or better) identity. The imaginary structure formed in this way sets the direction of human action in everyday life. The magazines carry a kaleidoscope of aesthetic, variable and heterogeneous representations of experiences, which are reflected in fashion. Fashion is one of the components of the image of the Nordic culture and a mirror in which everything is more beautiful, better and more attractive.

Fashion in the articles is expressed by the world of things, but also behavior, experiences and views. Fashion is a combination of novelty and stylization in the Nordic way (Jawłowska &

Kempny, 2005, p. 45). Thus this sphere includes clothing, everyday items, interiors, and surroundings, but also behavior, manners, and beliefs, one could say it includes everything that is designable and that design is deeply connected with fashion. The Nordic fashion is constructed as something that gives meaning. It is usually treated lightly, due to the specificity of the analyzed media, and yet it is the lens of another culture. It performs aesthetic functions and in the fact that something is fashionable (new) and in what is fashionable (attractive):

Korzystanie z łaźni parowych i saun jest w krajach skandynawskich równie naturalne jak oddychanie. Według mieszkańców Skandynawii sauna nie tylko relaksuje ciało i umysł, ale również znakomicie rewitalizuje skórę. (…) Z kolei Szwedki zdradzają, że sekretem ich świetlistej cery jest dieta. Nic dziwnego skoro w Skandynawii powszechnie dostępne są wody mineralne pozyskane z lodowca oraz świeże jagody i ryby, które zawierają dobroczynne antyutleniacze (Mrugacz, 2018a).

[Using baths and saunas is as natural as breathing in the Scandinavian countries. According to Scandinavians, sauna not only relaxes the body and mind but also perfectly revitalizes the skin. (…) In turn, the Swedes reveal that the secret of their luminous complexion is diet. No wonder, since in Scandinavia mineral water from glaciers is widely available, as well as fresh berries and fish that contain beneficial antioxidants.]

The body and beauty is another perspective in which women's magazines see inspiration while looking at the Nordic region. Modern woman should take proper care of her body and the Nordic region offers a recipe for this. Body unravels who I am now and becomes part of self-identity creation. It is no longer enough to take care of the right clothing or makeup. It is now also equally important to look for the right treatments and rituals. The body is also subjected to meticulous self-creation procedures, including a slimming regime, like the controversial Copenhagen regime (Henry, 2017; Tarlayan, 2001).

Women's magazines in both countries have a specific attitude toward creating patterns of framing the body and provide not only images but also criteria for proper treatment and assessment of yourself (your own body). Refusal to follow recommended guidelines and rules leads to social "punishment", which is usually a lack of acceptance, and consequently low self-esteem. Any maladjustment, i.e. inability to accommodate, as well as indifference to popular ideal canons, are perceived as a scratch on the image (and thus identity). A well-groomed body is supposed to guarantee good well-being, an attractive appearance, so also acceptance of others. The Nordic people know how to achieve it and role models in recent years (Rateau, 2003; "Smartfood: Najlepsza Dieta Dla Mózgu," 2014; Thierry, 2014).

The identity creation, apart from the bodily aspects with inspiration from the Nordic region, is a process that takes place in women's magazines (Olausson, 2010, p. 140). Within the cultural

studies tradition, on the other hand, digital media are considered to provide opportunities for diversity and may lead to it innovative identity constructions. Through today's media, we give an insight into the world in a new way. Drawing boundaries on the other hand is an essential issue within theories of identity creation. As referred to at the beginning of this thesis, Hall argues that the issue of differences has become an important part of cultural studies and there are both, positive and negative aspects to it, making it both, a necessary and dangerous concept (1997). On a linguistic level, differences are important as they help us create meaning, without contradictions we would not understand certain concepts. We understand what black is because we can contrast it with white, in this way it is the inequality that distinguishes and gives the meaning of the concept. Similarly, we can understand nationalities in the sense that their traits differ from others nationalities. This process is visible in the women's magazines, in a way they present some cultural habits, rituals or characteristics:

(1) Dla Skandynawów słodkie są cukierki lukrecjowe z solą (Sarnowicz, 2017)

[For Scandinavians, licorice candies with salt are sweet]

(2) Fini l'équitation, maintenant on se met au « hobbyhorse ». Découvrez ce sport original!' (Laforgue, 2017)

[No more riding, now we devote ourselves to "hobbyhorse". Discover this original sport!]

However, even if the meaning depends on differences between opposites and this can help capture the diversity of the world, it is a rather reducing way to make sense. The world not only consists of binary oppositions but there are gray scales in between. Further, Hall thinks that we need differences since the Other is elemental to construction of us and our identity creation. From an anthropological point of view, he argues that cultures rely on giving things meaning by distributing them within one classification system, to mark differences thus forming the basis of the symbolic order in culture. Negativity can arise when things do not fit into any category and the cultural order is disturbed. Hall argues that the issue of differences and assumptions has become significant in several disciplines. Inequality is ambivalent and can be both, positive in terms of meaning creation and for our identity creation; but at the same time, it may constitute one danger as it may seem divisive, and give rise to negative feelings and aggression towards others (Hall, 1997, p. 234). The representations of the Nordic region definitely rises positive emotion and associations, what comes from the analysis.

Such differences (like the example of eating licorice or being scandi-girl) is also important to how we look at ourselves in out culture. In order to draw a boundary between Us and Them, we need to systematize our view of people. The media offer this opportunity as the meeting

between Us and the Others also takes place while using different types of media. In that way we can say, that one possibility of establishing what is it like to be Nordic and how it is to live in Norden etc. is based not on the direct contact but on the media's identifications and categorizations. The media, here specific segment of magazines, often relate to different customs or traditions, presented in a form of an interesting fact or oddity:

Karnawał w Danii to czas zabaw, w których biorą udział przede wszystkim dzieci. Jedną z nich jest uderzanie kijem w wisząca na drzewie beczkę z namalowanym na niej wizerunkiem kota. W beczce znajdują się słodycze, wysypujące się, gdy tylko odpadnie dno. Każdy z uczestników zabawy ma ograniczoną liczbę uderzeń, a zwycięzca – poza łakociami – otrzymuje również tytuł Kociego Króla. ("7 Karnawałowych Zwyczajów z Całego Świata," 2019).

[Carnival in Denmark is a time of games, in which mainly children participate. One of them hits a stick in a barrel hanging on a tree with a picture of a cat painted on it. There are sweets in the barrel, falling out when the bottom falls off. Each participant has a limited number of strokes, and the winner, apart from sweets, also receives the title of the Cat King].

Sometimes, the analyzed articles touch upon these intercultural differences by using dark humor:

La plus grande cause de mortalité en Norvège, ce ne sont pas les accidents de ski ou de voiture, mais l'ennui (I. Girard, 2014).

[The biggest cause of death in Norway is not skiing or car accidents, but boredom.]

This funny way of telling that Norway is a boring country points also to something else. Here, the sphere of human activity in the context of taboo: the untouchable, forbidden or holy is altered. Due to media, the untouchable sphere is shrinking; anything can become an issue publicly available. Many phenomena, about which yet several decades ago it was impossible to speak (like the death in the Norwegian context above), today become discussed and even in some cases made fun of.

Finally, not only the form (media structures) but also the content plays a role in the case of cultural meetings. Such type of cultural meeting taking place via media demonstrates at least two implicit presuppositions: that culture should not be narrowly understood as fine culture, but broadly as everyday culture, e.g. such as the more or less conscious habits and traditions, views of life and worldviews, including religious beliefs, as well as social relationships and forms of interaction that are part of and expressed in people's daily lives (like in the examples presented in above citations). Also, it is assumed that the distinctive features of this everyday

culture are usually clarified or formulated by the individual when he or she sees himself in relation to people with a different cultural background.

The last issue concerning cultural meeting through media in this context is the fact that the analyzed articles were published online, which exists by virtue of a subtle interaction between technical and social interaction processes. The article could have been commented or shared on via social media by individual people. Naturally, cultural meetings in cyberspace also have a distinctly individual character. On the Internet, it is the individual user, actor or surfer who, in a very direct way, either selects or deselects interaction possibilities, relationship patterns, areas of interest, discussion sessions and conversation partners. Cyberspace itself cannot be maintained in one framework, forum or venue. It is, on the other hand, part of different individually arranged connections at intersections of otherwise intended meeting places, organizational forms and groupings. The typical player in the virtual cultural meetings is thus the self-managing individual. And three typical features of the virtual cultural landscape are in accordance with heterogeneity, differentiation and process orientation.

4.4 New Nordic Food

One of the frames that almost dominates the discourse about the Nordic region in the French women's magazines is the frame of the food culture. In other words, the image of Norden in the French journalistic field is created by focusing on the aspects of Nordic cuisine and food products. By framing this aspect of the Nordic culture, agents of the French journalistic field make it easier to ingest the national images when they are wrapped in a material form (Hermansen, 2012). The intrinsic relation between taste and place is assumed, which becomes visible while reading the articles from the French women's magazines. That facilitates the process of imagining the Nordic region and Nordicness and framing these images. It is important to highlight that the number of articles found in the French magazines (41) compared with the Polish (25) is meaningful in itself, and it will be discussed at the end of this chapter. Another important aspect is that these articles entirely focus on food and cooking. There were many more articles which referred to the Nordic cuisine, but as I mentioned in the methodological chapter, the focus is on the texts which devote their whole attention to a given phenomenon. From the vast number of the articles emerges an idea of the Nordic region not only as a geographical entity, but also as terroir, a cultural category in this article originating and embedded in French culture that means something encompassing "soil, locality, and part of the country" (Trubek, 2008, p. 9).

4.4.1 Gourmet food

The importance of taste in French culture has been tracked by Amy Trubek in her book "the Taste of Place" (2008). Trubek states that terroir has been an important cultural category for the French in the context of e.g. categorizing taste. It originates from the times of celebrating and enjoying the agrarian way of life that is central to French identity (Trubek, 2008, s. 11). The similar nature of the attitude towards different aspects of food and tasting between the Nordic and French cultures may constitute one of the reasons for the broad coverage of this topic in the French press. One of the aspects of Nordicness becoming visible in the French magazines is the relation between food and the natural environment. These two dimensions are inseparable and highly related. For both, the French and the Nordics buying, growing, preparing and tasting is related to the environment: valleys, meadows, forests, rocks, water, fences, etc.:

La connaissance des saisons et des produits est profondément ancrée dès la plus tendre enfance des suédois. Impossible de manger des cerises en hiver en Suède! La cuisine suédoise repose sur l'utilisation d'aliments bruts, non transformés, mais aussi de produits frais et locaux (Gautherin, 2017).

[The knowledge of the seasons and products is deeply ingrained from the very early childhood of Swedes. It is impossible to eat cherries in winter in Sweden! Swedish cuisine is based on the use of unprocessed raw foods, but also fresh and local products].

Another aspect of constructing the Nordic region predominantly through the prism of taste might be explained by Billig who suggests that "one needs to look at the reasons why people in the contemporary world do not forget their nationality" (Billig, 1995, p. 6). In the case of this study, local cuisine may be perceived as a way of expressing local identity in everyday discourse. In other words, local cuisine, tasting or even following traditional recipes are methods of remembering "who we are". They are a way to construct and preserve the sense of national identity and also take part in forming an "imagined community"(Anderson, 1991). Tasting and cuisine can serve as a demonstration of group sentiment, expression of feelings and concepts about a country and its inhabitants in the context of everyday practices and objects (Hermansen, 2012, s. 3). Also, it is framed as a demonstration of Nordicness and a performative of Nordicness:

Dans la mode, la déco et la table, cet art de vivre qui fait rimer simplicité avec sobriété où « ni trop, ni trop peu » rassure et inspire toujours autant. Cette année, on recevait et partageait un menu de fêtes en oubliant dinde, marrons et foie gras au profit d'un réveillon comme en Scandinavie en mode « hygge », dans une ambiance chaleureuse mais fraîche comme un fjord norvégien. On vous ouvre notre carnet de recettes aux accents nordiques pour s'inspirer des salades de hareng, de saumon gravlax, de langoustines de la mer du Nord et de vins chauds épicés. Joyeux Noël scandinave! (Gautherin, 2018).

