Celebrity is what Celebrity does.

A Critical Discourse Analysis of

Microcelebrity in Commercial, Norwegian Blogs

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Abstract

In this thesis I explore how 11 commercial, Norwegian bloggers construct themselves as microcelebrities on their blogs, how the relationship between the bloggers and the readers is discursively constructed and maintained and what characterizes the commercial blog as a genre. The bloggers are women, between 18 and 35 years old, personal and commercial lifestyle bloggers. I have done a critical discourse analysis of the textual content of blog posts written by these bloggers in September 2016.

A microcelebrity is someone who has gained celebrity status among her readers by using social media to attain status and fame. In my thesis I argue that the microcelebrity is a discursive construction created through text, images and videos. It is something someone does, a way of writing oneself into a celebrity by drawing upon the discourse of microcelebrity and treating the readers accordingly; as fans. It does not necessarily include that the bloggers act or talk about themselves as celebrities in real life, although some bloggers have celebrity status outside their blogs. The discourse of microcelebrity involves a way to look (attractive and fit), act (active and social), promotion (of the blogger as a microcelebrity, products used to achieve celebrity-status and bodily goals and an exclusive and luxurious lifestyle), strategic self presentation, influence (as power in and behind discourse) and positioning oneself over the readers.

The relationship with the readers is constantly enacted and maintained. The bloggers in my sample use words like beautiful, gorgeous, mates, friends, darlings, babes, lovelies, dears and amazing to describe their readers. The words are highly positive, the readers are complimented on their looks and/or described as friends or family. The description of the readers as friends and family make the bloggers and readers seem like equals, even though the bloggers are positioned over the readers in the discourse of microcelebrity and their relationship is unequal. The relationship between the readers and the bloggers can be used for personal gain and is often monetized. The blog is an instructive genre. The bloggers in my sample portray themselves in a way that make their lives seem achievable and attractive. They give the impression that their fame, success and lifestyle can be bought by following

instructions on their blogs. The products written about on the blogs are presented as necessities, used to achieve a given look, result or status as microcelebrities. The readers are encouraged to buy clothes, makeup, hair products, beauty treatments and so on to become like the bloggers, look like the bloggers, attain similar lifestyles and become microcelebrities themselves.

The Norwegian, commercial blog is a stable and homogeneous genre. All the bloggers in my sample have a similar style of writing, draw upon the same discourses and write about similar topics. The bloggers write about their everyday lives, lifestyle, thoughts and feelings. Often blogposts contained detailed, diary-style descriptions of the bloggers' everyday lives. The blog is also a promotional genre promoting individuals, brands and products. The bloggers are influencers, microcelebrities that portray themselves in a high-status light, use and sell high end products to their readers. The bloggers model clothes, makeup and other products showing off how they can and should be used. The bloggers do not have to separate sponsored and editorial content, but blog posts that contain advertising have to be marked as «advertising».

The bloggers in my sample are aware of the influence they have on their readers, reflect on how they influence them and the negative effects the way they present themselves and their bodies might have on the readers. The bloggers advocate that they should become better role models, promote body positivity and try to affect the readers in a positive way. Even though most bloggers use their blogs to write about themselves, their lives and different products, the blog genre can be used in different ways. Some bloggers use their blogs to give their opinion on the news of the day and participate in public discussions and debates. Other bloggers share experiences and advice with their readers. Some bloggers use their role as influencers to share opinions, values and beliefs. The bloggers do their own version of «social work», they use their voices and their blogs to affect the readers in a way they believe is positive. Sometimes the bloggers' influence can reach outside their blogs and make an actual difference in society.

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1. Introduction

On the Internet, everyone is famous to fifteen people, the American internet researcher David Weinberger wrote, rewriting the famous expression «fifteen minutes of fame» (Weinberger, 2002, p. 104). A microcelebrity is someone who has gained celebrity status among her readers by using social media to attain status and fame. Becoming a microcelebrity involves creating a viable online persona, producing content and strategically appealing to fans online (Marwick, 2013, p. 230). Recently, there have been done several studies of online microcelebrity in different types of social media and social contexts (Senft 2008, Lat & Shemtob 2011, Page 2012, Marwick 2013, Senft 2013, Tufecki 2013, Greenwood 2013, Marwick 2015, Abidin 2015). In Norway, however, there has been almost no research on microcelebrity. The exception is my own previous research on the subject. Most research on commercial, Norwegian bloggers and discourse have been focusing on self presentation and the presentation of the female body (See for instance Halvorsen 2015 or Dmitrow-Devold 2017). The purpose of this master's thesis is to explore online microcelebrity among Norwegian bloggers. I will be studying how 11 Norwegian, commercial and personal lifestyle bloggers construct themselves discursively as microcelebrities, how the relationship between the bloggers and their reader is constructed and maintained and what characterizes the Norwegian, commercial blog as a genre. The bloggers in my sample are female and between 18 and 35 years old. I am analyzing the textual content posted by these bloggers in September 2016. My research questions are:

1. How do the bloggers construct themselves discursively as microcelebrities on their blogs?

2. How is the relationship between the blogger and the readers constructed discursively and maintained?

3. What characterizes the Norwegian, commercial blog as a genre?

To answer these questions, I will be doing a critical discourse analysis (CDA). I will be using Norman Fairclough's version of CDA that is based upon the idea that «[…] language is an irreducible part of social life, dialectally interconnected with other elements of social life, so

that social analysis and research always have to take account of language» (Fairclough, 2003, p. 2). CDA involves detailed analysis of texts and focus on the order of discourse, the relatively durable social structure of language which is again a part of different social practices (Fairclough, 2003, p. 2). The main reason I have chosen to do a CDA is that I believe that the microcelebrity is a discursive construction, created by drawing upon a discourse of microcelebrity. By doing a CDA I want to describe this discourse, its characteristics and what drawing upon this discourse involves. Microcelebrity is usually described as a self presentation strategy and a way of using social media to gain fame, not a discursive construction (Marwick 2013 & Senft 2008). However, the idea that celebrities are discursive constructions is not new. According to the Australian professor in media studies P. David Marshall, becoming a celebrity involves the discursive constitution or representation of a persona as a celebrity (Marshall in Turner, 2004, p. 20). The celebrity discourse, Marshall writes, is a discourse of the self and is characterized by individuality, identity, identification by an audience, transforming into and becoming a celebrity and conspicuous consumption (Marshall, 2006b, p. 635).

The Australian anthropologist Crystal Abidin shows how Singaporean influencers position themselves as non-threatening and submissive and perform cuteness as a feminine strategy to secure commercial gains (Abidin, 2016, p. 33-44). Language is central in the production, maintenance and change of social relations of power and can be used to dominate others, Fairclough writes (Fairclough, 1989, p. 1-4). Doing a CDA makes it possible to study influence as power, how the relationship between the bloggers and the readers in my sample is discursively constructed and maintained and how the bloggers position themselves in addition to their readers. Fairclough defines a genre as ways of acting and interacting linguistically and structuring texts in specific ways (Fairclough, 2003, p. 17). In addition to being able to describe discourses, subject positions and their relations, doing a CDA makes it possible to define and describe the commercial blog as a genre, its characteristics and different ways to use it.

The Norwegian blogosphere is dominated by young women between the age of 15-25, who write about fashion, products and lifestyle (Moen, 2012, p. 12). 77 percent of the bloggers on

Blogg.no, the largest blog platform in Norway, are women who publish between one and four blog posts per day (Moen, 2012, p. 27). Commercial, personal bloggers like these are often not taken seriously. The bloggers are referred to as «pink bloggers» (rosabloggere). In her PhD thesis, PhD-candidate in gender studies Karolina Dmitrow-Devold analyzed how personal bloggers were presented in the papers Aftenposten, VG and Dagbladet in articles published between 2009 and 2011. She concludes that the term «pink blogger» is a term used to present personal bloggers as a homogenous group and in a negative way, as stupid, trivial, blonde and/or superficial (Bergstrøm, 2014, http://tinyurl.com/lmadeb4). Because the term pink bloggers causes negative connotations, I will not use this term in my thesis.

The commercial, Norwegian blog is a large scale phenomenon, that involves both money and influence. Understanding the commercial blog as a genre, the discourse of microcelebrity and how the bloggers attract and influence their readers is sociologically interesting and thus important to understand and conduct research on. The blogs have a lot of readers. The bloggers in my sample had up to 41.000 exclusive readers per day during September 2016. A lot of these readers were young girls, who were easily influenced by what they read online. Many Norwegian bloggers have made their blogs into personal businesses, earning money from advertising, sponsorships and paid referrals (Rettberg, 2014, p. 138). For some bloggers blogging is a full-time job and they can earn a lot of money from their blogs. In 2014 several, Norwegian bloggers earned more than 1.000.000 NOK a year (Elnan & Evensen, 2015, http://tinyurl.com/oa7th2x,).

1.1 The Blog

The term «blog» was first used in 1997 and is a contraction of the words «web» and «log» (Rettberg, 2014, p. 30). In late 1998 and early 1999 several tools for creating blogs and publishing personal content online appeared (Rettberg, 2014, p. 8-9). Today creating and starting a blog is easy and anyone who wants to become a blogger can be. According to the Norwegian professor in digital culture, Jill Walker Rettberg, social media became a mainstream category used to describe many-to-many communication in 2008. The blog is one of the oldest forms of social media and was popular a long time before the term was coined (Rettberg, 2014, p. 13-16). Rettberg defines a blog as «[…] a frequently updated

website consisting of dated entries arranged in reverse chronological order so the most recent post appear first» (Rettberg, 2014, p. 32). The blog is a phenomenon based on the publication of self-produced content like text, images and videos (Haugseth, 2013, p. 69). The content is personal, written by an individual, in first person and expresses the blogger's personal opinions. Blog posts are often short and the language is quite verbal with the use of emojis and/or emoticons (Rettberg, 2014, p. 34, Trammell & Keshelashvili, 2005, p. 968). Many blogs are written by women who share detailed personal stories and experiences (Marwick, 2013, p. 64).