[In the fashion, the decor and the table, this lifestyle that rhymes simplicity with sobriety or the "neither too much nor too little" reassures and inspires as much. This year, we received and shared a holiday menu that forgets turkey, chestnuts and foie gras in favor of a New Year's Eve Scandinavian hygge, in a warm but fresh, as Norwegian fjord, ambiance. We're opening up our recipe book with Nordic accents to take inspiration from herring salad, gravlax salmon, North Sea scampi and hot spicy wines. Happy Scandinavian Christmas!]

So the idea of hygge and lagom is also coined with the food preparation and eating in the Nordic way. The comparison "fresh as a Norwegian fjord" is adding yet another dimension to feeling and imagining how the food could taste like. And all that by putting away the traditional French Christmas dishes, like chestnuts or foie gras…

The "philosophy of lagom" reached even the French kitchens and all its distinctive features apply also to the Nordic way of eating:

Philosophie scandinave, basée sur la modération, les plaisirs simples et la proximité avec la nature, le lagom s'applique aussi à la cuisine mêlant gourmandise et bien être. (…) Si les Suédois prônent une nourriture saine et de saison, ils misent aussi sur des recettes de petits plats simples et faits maison qui cultivent évidemment la modération c'est-à-dire qui sont équilibrés tout en procurant beaucoup de plaisir. Un juste équilibre entre responsable et harmonie (Gautherin, 2017).

[Scandinavian philosophy based on moderation, simple pleasures and closeness to nature, lagom also applies to the cuisine mixing greed and well-being. (...) If the Swedes advocate healthy and seasonal food, they also rely on recipes of simple and homemade dishes that cultivate moderation, which is balanced and provides a lot of fun. A balance between responsible and harmony.]

Also, it is something unifying the Nordics as the culinary tradition is framed as the uniform for the whole region ("Scandinavian philosophy"). The concept of the homogenous Nordic cuisine is closely related to geographical territory which is framed as a manifestation of a set of Nordic characteristics (coolness, sophistication, simplicity). Although the geographical and cultural differences between the Nordic countries are considerable, they are mainly (but not always) framed as a monolith in terms of food in the analyzed French and Polish magazines. The Nordic region is also framed as a unity sharing the same ancestry. For instance, in the French women's magazines, when referring to "le régime Viking" (the Viking diet) (Henry, 2017):

On connaissait déjà le régime Paléo, le régime Okinawa, le régime Crétois... Voilà maintenant le régime Viking! (…) Aux États-Unis, le régime Viking (ou «New Nordic Diet», «régime nordique») est à la mode: la présentatrice-star Oprah Winfrey en est d'ailleurs une fervente ambassadrice. Le principe est archi simple : adopter une alimentation plus saine et plus équilibrée au quotidien en s'inspirant des bonnes habitudes de nos voisins danois, norvégiens, suédois, finlandais et islandais. Et, au passage, perdre nos kilos superflus…

[We already know the Paleo diet, the Okinawa diet, the Cretan diet... Here is the Viking diet! (...) In the United States, the Viking diet (or "New Nordic Diet", "Nordic diet") is fashionable: the talk-show host and star Oprah Winfrey is also a fervent ambassador. The principle is simple: to adopt a healthier and more balanced diet daily by drawing inspiration from the good habits of our neighbors from Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland and Iceland. And, by the way, to lose our extra pounds.]

The "Nordic diet", as an inheritance from the Viking ancestors, is also a term used in one of the Polish magazines:

Jeśli chcemy zachować bystrość umysłu, a przy tym odżywiać się zdrowo warto inspirować się jadłospisem rodem z basenu Morza Śródziemnego i Skandynawii. Dieta nordycka jest oparta o produkty lokalne i składa się w 25 % z pełnoziarnistych produktów zbożowych. W Szwecji charakterystyczne są grube płatki owsiane, w Norwegii bardzo popularne są płatki żytnie, zaś w całej Skandynawii – płatki jęczmienne. Mieszkańcy północy Europy jadają też mnóstwo warzyw, a przede wszystkim kapusty i roślin strączkowe. W sezonie letnim uzupełnieniem diety są truskawki, porzeczki, borówki czy maliny. Potomkowie Wikingów uwielbiają też ryby, a jak wiadomo ryby są bardzo zdrowym źródłem białka, które składa się z aminokwasów potrzebnych do prawidłowego funkcjonowania nie tylko mięśni, ale tez mózgu.

[If we want to preserve our mental acumen and at the same time eat healthy, it is worth inspiring ourselves with a menu from the Mediterranean and Scandinavia. The Nordic diet is based on local products and consists of 25% wholegrain cereal products. In Sweden, thick oatmeal is characteristic, in Norway rye flakes are very popular, and in the whole of Scandinavia – barley flakes. Inhabitants of northern Europe also eat a lot of vegetables, and above all cabbages and legumes. In the summer season, diet supplements are strawberries, currants, blueberries or raspberries. Viking descendants also love fish, and as you know fish are a very healthy source of protein, which consists of amino acids needed for the proper functioning of not only muscles but also the brain.]

The diet is constructed as being rooted in history. The Vikings and their alleged diet are the symbols of strength, well-being and energy. It seems to be one of the healthiest way of nutrition with all the fish, berries, vegetables etc. that are being mentioned. Yet again, this type of diet is framed as being "in fashion". To supplement the argument of its popularity, the figure of Oprah Winfrey is evoked, an ambassador of this diet. It is, however, interesting, that the "Nordic diet" is the contrary to the once popular "Copenhagen diet". The former contains positive associations like health and pleasure, while the latter renunciation and restrictions. The New Nordic diet is simple, but sophisticated. Anyone can follow its rules and recipes by getting inspiration from the analyzed articles.

4.4.2 NOMA

This particular food culture is also framed as a conveyor of Nordic values and attributes. It is a method of communicating qualities such as excellence, simplicity, sustainability, welfare, purity and happiness. The recognition of Nordic cuisine in the media coincides with the

opening of the awarded NOMA restaurant in 2003[2]. From that point, an increased interest in Nordic cuisine can be observed. The unique set of practices and approaches concerning menu and products was embodied in NOMA in the form of the Manifesto for a New Nordic Cuisine.

Aims of the New Nordic Kitchen are:

- To express the purity, freshness, simplicity and ethics we wish to associate with our region.

- To reflect the changes of the seasons in the meal we make.

- To base our cooking on ingredients and products whose characteristics are particularly in our climates, landscapes and waters.

- To combine the demand for good taste with modern knowledge of health and well-being.

- To promote Nordic products and the variety of Nordic producers – and to spread the word about their underlying cultures.

- To promote animal welfare and a sound production process in our seas, on our farmland and in the wild.

- To develop potentially new applications of traditional Nordic food products.

- To combine the best in Nordic cookery and culinary traditions with impulses from abroad.

- To combine local self-sufficiency with regional sharing of high-quality products.

- To join forces with consumer representatives, other cooking craftsmen, agriculture, fishing, food, retail, and wholesales industries, researchers, teachers, politicians, and authorities on this project for the benefit and advantage of everyone in the Nordic countries (Øverås, 2008).

Following Appadurai (1988), the recipes and the Manifesto are "artefacts of culture in the making" (Appadurai, 1988, s. 22). Furthermore, the idea of the New Nordic Food is also combined with the image of an ideal place to live, since tasty dishes and a healthy diet are all components of joyful life and part of hygge. Even a simple recipe – radishes in a pot – became a signature starter and a representation of the concept of the New Nordic Food. It is a set of radishes, soil and herb emulsion and involves radishes placed on 'soil' that is prepared from a blend of malt, crushed hazelnuts, salt, butter and beer; with a creamy herb dip at the

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[2]NOMA is an acronym for Nordisk Mad – lit. "Nordic Food". It is not only a restaurant, but a movement and a concept behind the NewNordic Cuisine. NOMA offers "an innovative gastronomic take on traditional cooking methods, fine Nordic produce and the legacy of our shared food heritage" (NOMA n.d.). The creators of this movement are Danish cook and entrepreneur Claus Meyer and Danish-Macedonian chef René Redzepi. In 2010 and 2011 NOMA restaurant received the San Pellegrino World's Best Restaurant Award.

bottom. It is supposed to represent the dark, fertile Nordic soil and the Nordic landscape. The terracotta pot itself comes from the local clay. In the article from "Le Figaro Madame" (Tribeau, 2011) it has been indicated that the starter encapsulates the idea of Nordic food – it is made of local products, simple but refined and fresh. In this context, the food and nature are very linked together in the analyzed articles. The representation of the Nordic food and representations of nature were stated already in the New Nordic Food Manifesto. The rules formulated in the New Nordic Food Manifesto are framed as an expression of certain characteristics of Nordicness in general. The Manifesto is then a reflection of Nordicness in its material form. It is underlined that the Nordic cuisine is:

Described in abstract and ambiguous terms like "ethics" and "simplicity". The "demand for good taste" results in a plan for the creation of the New Nordic Cuisine that will benefit the "health and wellbeing" of "everyone in the Nordic countries". It has a "special character", a Nordic character, which can be "favourable" compared to other global cuisines. These characteristics are produced by the "particularly excellent" conditions of the Nordic landscape, climate and waters (Meyer, 2004).

From one perspective this type of cuisine seem to be constructed as something sophisticated and gourmet, but at the same time it is universal and anyone from Norden can enjoy it – a specific culinary Law of Jante. The phenomenon of NOMA restaurant and the movement of the New Nordic Food is created in the French press as something unique, exceptional and out of the ordinary. Here I relate again to Bourdieu, who states that experiencing taste, especially in its purely organoleptic form in this context, is predominated by a fairly small group of people, an elite or "tastemakers" (Bourdieu, 1989). The New Nordic Food movement and the Nordic cuisine, in general, is created in the French press as something refined indeed, but democratic at the same time. Just like the French cuisine, but in a different form and based on specific philosophy (Chevrier, 2011). It also seems to be a variation of the haute cuisine known in France and constructs the region as a locus of sophistication expressed in an edible form.

4.4.3 Senses

Food is not just part of the daily routine, it is considered by anthropology as a way to determine the Other. Mary Douglas, for instance, sees the culinary tradition and tasting as identity and creator discerning from other classes, nations or ethnicities (Douglas, 1985; Fischler, 1988; Palmer, 1998). The French women's magazines also frame the Nordic region

through culinary aspects to determine Nordicness and the Nordic culture. It is a mode of approaching another culture and exploring it, sometimes as the only possible option due to the geographical distance. For instance, in the case of Iceland and its national product – skyr:

Frais et onctueux, le skyr islandais a déjà détrôné le yaourt grec et autre spécialités fermentées dans les réfrigérateurs des New-Yorkaises. Pourtant ce n'est pas un yaourt, même si son apparence s'en rapproche. Plutôt à michemin entre le fromage à tartiner et la faisselle, le skyr fait partie des produits traditionnels de la cuisine islandaise. (Lee-Sandra, 2014)

[Fresh and unctuous, the Icelandic skyr has already dethroned Greek yogurt and other fermented specialties from the refrigerators of New Yorkers. Yet it is not a yoghurt, even if its appearance is close to it. Rather than halfway between cheese spread and faisselle, skyr is one of the traditional products of Icelandic cuisine.]

Apart from this, food and eating is also framed as an important part of hygge, especially in Denmark, where this expression comes from. In the French press hygge equals good food and enjoying company at the table and is compared to a "religion". In this context, the food is being lifted from the sphere of profanum, to sacrum:

The hygge se vit une boisson chaude à la main. C'est comme ça. Cela peut être une tasse de thé, un chocolat chaud, un vin chaud, mais surtout un bon café, quasi une religion au Danemark. (Frey, 2017)

[The hygge is a hot drink in the hand. It's like that. It can be a cup of tea, a hot chocolate, a mulled wine, but above all a good coffee, almost a religion in Denmark.]

The culinary tradition in the Nordic region is not the mere product and way of preparing it, but also the sense of togetherness, inner warmth, and spending carefree time. The image of the Nordic region is the image of a warm and welcoming place that contrasts with the geographical attributes:

Organiser un petit repas avec ses amis (et une bouteille de vin), pour passer la soirée à se retrouver. (Laforgue, 2016)
[Organize a small meal with friends (and a bottle of wine), to spend the evening meeting.]

The connection of the Nordic food culture, climate and nature is strongly underlined by the magazines in France. That is convergent with the research of Kirsten Hastrups, Danish anthropologist, according to whom "the North has often been an exotic and wild place, where

people live close with nature and are characterized by a kind of exceptional, compared with other places, naturalness" (Hastrup, 1992, s. 13). Another Danish scholar, historian Troels-Lund, in one of his books treating daily life in the Nordic region refers to culinary traditions. He sees the rough Nordic climate as a factor increasing appetite and enabling food preservation (Troels-Lund, 1883, s. 2). Nowadays, these traits of a cuisine immersed in nature are quality in itself and nature is a recurrent motive in other frames:

Après la vogue des chefs espagnols, voici celle des scandinaves. De nouvelles stars qui subliment les produits de la mer et de la forêt en une cuisine 100 % green et poétique. (Sammut, 2010)

[After the vogue of the Spanish chiefs, here is that of the Scandinavians. New stars that sublimate the products of the sea and the forest in a 100% green and poetic cuisine.]

Thus, nature and naturalness are also part of Nordicness and evinces in cuisine and diet. The representations and images of the Nordic region and Nordicness in the French press are divergent from the former images when we adopt a diachronic perspective. The image of the region in question has hardly ever been based on culinary traditions and habits in the past (Witoszek, 1998, s. 26). In the 19th century, countries like Denmark and Norway have been imagined through the prism of the national-romantic movement. Norway's image had been influenced by literature, painting or music and constructed as a romantic landscape, natural and beautiful, while the people had an image of strong, courageous, austere and persistent. Another point of reference was also Norwegian rural lifestyle, folktales and countryside (Amilien, 1996, s. 26–29). A few centuries before, in the 15th and 16th centuries in Central and Southern Europe, Norway was even constructed as cold, dangerous and hostile with uncivilized and savage inhabitants (Christensen, 1993, s. 43). The dominating image of Denmark in the 19th century was also created around peasantry and life of ordinary people, mainly due to its position after Napoleonic wars and in the wars over Schleswig-Holstein (Glenthøj, 2012). Sweden was constructed as a country that dealt with poverty and hunger and is on its way to industrialization and modernization, having recognized industrial brands and a renowned social model (Lifvendahl, 2012). Nowadays, the region is a symbol of prosperity and wealth, which comes to light even in the articles about the Nordic food.

The Nordic food culture is presented as nutrition- and heath-oriented. Food is not only valued for its taste and its attribute of giving pleasure, it is a part of a healthy and conscious lifestyle,

a "Nordic way of living". Being outside in nature, and riding a bicycle to work are other exemplary components of this healthy lifestyle. This is however not framed as a necessity or need, it's rather a fashion, a conscious lifestyle, a choice. Throughout history, due to changes of seasons and puritan Lutheran ethos (Bergfløt, Amilien, & Skuland, 2012), food has been considered one of the basic needs, rather than a pleasure as such. Nowadays, it is a part of the so-called "friluftsliv" – living in the open air and having a good time with people – "hygge". The merge of food and nature is clearly visible in the French women's magazines:

Forcément, si vous dit « régime nordique », vous pensez poissons et crustacés (…) Ah, le fameux müesli scandinave! Dans le cadre du régime Viking, on consomme beaucoup de céréales (…) Parce qu'il est proche de la Nature, le régime Viking privilégie les aliments bio et peu transformés. (Henry, 2017)

[Of course, when you say "Nordic diet", you think fish and crustaceans (...) Ah, the famous Scandinavian muesli! As part of the Viking diet, we consume a lot of cereals (...) Because it is close to nature, the Viking diet favors organic and little processed food.]

It is interesting how Nordic cuisine has been framed in the past and that now it is an exquisite style of cooking. It has begun in the 90s with the debate on the existence and shape of the Nordic food culture. It emerged after the question posed by the Norwegian food historian, Henry Notaker, who raised the matter of the Norwegian food culture (Notaker, 2000). This may be the case due to the efforts of the Danish, Norwegian and Swedish governments and the Nordic Council's ministers of agriculture and the impact of the economic capital that was supposed to be translated into the symbolic capital of the Nordic food and food culture. The economic capital amounted to EUR 3 million (Pedersen, 2006). The embodiment of these values is for instance the world-famous restaurants based in the Nordic region, starting with the awarded NOMA from Denmark, Maaemo in Oslo and Fäviken in Järpen. According to Bourdieu, lifestyle and behavior are subject to class distinction. In other words, the division between upper social classes and lower social classes in the context of lifestyle lies in adopting a healthy way of life (Bourdieu, 1989, s. 65), a part of cultural capital, a resource that accumulates during the cycle of life. To some extent taste depends also on economic capital, it predominantly relates to cultural capital, as taste remains consistent, also in a situation of payment increase (Bourdieu, 1989, s. 17). There is obviously something culturally refined about the New Nordic Cuisine that imposes for analysis of social distinction. Eating in Noma however is framed as requiring both financial and also cultural capital, because the

experimental cuisine is challenging and there is undeniably a somewhat different and lower status over the meatballs (*frikadeller*) that even though are regarded as tasty.

As has been highlighted above, in the French women's magazines, Nordicness encapsulates the qualities of its cuisine – it is simple and refined at the same time: 'Facile, généreuse et gourmande' (Gautherin, 2017) [Simple, generous and gourmet]. In the Polish women's magazine, Nordic cuisine is also framed as something exquisite:

Możemy tu odkrywać ślady baśni, podziwiać współczesny design i ekologiczny styl życia, a także delektować się nowatorską kuchnią nordycką. (Kuszewska, 2014)

[We can discover traces of fairy tales, admire the contemporary design and ecological lifestyle, as well as enjoy the innovative Nordic cuisine.]

However, there is something peculiar about the discourse of the Polish magazines in the context of framing food culture in the context of the Nordic region in comparison to the articles from the French magazines. It is the twofold tendency of framing this aspect. In the field of French women's magazines, the "Nordic cuisine" is framed as something simple but exquisite, whereas Polish women's magazines construct it in some cases as something simple, but in a pejorative manner:

Menu w restauracji jest tylko po duńsku. Kolejny dowód na to, że rzadko docierają tu obcokrajowcy. Specjalność – ryby smażone, ale podawane z zimnymi krewetkami. Kelner poleca do tego ziemniaki z duńskim specjalnym sosem pietruszkowym, zwanym persillesous (sic). Bardzo zachwala. Nie jest to kuchnia dla wyrafinowanych smakoszy. Raczej prosty, suty posiłek, w którym walor smakowy najwyraźniej nie jest najistotniejszy. Jedynie deser, mus jabłkowy z pokruszonymi ciasteczkami zwanymi kammerjunker, może trochę ucieszyć podniebienie. (Jędrych-Waniek, 2014)

[The menu in the restaurant is only in Danish. Another proof that foreigners rarely get here. Specialty – fried fish, but served with cold prawns. The waiter recommends potatoes with a Danish special parsley sauce, called persillesous (sic). He highly recommends it. This is not a cuisine for sophisticated gourmets. A rather simple, rich meal, in which the taste value is apparently not the most important. The only dessert, apple sauce with crumbled cookies called kammerjunker, can please the palate a bit.]

This is a contrasting image to the positive one that dominates in the analyzed material. The image of rough, tasteless and probably also fat Danish dish collides with the general idea of the Nordic food created by the women's magazines, especially in France. A similar

construction is created upon the Icelandic cuisine, which has very often been exoticized in Polish women's magazines:

Co do diaska można zjeść na wulkanicznej wyspie?- myślałam wybierając się do Reykyaviku. I kogo do licha zapytać o radę? (…) Podobnie przydatni okazali się przypadkowo napotkani przyjaciele, którzy mówili „O właśnie dziś spotykam się z Islandczykiem – wpadnij!" Chyba nie codziennie człowiek spotyka się z Islandczykiem.(…) I nareszcie lokalna specjalność: zupa z homara. Brzmi strasznie nadęcie tymczasem to tu jak kartoflanka… Sægreifinn jest od razu obok miejsca z burgerami, jest dość tanim miejscem, ale niczym wyrafinowanym. (Kozak, 2013)

[What the heck can you eat on a volcanic island? - I thought when going to Reykjavík. And who the hell to ask for advice? (…) Similarly helpful were accidentally encountered friends who said, "I'm meeting an Icelander today – drop by!" I do not think a man meets an Icelander every day. (…) And finally the local specialty: lobster soup. It sounds inflated, in the meantime, it's like a potato soup... Sægreifinn is immediately next to a place with burgers, it is a cheap place, but nothing more refined].

Again, nothing sophisticated even with an addition of a lobster. The Polish articles create more varied picture in regard to the Nordic food. This image is not as one-sided and favorable as in the French magazines. There is however only one unfavorable Nordic culinary tradition example of an article from the French women's magazines, which describes (in a humoristic manner) the reaction of president Emmanuel Macron when tasting the coffee in Finland:

En déplacement en Finlande, le président de la République a goûté un café local qui n'avait, à en juger par l'expression de son visage, pas grand chose à voir avec les expressos servis dans l'Hexagone... Une réaction amusante qui a beaucoup fait rire sur la toile. (…) Finlandais, amusés à leur tour par la plaisanterie et l'image du frenchy dupé par un café loin d'être à la hauteur, n'ont pas hésité à mettre la main à la pâte. "La tête de Macron après avoir essayé le café finlandais est mon expression préférée du désespoir français". (Chafai, 2018)

[While traveling in Finland, the President of the Republic tasted a local coffee which had, judging by the expression on his face, not much to do with the espressos served in the Hexagone... A funny reaction that made a lot of laughs on the web. (...) Finns, amused in their turn by the joke and the image of the Frenchy duped by a coffee far from the top, did not hesitate to join in. "Macron's head after trying Finnish coffee is my favorite expression of French despair".]

This is, however, the only example from all the articles extracted from the French women's magazines, which does not even frame the whole of the Finnish culinary traditions or culture in a negative light, only one aspect of it, that is coffee.

As has been mentioned at the beginning, the difference in the number of articles that appeared in both, Polish and French journalistic fields is significant. One of the reasons may be the importance of culinary traditions and the French cultural capital. French cuisine is often referred to as a "culinary national identity" (Matras, 2016, s. 105–106). It is also a part of the French national heritage. The importance of this aspect of cultural capital has been a research object for *food studies* (Matras, 2015, s. 75). In contemporary culinary practices, the conveyors of knowledge and information about food are today's media, mainly the Internet, television, but also press, especially women's magazines (Matras, 2016, s. 111). In Poland, however, the cuisine is also a part of the cultural heritage, yet mainly the Old-Polish (*staropolska*) variation. There is nonetheless the tendency to brand Poland abroad through the culinary heritage and by framing Polish cuisine as mixing the modern with the traditional, which increasingly attracts international public opinion (Matras, 2016, s. 112). In other words, the culinary tradition of both countries vary and they fill the cultural fields of Poland and France to a different extent, which may suggest the difference in framing the Nordic region through the frame of food culture.

Defining a food or food product based on a food culture or place is one way to legitimize its position in relation to other food cultures. Nationalist notions are bonded together with the understanding of the concept of food culture as a static entity, which can lead to dichotomies and cultural differences between "here" and "there". Regional and national food is constructed as a border marker also in the magazines, where food and eating are seen as a kind of language that articulates perceptions of inclusion or national pride.

The perception of different food cultures grew in connection with the notion of a national state. By linking the food to a specific place, a specific territory, we have many national phenomena defined as "cuisine". At the same time, the connection between food and place is more relevant than ever and food is a simple and thus effective means of proclaiming ethnic and national identity (Bergflødt et al., 2012) and the materialization of nationalism by and through which food has been described as one of the "most conspicuous nationality projects" of the late 20th century (Bergflødt et al., 2012).

This frame holds a large number of colorful pictures showing the dishes from the articles. They are not just pictures of the recipes taken from the stock, occasionally there are some examples of journal photographs taken for that purpose:

Picture 14 Shrimp and herring paste / fot. Bogdan Biały, Piórko, 2018

The food is presented in a way that brings to mind a very natural attitude towards food and consumption – the sandwiches were not put on the plates, but on a wooden roundel. It's a natural or ecological way of serving that is coined with the Nordic region. However, for instance, the recipes do not always include the dish itself, sometimes it is just an ingredient, like in the articles about a Nordic salad with kiwis; instead of the salad, we have a picture of kiwi:

Picture 15 Kiwis picture in the article about the Nordic salad / Salé Sucré, "Salad Nordique aux kiwis" 2019

This is another example of the practices in women's magazines in reference to photography. Not only do they illustrate the main topic of the article or illustrate in general the text, but also loosely relate to its content.

4.5 Landscape and nature

From both the Polish and French journalistic fields, there emerges a set of specific for this region traits and attributes, representations of nature that create and shape the Nordic landscape as an oasis. There are many similarities in framing Nordic nature and landscape in Polish (31 articles) and French magazines (25 articles). This frame interrelates with the culinary culture frame, as the New Nordic Cuisine is framed as being particularly bonded with nature.

In his book 'Being Danish: Paradoxes of Identity in Everyday Life', Richard Jenkins (2011) underlines that Nordic societies had been imagined as "more real", more dependable, and more in touch with the important things in life – generally more authentic, in fact – than town dwellers and the sophisticated urban milieu' (2011, s. 58). These representations of Nordics living close to nature is a recurring motif in everyday discourses about the region and a common image (Jenkins, 2011, s. 93). The discourse of the Polish and French women's magazines reproduces these representations by romanticizing the Nordic nature at the same time, which will be demonstrated in this chapter.

4.5.1 Friluftsliv

Living close to nature is framed as something particularly Nordic, and part of the Nordicness:

Le Danemark – un voyage au coeur de la nature. Avec plus de 12,000 km de voies cyclables signalées, des terrains faciles, une nature unique et de courtes distances entre les différents villages et villes, le Danemark est un pays fait pour les cyclistes. C'est d'ailleurs un excellent mode de découverte en famille ou entre amis. (Belle, 2018)

[Denmark – a trip to the heart of nature. With more than 12,000 km of marked cycle lanes, easy terrain, unique nature and short distances between villages and towns, Denmark is a country for cyclists. It is also an excellent way to discover with family or friends.]

Both Polish and French magazines frame this typical for Nordics way of living close to nature as exceptional in the light of other cultures. It is indeed constructed as cultural specificity or philosophy of life. There is a term for this "philosophy" in the Scandinavian languages – *friluftsliv* (literally: free air life). The life close to nature is often visible in the representations of Nordicness as cherishing from the outdoor life tradition. It is a simple way of living

outdoor, which at the same time is being framed as an ideal, and again, something distinctively Nordic. Outdoor life is also portrayed as involving a sociocultural form of performance, a concept, a set of thought patterns, categories of emotions and behaviors that we, to a large degree, share with others.

Magazines focus on how outdoor life, by virtue of its distinctiveness, is situated in relation to sports. *Friluftsliv* emphasizes an interaction with nature that gives room for inner experiences and to search for something personal and meaningful. The rationality of the sport, on the other hand, is based on external performance, measurability, comparison and optimization. Nature remains in this context an external factor that is unnecessary to control. However, both sports and outdoor life are framed by a much wider and overlapping diversity of activities. Playing, socializing and contact with nature can be a central element in sports, just as performance focuses on outdoor life. Further, it is framed as a form of a cultural ideal in the Norwegian community. Bourdieu's concept of field can be again useful tool for defining outdoor life as a social field.

Even though this term appears in neither of the magazines, its semantic connotations have become visible in the analyzed texts. The experience of feeling free in and being spiritually connected with the Nordic landscape is the very essence of the *friluftsliv*. It is also framed as *the cult* of nature: 'Le culte de la nature, composante essentielle de l'identité norvégienne' (de la Roche, 2014) [The cult of nature, an essential component of Norwegian identity]. Therefore, being outside in nature is not just a way of spending time for the Nordics in the light of the two analyzed discourses, but also an experience of a spiritual nature. The fact that there exists a special term for this experience underlines that it is deeply rooted in Nordicness and a part of the cultural capital of the Nordics.

The *friluftsliv* has also a social dimension as it is also an occasion to spend time with relatives and friends – and another component of Nordicness:

On escalade, on pêche, on chasse, on nage. Le soir, on se retrouve entre amis pour partager un verre de vin autour d'une soupe de poissons pris dans les filets du jour et cuits au chaudron, en jouissant du paysage. » Le rêve de tout Norvégien. (de la Roche, 2014)

[We climb, we fish, we hunt, we swim. In the evening, we meet with friends to share a glass of wine around a soup of fish caught during the day in the nets and cooked in the cauldron, enjoying the landscape. The dream of every Norwegian.]

As it has been mentioned at the beginning of his section, the ways of constructing a connection between the Nordics and nature are alike in both discourses, yet there is an additional dimension of frames created by the French women's magazines. Namely, nature and landscape is also constructed as a place where one can have time for meditation and reflection. The "natural space" is a sphere where the Nordics (especially the Norwegian and Finnish) can rebuild their spiritual energy or just have some rest from the urban life, a refuge. Again, this is typical for the French discourse, this escape and a part of *friluftsliv* and a form of therapy:

En Norvège, ancré au bord d'un fjord, un rorbu a été rénové dans la plus pure tradition scandinave. Ces anciennes cabanes de pêcheurs, transformées en habitations ou en hôtels, harponnent le coeur des contemplatifs, amoureux de nature grandiose. Nos plus belles escales entre ciel et mer. Une cabane, c'est le logis du coeur, le refuge dans les bois et les jardins de notre enfance, le lieu-dit de notre patrimoine imaginaire où, adulte, on revisite notre mémoire de cow-boy, d'Indien et de trappeur. En Norvège, les rorbu, ces petites maisons où habitaient les pêcheurs qui partaient en bateau à rames, sont ancrés dans une mythologie venue des fjords. (de la Roche, 2014)

[In Norway, anchored at the edge of a fjord, a rorbu has been renovated in the purest Scandinavian tradition. These old fishermen's huts, transformed into dwellings or hotels, harpoon the heart of the contemplatives, lovers of grandiose nature. Our most beautiful stopovers between sky and sea. A cabin, is the home of the heart, the refuge in the woods and the gardens of our childhood, the locality of our imaginary inheritance where, as an adult, one revisits our memory of cow-boy, Indian and trapper. In Norway, the rorbu, the small houses where the fishermen used to go by rowing boat, are anchored in mythology coming from the fjords.]

Norwegian huts are thus a long-lasting tradition (or Scandinavian, as pointed out in the above quote) rooted in mythology. The phenomenon of sauna is constructed in a similar manner. It is also framed as central feature to the *Finnishness*: 'Le sauna fait partie intégrante de la vie de Finlandais. (…) C'est donc à la nature que l'on rend hommage' (Mottez, 2011). [The sauna is an integral part of Finnish life (…) It is therefore to nature that we pay tribute]. There are thus different traditions or customs interrelated with nature and rooted in Nordicness, which is presented as something distinctively Nordic, even though spending time in nature as such is common for many cultures. However, since the analyzed articles derive from women's

magazines, it is not surprising that they also construct this specific leisure activity in another version, namely: *glamour camping* (de la Roche, 2014).

The idea of seeking refuge in the remote areas of the Nordic landscape is connected with other categories: *remoteness* and *wildness*. The Nordic region, or its northern parts at least, are often constructed as being located in the far *North,* or at the end of the world: 'Si le bout du monde existe, il est certainement au-delà du cercle polaire, au nord de la Finlande, non loin de l'océan Arctique. Se perdre aussi loin est follement enivrant.' (Debras, 2013) [If the end of the world exists, it is certainly beyond the Arctic Circle, in northern Finland, not far from the Arctic Ocean. To get lost so far is madly exciting]. The similar constructions surface other texts about different areas of the region, for instance Greenland: 'L'expression « débarquer sur une autre planète » prend soudain tout son sens…' (Rosière, 2017) [The phrase "land on another planet" suddenly makes sense] or Iceland: 'Direction l'Islande, tout au nord du monde.' (Géliot, 2012)[Direction Iceland, far north of the world].

4.5.2 Wildness

The already mentioned wildness is another frame that conceptualizes the intrinsic idea of Nordicness and the region itself. This is not a novelty, since the *wild Norden* is a frame known from the 19th century and national romanticism (Löfgren, 1992). The Nordic landscape has been synonymous with an attractive utopia, unexplored territories, and mystic unknown (Löfgren, 1992, s. 116). Being a cultural concept, the *wild* encapsulates the elements of 'the past' and refers to the spatial but also temporal dimension of the concept. The notion of wilderness refers for example to the pioneering or indigenous people, to the pristine nature:

(1) Balades en chiens de traîneau, pêche sous la glace, courses en ski de fond ou en raquettes sous les aurores boréales… Sauvage, extrême, la Laponie finlandaise saura séduire les amoureux du grand blanc et de la nature à l'état pur. (Debras, 2013)

[Dog sledding, ice fishing, cross-country skiing or snowshoeing under the northern lights... Wild, extreme, Finnish Lapland will seduce lovers of the great white and nature in its purest form.]

(2) Piscines géothermales, cascades, montagnes... La grande beauté des paysages islandais est incomparable. Encore peu fréquenté, la région des Westfjords séduira les adeptes d'une nature authentique. (Morère, 2018)

[Geothermal pools, waterfalls, mountains... The great beauty of the Icelandic landscape is incomparable. Still uncrowded, the Westfjords region will appeal to fans of authentic nature.]

(3) People are looking for an exceptional nature. I still wanted to see pure places, untouched by tourism. (Sasportas, 2008)

[Les gens vont chercher une nature exceptionnelle. Je voulais encore voir des endroits purs, vierges de tourisme.]

The particular idea of the Nordic landscape has been often reproduced through the various media, women's magazines in Poland and France being one of them. The landscape and nature is not just the natural environment, but another component of the cultural or even the symbolic capital. Nature is then not just a static background, it is a type of space, where one can confront oneself in solitude or undergo inner transformation:

C'est au bout du monde, entre ciel et mer. Un pays d'ombre et de lumière, d'eau et de feu. Un torrent de lave, battu par des pluies horizontales, des vents glaçants et des bourrasques de neige. Un voyage en Islande, c'est une confrontation directe avec les éléments – et soi-même. (Debras, 2016)

[It is at the end of the world, between sky and sea. A country of shadow and light, water and fire. A torrent of lava, battered by horizontal rains, chilling winds and snow squalls. A trip to Iceland is a direct confrontation with the elements – and oneself.]

Norden is then constructed as the realization of the 'fifth space' (Hendrykowski, 2016). It is the space of change and alteration of the human. A space where one can get in touch with the inner self, as well as nature and the universe. Thanks to the fifth space, one may regain harmony (Hendrykowski, 2016, s. 305). Thus, the Nordic region comprises a metaframe that can encapsulate the specific region images of landscape and emotions it releases, a *katharsis* one experiences when traveling to this 'end of the world' (Géliot, 2012) or 'another planet' (Rosière, 2017). The Nordic region, and especially its northern areas can be such a place of confrontation with oneself, especially in the light of supernatural or magical forces and creatures that are said to inhabit Iceland and Greenland, for instance:

La magie n'est jamais loin. L'Islande compte une grande famille de créatures vivant à la frontière des mondes: fantômes (draugar), esprits (fylgjur), émissaires (sendigar), elfes (alfar), trolls (tröll)…(Debras, 2016)

[The magic is never far away. Iceland has a large family of creatures living on the border of the worlds: ghosts (draugar), spirits (fylgjur), emissaries (sendigar), elves (alfar), trolls (tröll)…]

Norden is often coined with the magical and supernatural. Fairy tales, sagas, legends and mythology is also recurring motif when constructing representations about the region, for instance, expressed in titles such as: 'La créativité viking et les paysages lunaires.' (Géliot, 2012) [Viking creativity and lunar landscapes]. It is an intrinsic element of the Nordic landscape and natural environment, but also a mythical transgression of sensing the physical space. This is particularly visible in the context of Iceland:

(1) No, może tylko elfy i chowańce kryją się za kamieniami. (Klimko-Dobrzaniecki, 2013)
[Well, maybe only elves and familiar spirits hide behind the stones.]

(2) Islandia to dla wielu porzucona gdzieś na mapie wyspa, przypominająca swoim kształtem owcę. Otoczona wielka wodą, spowita mgłą, również w swojej codzienności wyizolowana jest od reszty świata. W tym, wydawałoby się surowym miejscu, legendy o elfach nabierają innego wymiaru, a noc miesza się z dniem. ("IS (Not) – 5 Polskich Fotografów, 5 Islandzkich Pisarzy, 1 Wyspa," 2011).

[For many, Iceland is an island abandoned somewhere on the map, resembling a sheep. Surrounded by great water, shrouded by fog, it is also isolated in its everyday life from the rest of the world. In this seemingly harsh place, the legends of the elves take on a different dimension, and the night interfuses with the day.]

Women's magazines in the articles about the Nordic countries with photos and pictures attached offer their own concept of the region and at the same time, in various ways, participate in the social process of mythologization of the place. Most of these representations drive the process of endless reproduction in the culture: once they are defined and created, they function for a long time and sometimes determine the framing of the location and its status as a tourist attraction constantly.

The landscape has been an important element of the Nordic identity since the 19th century, when it had been imagined as 'relatively coherent, striking and powerful, and utterly romantic' (Jenkins, 2011, s. 214). This romanticization of landscape is also clearly visible in the Polish and French magazines, and is one of the main patterns of creating frames about the region. It applies to every Nordic country and the region as a whole:

(1) La nature sauvage et préservée du Danemark est omniprésente: des paysages de bruyère aux marécages, des splendides forêts aux nombreux lacs et rivières, des falaises blanches qui se jettent dans la mer aux ressources naturelles inattendues comme l'ambre, des animaux sauvages aux paysages impressionnants des Iles Féroé ou de l'extrême nord du Danemark, à Skagen, nimbé d'une lumière magique… tout porte à la déconnection! Les amateurs de camping sauvage seront particulièrement séduits avec plus de 1000 sites répertoriés pour dormir à la belle étoile, seuls au monde. Et côté balnéaire, pour un pays aussi petit, le Danemark a un littoral impressionnant.

Plus de 7300 km de plages de sable bordent le pays et ses îles. La mer n'est jamais loin et et plus de 200 plages arborent le drapeau bleu! (Belle, 2018)b

[The wild and unspoiled nature of Denmark is omnipresent: heather landscapes and swamps, splendid forests with numerous lakes and rivers, white cliffs flowing into the sea with unexpected natural resources such as amber, wild animals with impressive landscapes from the Faroe Islands or the far north of Denmark to Skagen, surrounded by a magical light... Everything is disconnected! Wilderness enthusiasts will be particularly attracted to more than 1,000 sites listed for sleeping under the stars, the only ones in the world. And seaside, for such a small country, Denmark has an impressive coastline. More than 7300 km of sandy beaches border the country and its islands. The sea is never far away and more than 200 beaches sport the blue flag!]

Majestic mountains and sublime nature are often coined with the Nordic landscape. These representations invoke to love of nature and a mystery, it is a voyage picturesque by means of media. Steep mountains, deep fjords, and forests are both romantic and natural. Norden is framed as an idyllic and exotic place that offers enrichment, harmony and peace of mind as opposed to the otherwise hectic universe outside. The Nordic region is thus a soul oasis where modernity had not yet come to cast its shadow. Its untouched nature gives rest to those who experience stress and hassle. Again, it is constructed as opposed to the "outside world", modern and busy. It is medicine for a tired world. The image brings to mind a "natural spa" where tourists could come for new energy, recreation and inspiration. The untouched nature is accompanied by traditional culture, a sanctuary:

(2) Le soir venu, le promontoire qui domine le quartier est un lieu d'observation privilégié des aurores boréales qui envahissent souvent le ciel de leurs ondulations spectrales et mouvantes. (Rosière, 2017)

[In the evening, the promontory overlooking the neighborhood is a privileged place of observation of the aurora borealis that often invade the sky with their spectral and moving ripples.]

The beautiful landscapes are one of the main reasons, according to the articles from the women's magazines, for which tourists travel to the Nordic region, which is a popular destination: 'Le Grand Nord attire les touristes français. (…) Cap au nord, sur l'Islande, la Norvège, la Finlande, plus haut encore vers le Groenland et le Spitzberg.' (Sasportas, 2008) [The Far North attracts French tourists. (...) Cape to the north, Iceland, Norway, Finland, even higher to Greenland and Spitsbergen.] This popularity owes to the landscape on the one hand and the urbanized areas on the other. Nordic cities, especially capitals, however not only, which will be demonstrated later.

The mythological imagery is pervasive in new descriptions of the far North even today. The mythical explanations are first and foremost linked to the people who have traditionally inhabited the Arctic and Subarctic areas, and who in the past colonized these places and romanticized their imaginings. The northern parts of the region are constructed as a chance of meeting travelers and the indigenous people. The Arctic nature and the northern lights is often portrayed as breath-taking experience (Moussou, 2017). The term "Arctic hinterland" (Jędrych-Waniek, 2014) signals that the experiences will take place in areas beyond both urban and modern, and here you can also expect to find magical experiences. Representations of far-away Norden and images of the Arctic play an important role in this imaginary. It is also a romanticizing fascination with the northern often associated with new and unusual nature experiences or more mythical ones. The use of the terms such as "magic" (Berent, 2018; Moussou, 2017) in the context of this place evokes an image of a fantasy land. The phenomenon of the northern lights being part of this magical experience is presented through ambiguous twists. It is both scientifically explainable and magically inexplicable. On the one hand, the history of science, past research, the current state of knowledge, and modern warning systems which can predict northern lights' activity are emphasized. On the other hand, emphasis on ancient myths and tales, descriptions of the Sami indigenous relationship to the phenomenon, and spiritual, magical or mysterious interpretations of this phenomenon are attached.

4.5.3 Branding

In recent decades, branding strategies have gained greater and greater awareness in most countries to position themselves on the "market". Places need to communicate in a more coherent, compelling and consistent way to gain "customer's" attention, which is bombarded with information at all times and places. Women's magazines and other media are one of the the basic channels through which this type of communication flows. The idea that the production of meaningfulness has become a matter of production and consumption comes from market logic. For the consulting firms specializing in branding, this lucrative market seems to be growing, a market that will probably never disappear.

According to the marketing logic, places are organized as products and marketable units, although it can be difficult to define what the product is and how it is consumed (e.g. Kotler,

Haider & Rein 1993; Gold & Ward 1994). The difficulty of understanding what is the object of marketing and branding sites can be addressed by distinguishing between branding and marketing. When marketing requires an item – traditionally a product or service – then branding is in itself a matter of creating items. It is so far uncomplicated as long as the item is tangible: a straw-color liquid becomes a Carlsberg by adding a name, a car becomes a Volvo by getting a sign on the tailgate. The full implication of the character and language's creative power becomes apparent only when the object is, as for branding organizations (Schultz, Hatch, Christensen), a collective, or, as for branding of places, a territory inhabited by a reflective and responsive population (cf. Grassl 1999). Branding in this sense is nothing new – as Olins (1999) and Mollerup (1995) point out, one has always made the identity and belonging of the object conscious, whether it be nations or goods. Where the world before the brans is an undivided cosmos, a "smooth space" or boundless space, it is the branding or its equivalent systems of signification that draw boundaries in the consciousness and thus in the physical landscape (Pile 1995, Rose 1999, Gieryn 1999, Paasi 1996). It is all about the power to define (Bourdieu 1982, 1996, 1999). The status of the place as a product is reflected in the very mentality that we associate with the place. Thus, the place is being constructed in relation to other places.

The potential of the images is crucial in tourism marketing. Tourism can be discerned as a subfield from the economic field if we take Bourdieu's perspective. Following Pritchard and Morgan (2003), the images of a particular place in advertisements or articles have an impact on the process of choosing travel destinations. These images, created for instance in the analyzed articles from the women's magazines are vital elements of tourism communications, and present competition in the tourism subfield and the vast availability of travel destinations leads to the creation and reproduction of constructed representations to make the place unforgettable. We may ask who is the agent of this process – would that be private travel offices or government agencies such as Visit Denmark[3], Visit Sweden[4], Visit Norway[5] , etc.? The aim of this thesis is not to answer this question, yet the potential influence of the economic capital should be signalized.

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[3] https://www.visitdenmark.com/denmark/tourist-frontpage
[4] https://visitsweden.com/
[5] https://www.visitnorway.com/?lang=uk

Framing certain places, regions, and cultures in the media is a challenge. These representations aiming at attracting visitors, and gaining awareness about the place highlighting certain activities in the favor of the other are supposed to make it looked-for to the readers and potential tourists. Therefore, any kind of representation; whether verbal visual or multi-modal can be a subject of the misrepresentation dilemma, especially applicable to indigenous people or other minorities, mainly in those nations that were marked by a post-colonization history. According to Hunter (2008, s. 356) 'representations are considered evidence of both the ontological problem and the power dynamics of entitlement and exploitation inherited from colonialism'. Following this way, one needs to be aware of the employment of symbolic violence, in Bourdieu's understanding. The analyzed magazines by creating certain representations in articles framing Nordicness and people inhabiting the region are agents in establishing hierarchy of discourses and perpetuating certain image of Norden.

What is more, journalistic field, women's magazines included, is a field that (re)creates particular, idealized representations of the places, with a special focus on their cultural and natural features, especially in the case of articles from the 'travel' sections. These articles are closely bonded with the tourist industry, and their main 'purpose' is to create representations of places that convince readers to travel there. They are supposed to provide anticipation of pleasure, involving different senses (Urry, Anderson, & Theory, 2002). The characteristic feature of such representations is the considerable degree of stereotyping.

Today, questions about what emotions and associations are being associated with it are no longer neglected. These are the issues – positive or negative perception of the place, sympathy or dislike towards it, become one of the most important factors. These are not the only crucial factors of how the city develops economically, what scientific or cultural centers operate in it – the emotions also influence the city's development. A city that is liked, and desirable as a place to live, work, entertain, and learn with which people want to identify themselves, gains more:

(1) Skania nie bez powodu nazywana jest zresztą spichlerzem Szwecji: region obfituje w żyzne ziemie, a klimat jest tu łagodniejszy. Dzięki temu dziś wiele restauracji w okolicy słynie z międzynarodowych sukcesów kulinarnych, ponieważ stawiają na lokalne, ekologiczne produkty. Skania to jednak nie tylko tereny rolnicze. Zróżnicowanie regionu sprawia, że może sprostać wymaganiom każdego turysty. (Kołaczek, 2017)

[Scania is not without a reason called the granary of Sweden: the region abounds in fertile lands, and the climate is milder here. Thanks to this, many restaurants in the area gained international culinary success, because they

focus on local, ecological products. Scania, however, is not only an agricultural area. The diversity of the region makes it possible to meet the requirements of every tourist.]

(2) Miłośników miejskiego życia kusi południowozachodnia część regionu z kosmopolitycznym Malmö i akademickim Lund. Południowy wschód słynie z malowniczych osad rybackich, sadów jabłkowych i krajobrazów przyciągających artystów. Ci, którzy preferują aktywny wypoczynek, chętnie wybiorą się do północno-wschodniej, bardziej dzikiej części region. (Kołaczek, 2017)

[Enthusiasts of urban life are tempted by the south-west part of the region with cosmopolitan Malmö and academic Lund. South-east is famous for its picturesque fishing settlements, apple orchards and landscapes attracting artists. Those who prefer resting actively will be happy to go to North-East, to the wilder part of the region.]

The (re)creation of representations is a powerful tool for place marketers and the tourism industry in general. The "touristic field" is the area of the symbolic battle of places to obtain a piece of the profitable tourism pie, which echoes Harvey's notion of (1989, s. 291) "image production industry". Representations and images are supposed to shape attitudes and behaviors of the potential tourist in the first place, and also public opinion in general.

4.5.4 Nordic cool

The last strategy of framing the Nordic region and Nordicness is by creating a new category of the *state of being cool in a Nordic way* ("Nordic cool" (Florance, 2012)) and *fashionable Norden*, an aesthetic embedded within contemporary popular culture. Following Hall, we can observe a shift from an elite avant-garde form of culture in favor of popular or mass culture consumption with America being the 'center of global cultural production and circulation'. More specifically, the contemporary understanding of *cool* derives from African-American culture (Hall, 1997, s. 125). This mode of *being cool* has its roots in hyper-masculine urban life and affects many cultural practices such as dance, music, fashion or graffiti art. The semantic definition of *cool* implies such notions as being authentic, creative, and trendy, but it is also being rebellious towards authorities (Pountain & Robins, 2000). The Nordic cool, however, entails not only the attitudes, but artefacts such as: 'Des harengs marinés, des Kanelbulle (brioches à la cannelle), du pain chaud et du café bio servis sur fond d'électro-pop le long des canaux et des allées fleuries.' (Florance, 2012) [Marinated herrings, Kanelbulle (cinnamon buns), hot bread and organic coffee served with the background of electro-pop along the canals and flower paths]. Moreover, there are cities, for instance, Göteborg, where:

Parce qu'elle est la Capitale Culinaire de la Suède 2012; parce qu'on a besoin d'un grand bol d'air et de nordic hype; parce qu'on ne résiste pas à l'appel de la mode et du design suédois… On inscrit Göteborg à notre agenda de l'été indien. (…) Le nordic cool interpelle à chaque coin de rue. (Florance, 2012)

[Because it is the Culinary Capital of Sweden 2012; because we need a big bowl of air and Nordic hype; because we do not resist the call of Swedish fashion and design... Göteborg is part of our Indian summer agenda. (…) The cool Nordic screams from every street corner.]

According to contemporary women's magazines, being *cool* in the Nordic way is then a particular lifestyle, involving for instance enjoying tasty food, wearing fashionable clothes or being surrounded by high-quality design. All labeled *made in Norden*.

The symbolic capital of the place is the sum of its economic, social, political, cultural, and creative capitals, affecting its ability to succeed. It is a symbolic transformation of these capitals (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Bourdieu, describing the basic types of capital, made a special distinction of symbolic capital, as the highest form of capital. Symbolic capital is the ability to use the place's achievements in areas of its development in such initiatives, as above all: attracting capital human, business, and negotiating position in networks of connections. Symbolic capital of a place is, generally speaking, its position in human consciousness, assessment, whether it is worth living, working, studying and doing business in a given place. The symbolic capital of a place, as a conversion from other capitals, enables, for example, that achievements on a social level (involvement of residents, high-level trust) affect economic development. Prosperity positively affects cultural development and vice versa.

Symbolic capital is embedded in the real advantages of the place, without which it would be impossible (PR activities without them will be effective only for a short period or seems inconceivable) to build the place's position as more attractive than other places. The position largely depends on what city the users have – the city's cultural capital is ideas, knowledge, skills, and items of value cultural, which they acquire while participating in social life.

In the case of this frame, the esthetics of pictures in Polish and French magazines vary. Whereas all of them are from the bank, the ones from "Twój Styl", "Zwierciadło" or "Claudia" look more like postcards, and the pictures from especially "Femme Actuelle" or "Elle" ("Le Figaro Madame" published only small illustrative pictures without caption) are more fairy-like and picturesque. The two first examples are from "Zwierciadło" and "Twój styl":

Picture 16 Bergen / 123RF.com , "Old town", Kowalska 2011

Picture 17 Rønne / 23RF/PICSEL, Maliszewska 2012

They seem rather ordinary in terms of quality and composition in comparison to the ones from "Femme Actuelle":

Picture 18 Copenhagen / no caption, Bellee 2019

Picture 19 Copenhagen / no caption, Bellee 2018

These illustrative materials include images that underline and complement the rest of the article. They depict a selected fragment of the reality described by the journalist and it becomes subordinate to the text. Images create a form of rhetorical iconic realism. That is, the image is realistic in the sense that for the viewer it is similar to that depicted, or at least has some touch of reality. It is thus the most important task of iconic realism to create a feeling that an object is visually present.

4.6 Symbolic capital of royal families and celebrities

One of the characteristic features of contemporary Western societies is the *celebritization* process (van Krieken, 2012) of various fields, from cultural, to journalistic and economic. Celebrity is a source of symbolic power, in Bourdieu's understanding, and media take part in the distribution of its domination (Couldry et al., 2003). It means that people participating in the distribution of capital in the journalistic field accumulate also power, which derives from imagined importance in comparison to people outside the field. The urge of people from outside the journalistic field to enter it is unabated, which can be noticed in a variety of programs and talent shows that appear. Today, however, there is also another tendency, namely that the celebritization diffuses other fields, for instance, literary or political (Driessens, 2013).

4.6.1 Royal families

In this chapter, I follow Marshall's concept that celebrity is the general notion to denote well-knownness, regardless of its roots (Marshall, 1997, p. 12). In other words, celebrity can be achieved through family bonds (here the case of the royal families in the Nordic countries will be relevant) or through some kind of accomplishment (the case of Nordic sports stars, actors or musicians). It is also worth evoking van Krieken, who calls celebrity the "embodiment of a more abstract kind of capital – attention." (van Krieken, 2012, p. 54). Also, in the following section, the concept of media capital, understood as an actor's ability to gain a certain advantage in the journalistic field will be explored. The focus will be given to how the media capital can be transferred into symbolic capital and how particular actors of the journalistic fields in question fall into the pattern.

To say that the struggle to set the agenda in the media is nowadays medialized communities is a truism. However, in this struggle, we will always find examples of individuals who do better than others. The media contain stories of many great successes and also great failures. In the Polish and French journalistic field, the story of Nordic public figures and celebrities in the analyzed articles is always a story of success. Their success, regardless of its form, and the way it is framed in the media is very often, if not always, translated into the symbolic capital of the Nordic region. In other words, the symbolic capital of the Nordic region consists among others of the particular actors deriving from the region and their symbolic capitals. This process is established by the means of the media capital (Maliński, 2017, p. 2).

Polish magazines are terse as far as Scandinavian royal families are concerned. What is mentioned, however, is for instance fashion and style of particular princesses:

(1) Mary, australijska żona duńskiego księcia Fryderyka, promieniała w sukni z dekoltem i w welonie z diademem. (...) Szwedzka następczyni tronu, Wiktoria, poślubiła ukochanego Daniela w eleganckiej, choć skromnej jedwabnej sukni. (...) Piękna Mette-Marit skromną suknią i oryginalną wiązanką zachwyciła nie tylko księcia Haakona, ale i całą Norwegię. ("Niech Żyje Młoda Para," 2011)

[Mary, the Australian wife of the Danish Prince Frederik, shone in a dress with a cleavage and a veil with a diadem. (...) The Swedish heir to the throne, Victoria, married her beloved Daniel in an elegant, though modest, silk dress. (...) The beautiful Mette-Marit with a modest dress and an original harness delighted not only Prince Haakon, but also all of Norway.]

(2) Ubrana w zwiewną sukienkę, do której dopasowała czarne szpilki, prezentowała się niezwykle skromnie i elegancko. Przypomnijmy, że jeszcze kilka lat temu Madeleine została nazwana przez prasę "imprezową księżniczką", bo nieustannie można było spotkać ją w modnych klubach w Sztokholmie. ("Przepiękna Księżniczka Madeleine," 2016)

[Dressed in an airy dress, to which she fitted black stilettos, she presented herself extremely modestly and elegantly. Let us remind you that just a few years ago Madeleine was named by the press the 'party princess' because you could continually meet her in trendy clubs in Stockholm.]

The French magazines in comparison to the Polish women's magazines devote more attention to the Scandinavian royal families and themes cover not only fashion but also activities they take part in or organizations and initiatives they support. They are framed as ordinary people living in extraordinary conditions:

Décontractés et souriants, la reine et le prince Henrik, né Henri Jean Laborde de Montpezat, ont posé pour les photographes devant le château, face au vignoble de leur propriété de la vallée du Lot, en compagnie de leur teckel Helike. (...) "Je vais surtout m'occuper de mon vignoble. Cette année le raisin est sain, malgré la présence de mildiou. Les vendanges seront tardives, fin septembre, début octobre", a déclaré le prince Henrik. ("La Reine Margrethe Du Danemark En Vacances Au Château Lotois de Caïx," 2016)

[Casual and smiling, the queen and Prince Henrik, born Henri Jean Laborde of Montpezat, posed for the photographers in front of the castle, facing the vineyard of their property in the Lot valley, with their dachshund Helike. (...) 'I will mainly take care of my vineyard. This year grapes are healthy, despite the presence of late blight. The harvest will be late, end of September, beginning October' said, Prince Henrik.]

The birth of the new members of royal families is also an important event to report. The

announcement of the name and its symbolic is widely-commented. Presenting the baby to the public is also an important ritual noted by the press ("La Fille de La Princesse Victoria de Suède s'appelle Estelle," 2010). The private life of royal families is an attractive topic for the feminine press, especially in France, since the Polish magazines focus more on the lives of British monarchs.

The marriages and the spouses of the royal family members are frequent topics in the press. Especially, when it comes to controversies regarding the background of the partners. As the monarch and their everyday live is constructed as a contemporary Disney story: "C'est l'histoire d'un conte de fées à la mode Disney mais version moderne." ("La Suède a Marié Sa Princesse Sur Fond de Polémiques," 2010) [This is the story of a Disney fairy tale but in a modern version]. Nowadays, it is a common practice to wed someone outside of the royal circles. For instance, princess Victoria married her fitness coach, which was presented in the press as a mésalliance, even though the analyzed women's magazines are usually liberal. The wedding of Princess Victoria has been described as a contemporary Cinderella fairy-tale:

Mais malgré ces nombreuses polémiques, Stockholm s'était vêtue ce samedi de jaune et bleu, les couleurs du royaume. Près de 500 000 Suédois se sont massés le long du parcours, en calèche, du couple royal hier. Le couple est ensuite apparu au balcon du palais royal. Victoria a remercié « le peuple suédois de lui avoir donné son mari » et de vouloir « célébrer avec eux le plus beau jour de leur vie » ("La Suède a Marié Sa Princesse Sur Fond de Polémiques," 2010)

[But despite these many polemics, Stockholm had dressed this Saturday yellow and blue, the colors of the kingdom. Nearly 500,000 Swedes gathered along the carriage ride of the royal couple yesterday. The couple appeared then on the balcony of the royal palace. Victoria thanked "the Swedish people for giving her husband" and for "celebrating with them the happiest day of their lives".]

Spouses of the royal family members coming from the commons are thoroughly tracked and any kind of imperfection comes forward. It might be the occupation or bold photo sessions, like in the case of Sofia Hellqvist (Poyer, 2018). However, these imperfections or controversies seem to create an aura of authenticity and are always alleged: 'Qui est Sofia Hellqvist, la nouvelle épouse du prince Carl Philip de Suède?' (Poyer, 2018) [who is Sofia Hellqvist, the new wife of Prince Carl Philip of Sweden?].

Yet, the royal families are not deprived from scandals or controversies. For instance, princess Märtha Louise, whose unconventional interests are contributive to her sensational image:

158

Le projet a fait des remous dans le royaume scandinave, où des voix se sont élevées pour que la princesse de 35 ans, férue de thérapies alternatives, renonce à son titre officiel, voire pour l'appeler à "se faire soigner". Affirmant disposer de dons de voyance, la fille du roi Harald propose aux élèves de son nouvel établissement d'entrer en contact avec leurs anges (…) (Deliere, 2010)

[The project has confused the Scandinavian kingdom, where voices have risen for the princess of 35 years, fond of alternative therapies, relinquishes her official title, to 'seek treatment'. Claiming to have the gift of clairvoyance, the daughter of King Harald offers the students of her new establishment to get in touch with their angels (…)]

This sort of uncommonness distorts the picture of the flawless and inapproachable upper class. The life of the royal family seems more intriguing and sensational, which may indeed attract readers' attention. Women's magazines sometimes touch upon certain topics just like gossip magazines do, creating an aura of luridness. The media, women's magazines being one of the examples, began to focus the attention of the audience, which could later be capitalized, e.g. by entering advertising content (for instance, a dress from chain-shop worn by princess Mary). I understand this capital of attention here as the immeasurable ability to mobilize the attention of individuals. We can therefore recognize the tendency to process of marketization of our spare time through the media, which do not engage us to work so much physically or culturally, how much they absorb our attention. Observing the content proposed to us by the media, we do a kind of "work of attention" [attentive work] (Marazzi, 2008). In that sense, attention capital would be an objectified form of attentive work.

Celebritization of royal families in the broad sense is their mediatization by using the same rhetorical means, media framework (frames) and narrative structures that are used to present celebrities by the media. In other words, it is about building a mediated image of crown families according to the patterns used in the construction of a celebrity image (Marshall, 1997, p. 65). Celebritization defined in this way is a product of processes taking place in the economic, social, cultural fields and journalistic field. Therefore, it is not surprising, that fashion is yet another important dimension when it comes to the mediatization of royal families and celebrities. They are constructed as role models and trendsetters followed by ordinary people. Women's magazines cover thus such topics as fashion and style broadly. The royal families of Scandinavia are not excluded. In the French women's magazines Scandinavian royals are esteemed when it comes to fashion and style ('Brigitte Macron et

Mary du Danemark, toutes les deux en rouge et ultra chic' (Witt, 2018) [Brigitte Macron and Crown Princess Mary of Denmark, both in red and ultra-chic]).

However, the system of expectations of the role of the crown family members often remains contrary to celebrity trends and popular culture (Marshall, 1997, p. 228). This incongruence makes the members of royal families in Scandinavia to constantly balance between the image of distant "public figure" and the celebratory "closeness" (Olczyk, 2013, p. 30). Framing of the Scandinavian royals in women's magazines can be divided into three types, corresponding to the ones by which celebrities are framed: predatory, parasitic and cooperative (Olczyk, 2013, p. 25). In the case of a predatory strategy of framing, the royal family members are framed on the initiative of the medium and out of their own control. Media use this strategy aggressively, invade the private lives of a person, very often to destroy the already existing image. Such strategy involves photos of the paparazzi. A typical technique here is to emphasize the discrepancy between the official image and the private one. This approach to celebrities is easiest to find in the tabloids and was not identified in the analyzed articles. Unlike the two remaining strategies.

The second approach is parasitism. This strategy relies on using the information on other websites or newspapers and freely constructing and deconstructing the selected material without interacting with the crowned head:

'(…) le père de Sverre Magnus, le prince Haakon de Norvège, a su, lui aussi, se faire remarquer. Durant le banquet, il s'est absenté quelques instants pour finalement revenir sans… sa barbe! Le rendant méconnaissable. Il faut croire que le goût pour les surprises est héréditaire dans cette famille royale!'

[(…) the father of Sverre Magnus, Prince Haakon of Norway, also was noticed. During the banquet, he was absent for a few moments to finally come back without... his beard! Making himself unrecognizable. We must admit that the penchant for surprises is hereditary in this royal family!]

These are usually images of private or official meetings or banquets. Relations from these events are then published officially on the Internet or by certain media, and then reconstructed by women's magazines. Either explicitly (with reference to the source of relation) or implicitly.

The last strategy, cooperative, consists in constructing crown families in the agreement between the person concerned and the medium. This approach allows them to partially control the process of celebritization. This approach is typical of the colorful women's press. The consensual and staged character of the process is often underlined by them. Some articles contain introductory texts including photographs showing the backstage of a photo shoot with the royals:

'(…) le prince Sverre Magnus, troisième dans l'ordre de succession au trône, plutôt dissipé, a eu l'idée de réaliser un « dab ». Un geste insolite qui n'est pas passé inaperçu.'(Daguin, 2017)

['(...) Prince Sverre Magnus, third in the order of succession to the throne, rather dispelled, had the idea of making a 'dab'. An unusual gesture that did not go unnoticed.']

The above strategies about the Scandinavian royal family members in the French articles usually favorably frame them. There are however two "favorites" of the French magazines: the Swedish princess Victoria and the Danish princess Mary. There occur even such utterances as:

'Elle est très populaire chez les Suédois, une large majorité d'entre eux souhaitant que le roi Charles XVI Gustave abdique au profit de la belle.' (Bernard-Guilbaud, 2011)

[She is very popular among Swedes, a vast majority of them wish that King Charles XVI Gustave abdicates for the benefit of the beautiful.]

Every activity and event concerning princesses Victoria and Mary is commented, whether it is the wedding ceremony or pregnancy (Boniface, 2012; Bonnet, 2011; Joffroy, 2010; "La Fille de La Princesse Victoria de Suède s'appelle Estelle," 2012; Petit, 2016b; Witt, 2018). They seem to be the most representative royal family members in the whole Scandinavia bazed on the analyzed material.

4.6.2 Celebrities

The next celebritized group are actors, singers and sportsmen coming from the Nordic region. Popular culture can be seen as a field of action in the concept of Pierre Bourdieu – a dimension of social life being an area of activity involving a specific fragment of social mechanisms (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 210) in which there is a stratification of who is the "real" celebrity. The expression "celebrity" evokes negative connotations at first. The

term is sometimes defined intuitively and coined with a famous definition by Daniel Boorstin according to which celebrities are: "known to be (well) known" (Boorstin, 2012, p. 57). In this way, celebrities are defined as people who have achieved popularity by just appearing in the media, and thanks to their appearance, family connections or appearing among famous people. Often the trigger to a celebrity's popularity is a scandal or violation of socially accepted moral boundaries. With such widespread negative evaluation and often unspecified approach, the phenomenon of "celebrity" seems ambiguous. In this thesis, however, I will refer to the process of celebritization as a neutral or positive phenomenon referring to people with a strong personality and talent in the chosen field ("stars"), as in the scientific and popular literature definitions "celebrities" and "stars" begin to have a similar sound and intertwine (Kozłowska, 2011, p. 356). The Nordic celebrities who are presented in the Polish and French press are ascribed some outstanding merits. Mads Mikkelsen can be such an example:

Mais Mads est un grand acteur, la crème des comédiens danois et un genie dont le talent a été récompensé d'un prix d'interprétation, au dernier festival de Cannes, pour le film La Chasse (Sene, 2012).

[But Mads is a great actor, the cream of the Danish comedians and a genius, whose talent has been recognized with the Best Actor Award at the last Cannes Film Festival, for the movie "the Hunt".]

When writing about Mads Mikkelsen, Polish and French magazines refer to his "Danish", "Scandinavian" or "Nordic" roots, yet they frame him at the same time as one of the most famous contemporary world-famous actors. He is also framed as a symbol of the Danish culture:

Europa zna go doskonale. Duńczycy są dumni, że jest ich rodakiem i rozsławia ich kraj. By dowiedział się o nim świat, Mads Mikkelsen (47) musiał czekać do 2006 roku, gdy zagrał w 21. filmie o przygodach Jamesa Bonda. (…) Mads, niezwykle przystojny i charyzmatyczny, budzi pożądanie kobiet. Ale on jest stały w uczuciach. Od lat zakochany w Hanne Jacobsen (52), choreografce. (…) Odkąd zyskał światową sławę, stracił prywatność. Ponieważ ma dystans do popularności, bardzo ostatnio rozbawił go przyznany mu przez "The New York Times" tytuł "nowego, posępnego symbolu seksu". Norweska pisarka Hedda H. Robertson opublikowała książkę "Kręci mnie Mads Mikkelsen". - Jest to zabawne, nie przeczę, nawet miłe, tylko nie ma to nic wspólnego ze mną - komentuje aktor. Dodaje też, że jest bardzo prostym w obsłudze facetem. Bardzo dba o to, by nic nie zagrażało szczęściu jego rodziny. ("Mads Mikkelsen. Godny Rywal Bonda," 2013)

[Europe knows him perfectly well. The Danes are proud to have such a compatriot, who makes their country famous. For the world to know about him, Mads Mikkelsen (47) had to wait until 2006 when he played in the 21st movie about the adventures of James Bond. (...) Mads, extremely handsome and charismatic, arouses the

lust of women. But he is constant in feelings. For many years he has been in love with Hanne Jacobsen (52), a choreographer. (...) Since gaining world fame, he lost his privacy. Because he distances himself from popularity, he has recently been amused by the title of 'the New, Gloomy Sex Symbol' awarded by the New York Times. Norwegian writer Hedda H. Robertson has published the book 'I am mad about Mads Mikkelsen'. - It is funny, I cannot deny it, even nice, yet it has nothing to do with me - comments the actor. He also adds that he is a simple guy. He very much cares about the happiness of his family.]

Mikkelsen's (and any other celebrity) personal image is a product, brand, and label, subject to the economic and cultural field. Therefore, promotional and marketing measures apply to him similar to those used for material things, and the phrase "everything is for sale" is still valid. The creation process of such media fame is usually governed by some logic (Loewe et al., 2015) and despite sometimes controversial choices, the image is consistent and it seems to be such in the case of Mikkelsen. Nevertheless, he is also framed as a celebrity who, despite his widespread popularity consistently tries to protect the private life of his family. However, on some occasions, the articles about his private life come to light, for instance, the interview with Viola Mikkelsen, the daughter of Mads Mikkelsen, who prepared herself for the prom (Galy-Ramounot, 2014).

The "Nordic appearance and ancestry" is another frame in the women's magazines. Both, Polish and French articles about the famous Nordic males (actors, writers or sportsmen) construct their image relating to the physicality and an alleged "Nordic" or "Viking" look ("Mads Mikkelsen. Godny Rywal Bonda," 2013; Nyc, 2013; Petit, 2016a):

(1) Nordycka uroda sprawiła, że szybko wyłowiło go Hollywood. (Nyc, 2013) [Due to his Nordic appearance, he was quickly spotted in Hollywood.]

(2) (…) gueule de viking sur laquelle flotte une dure tristesse (Sene, 2012) [Viking face on which floats a deep sadness]

(3) (…) un beau gosse scandinave (Gouslan, 2009) [a handsome Scandinavian kid]

(4) (…) star montante venue du froid (Gouslan, 2009) [rising star coming from the cold]

(5) (…) disciple de Kierkegaard (Gouslan, 2009) [disciple of Kierkegaard]

Such constructions of famous Nordics stimulate the process of exoticizing and homogenizing all that comes from the "Nordic". They evoke sentiments of an imagined Nordic community. The above comparisons of Mads Mikkelsen as to a contemporary Viking, entails the image of generic purity, tight connection to the environment and fierceness. He is definitely the most popular Dane or even Scandinavian according to the analyzed material. The attributes attached to the description of this actor are the essence of what is perceived as Nordic in the women's magazines (cold, Kierkegaards ancenstry, Viking allure).

163

Finally, Mads Mikkelsen has also been framed by the magazines in accordance with the commercials of products that he appears in. This kind of articles are very directly pointing to the qualities of the actor. They also position him as one of the most famous Danes:

Pour sa nouvelle campagne publicitaire, BoConcept, la marque danoise d'ameublement qui cartonne depuis quelques années en France, s'est offert les services de l'un de ses plus célèbres et talentueux compatriotes : Mads Mikkelsen. (Trouvat, 2016) s

[For its new advertising campaign, BoConcept, the Danish furniture brand that has been in business for a few years in France, has offered the services of one of its most famous and talented compatriots: Mads Mikkelsen.]

In women's magazines, one can also observe the manifestations of the national discourse, which reproduces the belief that the world is divided into nations, each of whom has its specificity. At the same time, it is emphasized that national differences are fundamental. This function is partly fulfilled by national stereotypes, but the discourse of national separateness is a wider phenomenon. In this way, we encounter such expressions as "Un spot 100 % danois" (Trouvat, 2016) [A 100% Danish spot.] National features are recognized as more important than regional, class or professional. These beliefs duplicate, above all, the tourism industry. However, the diversity and uniqueness of different places is emphasized, suggesting that their specificity has a source in their national identity. In addition, these features are understood in an essentialist way, they constitute the essence of a given group. They are often naturalized and presented as rooted in biology. Part of this is the fairly strong belief that members of the nation share a common origin that nationality is transmitted through inheritance. Mads Mikkelsen and other public figures are framed as representatives of this shared national culture.

Another well-known representative of the Nordic culture is Helena Christensen, Danish-Peruvian model and photographer. As a person having a mixed cultural background, she is framed as bridging the two cultural fields. Helena Christensen is thus framed as an embodiment of two cultures: Danish and Peruvian, referred to in the texts as the Southern and Northern:

Ses origines n'y sont pas étrangères : une mère péruvienne (l'exubérance ?) et un père danois (la rigueur ?). Helena Christensen est une beauté composite, trait d'union entre le Nord et le Sud, le Vieux Continent et le Nouveau Monde. Le sang-froid des Vikings allié à la passion sud-américaine. (Leffler, 2014)

[Its origins are not foreign: a Peruvian mother (exuberance?) and a Danish father (rigor?). Helena Christensen is a composite beauty, hyphen between the North and the South, the Old Continent and the New World. The coolness of the Vikings combined with South American passion.]

The North and the South are framed as two binary oppositions. This clear contrast underlines the opposition of two cultural fields and habitus and establishes their representations by the act of juxtaposing them. It is like looking in the mirror to see the reflection of oneself. Moreover, notions such as "peacefulness", "calmness", "tranquility" or "coolness" are often alleged in both, Polish and French press when referring to the Nordic region, or a particular Nordic country, such as Denmark in this case:

Lorsque j'éprouve un besoin de tranquillité, je me sens très danoise. En revanche, mon côté sud-américain ressurgit lorsqu'il s'agit d'exprimer mes émotions. Je deviens plus… volcanique. J'ai hérité des deux cultures. (Leffler, 2014)

[When I feel a need for peace, I feel very Danish. However, my South American side revives when it comes to expressing my emotions. I'm becoming more... volcanic. I inherited both cultures.]

Helena Christensen is framed as another conveyor of the Danish and thus Nordic culture:

J'ai grandi au Danemark et y retourne régulièrement. J'aime l'âme de ce pays du Nord, qui a vu naître quelques grands noms de la création en littérature, design, musique, cinéma… (Leffler, 2014)

[I grew up in Denmark and go back there regularly. I love the soul of this northern country, which saw the birth of some big in literature, design, music, cinema...]

Such cultural conveyors are also football teams and players. One of the events during the European Football Championships in 2016 that was covered by the press was the Icelandic team, which was successful in defeating England in the 1/8 round. There was a lot of material about how the 325-thousand nation from zero built a national team that began to threaten the strongest.

Birkir Bjarnason, the captain, and the Icelandic national football team was remembered thanks to the prowess and characteristic "viking clapping" of the Icelandic football fans. On that occasion, traditional and new media was flooded with information about first the national team and then the country and its culture. Women's magazines focused mainly on the appearance of the players, again, comparing them to the Vikings:

L'occasion de braquer les projecteurs vers un joueur au nom imprononçable mais qui donnerait presque envie d'apprendre la langue: Birkir Bjarnason. (…) l'Islandais au physique de Viking (…). (Petit, 2016a)

[The opportunity to shine the spotlight on a player whose name is unpronounceable but who would almost want to learn the language: Birkir Bjarnason. (…) the Icelander of a Viking physicality (…).]

The appearance of people living in the North is a part of how the Nordic are constructed in the press. It is a rather common practice to compare male Nordics to Vikings. It is also an

important part of creating the Nordic myth. It is something typical for women's magazines, as bodily culture is an important part of conceptualizing the Other. The typical "Nordic appearance" consists of blond hair and azure eyes (Maad, 2014a).

According to Everett, the media can use and manipulate symbolic "resources", such as language, stories, and myths (Everett, 2002, p. 58). The contemporary media, including the women's magazines' editorial offices, employs this property. The symbolic capital of the Nordic region's representatives (in the case of this thesis public figures and celebrities) are also constructed by means of specific mythemes. Also, we can observe a broader process, exoticization, or in the case of the Nordic region – borealization, which is employed very often in both, Polish and French women's magazines, especially in the case of northern parts of the Nordic region – Iceland and Greenland. As in the above example referring to the case of the national football team, Iceland is framed as a far-away land on the margins of Europe, yet intriguing, mysterious, remote and unusual. It comes to light for instance in the case of the pronunciation of "unpronounceable" (Petit, 2016) Icelandic names.

In the articles, the Icelandic team and the whole phenomenon of their country of origin was framed as a spectacular way of an embodiment of the national identity, becoming icons of patriotism.

The last person who is framed as a representative of the Nordic culture, Swedish in particular, is Dj Avicii. He is also considered an icon of modern popular culture, which comes to light in the French women's magazines after information about his death: 'Il était l'un des DJs les plus en vogue (…)'(Madelmond, 2018) [He was one of the most popular DJs (…)].

Le Premier ministre Stefan Löfven a d'ailleurs fait part de sa tristesse à travers un message posté sur son compte Instagram: "Il était l'un des plus grands musiciens suédois. Je pense à ses proches, à sa famille et à ses amis (Madelmond, 2018).

[Prime Minister Stefan Löfven also expressed his sadness through a message posted on his Instagram account: "He was one of the greatest Swedish musicians, I think of his close ones, his family and his friends."]

The confirmation of this can be found in evoking the words of the former prime minister, Stefan Löfven, who acknowledges Avicii as one of the "greatest musicians of his country" (Madelmond, 2018).

Conclusion

With the development of mass media, women's magazines being part of them, the importance of spatial barriers has significantly decreased. First of all, the travel to remote places takes only seconds. In a way, the world has become smaller – there are principally no places we cannot reach, whether it is a small town in Greenland or a village in Lofoten. We experience a specific space compression since mass media has changed everything in our modern life experience. Through texts, photographs and graphics, they can change our understanding of space.

As a result of the influence of media and representations of spaces they construct, we as readers get a sense of so-called hyperspace (Boechler, 2001), which is the belief that remote cultural areas are suddenly close to us. Women's magazines are one of the media, among many, that allow us to observe the Other and the Other here are the Nordics. In this way, following J.B. Thompson – we're expanding the spatial horizons of our understanding because we are no longer limited to a physical presence in the place where events occur (Thompson, 2006, p. 41). Even if we eventually reach the Nordic region as a physical place, this experience would already be preceded by ideas and expectations, based on, for instance, media such as women's magazines. With the development of media and the expansion of symbolic content available to people, we face new opportunities of self-understanding almost every day, our horizons are constantly shifting and our points of reference are constantly changing. The huge amount of media representations inflow provide us with opportunities to discover various life alternatives, and the examples here based on the women's magazines would be discussed Nordic style, way of living, social.

Adopting a constructivist position in my thesis enabled a perception of reality that is always associated with giving some interpretation to it. These mediated representations replace, to some extent, reality and they contain specific aspects of hyperrealism. Currently, people wandering around this world do it seemingly – they see the world being shown to them by media. Representations of other nations or regions also contain the image of self in terms of the national collective. In this way, this study also contains, to some extent, a record of collective Polish and French self-perceptions and self-attitudes when habitus of both Polish and French representatives of the journalistic field comes to light. Moreover, this image of the "self", whether we talk about Polish or French one, was often in the analyzed material built in

opposition to the image of the Nordic "other" (especially in the case of the social field). Women's magazines offer a specific, simplified, often stereotypical and one-sided picture of the Other. They do so both in Polish and French ones. The analysis has demonstrated that the two culturally different journalistic traditions do not vary that much in terms of women's magazines. There are some differences concerning the intensity of focus on particular aspects of representations of the Nordic region. For instance, the French magazines pay more attention to aspects of food and cuisine or social issues than the Polish ones. The articles about social-related topics from French magazines outnumbered the Polish ones. It may be the case that the Nordic model holds a special place in the French imaginary:

Having studied Nordic societies for several decades, I have always been fascinated by the strength of the image of the Nordic model in France. Virtually, each time a major social or economic reform is considered, or when a failure in the State machinery is deplored, there is always someone, among politicians or journalists, to evoke the Nordic model, or one Nordic country as a particular model. Thus, the Nordic model appears as a mythical place where a cornucopia of virtuous and innovative solutions is to be discovered. (Blanc-Noël, 2018, p. 1)

The Polish ones, on the other hand, turn their attention to the Nordic style concerning interiors, lifestyle, and well-being. One of the reasons why such dichotomy might be the ongoing social debates or cultural characteristics. The French cultural field is often associated with food and cuisine as one of its ingrained components (Bourdieu, 1989a; Launay & Mauxion, 2018). In Poland, only after 1989, society began gradually changing also in terms of attitude to food novelties and accessibility of products in general (Drzał-Sierocka, 2014; Żarski & Piasecki, 2017). When it comes to the broadly covered topic of style and trends in the Polish magazines, it might be coined with influences from the economic field, since many of the articles provide some kind of advertisement. It means, that the representations of the Nordic region as a region of specific style and taste can simply promote goods and products. These representations are thus a specific form of media capital with their central characteristic, moving between fields. This new concept of capital acts as a catalyst for the other capitals. By attaining and accumulating media capital, the actor, in this case a collective – an imagined Nordic community – can shift media capital to symbolic and economic capital, if we consider for instance, the impact of nation branding and its connection to media field.

Regardless some differences in construction, the Nordic region, and the magazines present also common images, one of them being functionality and modern values. At the same time, the region is represented as a picturesque and relatively peaceful area. In large part of the

articles, nature plays an important role, possibly to reinforce the image of Norden as a nature-rich country with people who see nature as an important part of their life, and which is coined with values such as sustainability and openness.

Also, the number of representations of particular Nordic states is uneven. The majority of articles is either about Sweden, Denmark, and Norway or about Scandinavia in general. Iceland also appears in the articles in the context of travel, the situation of women in the labor market, or music. However, it seems that in the analyzed articles Scandinavia dominated the representations of this part of Europe. Also, Nordicness, even though referred to allegedly, has been constructed as an essence, a feature that the citizens of the Nordic region share and can be captured. Bourdieu would, after Montesquieu, motivate it by referring to "mythical coherence" (Bourdieu, 1980) based on two types of coherence: the surface coherence of the rhetoric and the deep coherence of mythical logic.

The model of analysis adopted in this thesis based on a constructivist approach can, by nature, be more dependent on different influences than models based utterly on quantitative research. The first level of reflexive consideration in the course of my analysis was the textual layer of the analyzed material – articles from Polish and French magazines. Since the Polish language is my mother tongue, I had to approach the textual analysis of the French articles carefully. Coding the texts into wrong categories could have resulted in the wrong interpretative process afterward. In this case, I have consulted rising doubts with French scholars to avoid the mistake of internalization. Moving between two linguistic and cultural fields might in this sense affect the emic. It was a matter of trying to go beyond my linguistic habitus. If we consistently stick to the constructivist approach assumptions that the social world, including science, is nothing more than human constructions produced and reproduced in language and social interactions, the differences between the natural sciences and the humanities with social science are apparent.

Adopting Bourdieusian perspective to analyze the discourse of women's magazines in the context of the Nordic region was in my opinion an inspiring approach in the sense that it deepened consideration of the representations by adding to them a social inquiry. It is concurrently important to emphasize that Bourdieu's theory is not cohesively composed in itself, but rather constitutes a flexible theoretical approach in which main elements must

always be considered in mutual context. In other words, it is almost impossible to explain one element of Bourdieu's triad without referring to all the others.

By writing about the Nordic region, women's magazines not only show national and regional differences but also reproduce specific media representations and attach qualities to them. The main strategy of conceptualizing the Other, that is Nordic and Nordicness in this case relies upon "othering" that emphasizes the most glaring examples of discrepancies between Polish or French and Nordic systems of values, hidden in the way "we" and "they" organize the arrange the everyday life. Thus all representations constructed by the analyzed articles emphasize certain characteristics of the place at the expense of other features, as they are based on selectiveness. This implies that all representations are incomplete pictures of Norden, yet they are a part of a greater mosaic.

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Photographs

Tables

Appendix

No.		Category	Questions
1	General	Journalistic field	Polish/French?
2		Title of the magazine	
3		Year, month	
4		Title of the article	
5		Genre	Is it a reportage, an interview etc.?
6		Author	Who is the author/authors of the text? Groups of interest? Agents?
7	Framing tools	Metaphors	
8		Examples	
9		Descriptions	
10		Key words	
11		Visual aspects	Are there any pictures, graphics other visual content?
12	Argumentation	Values	What values are being attached to the Nordic region?
13		Reasoning	
14		Emotional dimension	What emotions are mentioned in the texts? Are there any implicit emotions?
15		Tone	What is the tone of the articles to the topic? Is it positive, negative or neutral?
16		Time	Is the topic time-related?
17		Entanglements	Is the topic entangled with other events? What is the story behind it?
18		Intentions	What is the text written for/to?

Table 2 Coding scheme