According to Rettberg, the blog is a medium with several genres and sub-genres. Rettberg distinguishes between personal blogs (personal, diary-style blogging), filter blogs (where the blogger records experiences and finds on the Web) and topic driven blogs (where the blogger shares information and ideas about different topics) (Rettberg, 2014, p. 17-24). The blog is a genre with an episodic, narrative structure. Blog posts can be read on their own or as a part of a larger story. Some blogs are goal oriented, like fitness blogs, and the blog posts are connected in various degrees. Sometimes blog posts are a part of an already planned out story, sometimes individual blog posts create the story as they are published (Rettberg, 2014, p. 115-120).

Blogs are defined by the people who write them, they have a point of view and can be detailed maps of the individuals personalities (biases, interests and judgments) (Blood, 2002, p. xi-xii). The blogger write down whatever is on her mind, share it with whoever is reading and her opinions and thoughts are confronted by the readers in the comments (Blood, 2000, p. 13-14). The blog is a medium for and of communication. Blogs do not target an imagined audience, but are available for anyone who finds them to read (Dean, 2010, p. 46). The blogger, Rettberg claims, writes with the expectation that what she writes can and will be read by several other people. Blogs are defined by many producers and small audiences. They are connected to other blogs through complex communities and/or networks online. Entering this network can be hard if new bloggers do not have connections to other already-established bloggers (Rettberg, 2014, p. 62-66). Blogs are social and the blogger interacts with the readers and with other bloggers through blog posts and comments (Rettberg, 2014, p. 34).

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Blogs are used together with and often closely connected to other social media sites, like Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, Snapchat and/or Instagram. The Norwegian sociologist Jan Frode Haugseth defines social media as digital technology that enables public group based interaction or participation and that transfers personal or social markers along with a media message (Haugseth, 2013, p. 48). Additional social media sites are used by bloggers to create new content and to gain more readers by linking to their blogs or specific blog posts (Rettberg, 2014, p. 62-66). In my thesis, analysis of the bloggers' additional social media sites will not be included.

Other social media sites, where contact between users matter more than opinions, information or angle, challenge blogs as a social media, the American political philosopher Jodi Dean claims. Rather than writing for an audience the users interact with their friends and/or followers. Maintaining a blog also takes time and effort. Even though the number of blogs rise the blog has been declared dead, Dean claims (Dean, 2010, p. 33-36). However, many blogs continue to have a large following and the bloggers reach out to many people with their opinions and influence. Most Norwegian bloggers do not have information sharing and public debate as their main focus. They write about themselves, their lives and interact with their readers through the comment section and additional social media sites. Commercial blogs like these also continue to have a large following. Like most social media today, commercial blogs are constantly changing and evolving. Conducting continuous research on the subject is thus important.

1.1.1 Commercial Blogs

Blogs provide access to what customers like and dislike. Companies can use blogs in their marketing, start their own blogs, hire bloggers and participate in discussions related to products online (Dean, 2010, p. 34). Companies use blogs to create online presence and improve their relationship with the customers (Rettberg, 2014, p. 135). They can reach niches of consumers, interact with these consumers and build brand awareness. By 2009 70 percent of American bloggers blogged about brands and products. With brand and product mentions corporate blogging became a key element of blogging itself (Dean, 2010, p. 34). Norwegian

bloggers also blog about products and brands. Sponsors send the bloggers products that they get paid in cash, products, points or trips to write about (Rettberg, 2014, p. 138-155). Norwegian bloggers do not have to separate sponsored and editorial content, but blog posts that contain advertising have to be marked as «advertising» (blogg.no, http://tinyurl.com/znx7a6n). Sponsored blog posts affect the bloggers' authenticity and integrity, although many bloggers claim that their opinions are their own (Rettberg, 2014, p. 138-155). «While some bloggers simply include sponsorship information only (i.e., "simple" sponsorship disclosure), others add a note that the opinions in the blog posts are honest, although they are sponsored posts (i.e., "honest opinions" sponsorship disclosure)» (Hwang & Jeong, 2016, p. 528). According to the Korean internet researchers Yoori Hwang and Se-Hoon Jeong, the negative effects of sponsorship disappear when the bloggers claim to be honest and that what they share are their actual, real opinions (Hwang & Jeong, 2016, p. 528).

Bloggers reach out to consumers via personalized blog entries. They also produce distinct presentations of femininity and the female body. The Australian anthropologists Crystal Abidin and Eric C. Thompson claim that bloggers are «[…] independent entrepreneurs who actively appropriate their bodies to craft an online persona through the everyday accounts of their lives on their blogs, in a bid to foster intimacy with readers and attract them to make purchases» (Abidin & Thompson, 2012, p. 467). The bloggers are caught between feminine objectification and empowerment and their bodies are both active consumers and actively consumed. The consumer have an emotional affection for and investigate meaning in the blogger, not the products themselves. Persona intimacy is an effect of a social environment online and is:

> [S]haped by performances of cyber-femininities, homo-social desires, and a refracted (fe)male gaze, in which female participants in the discursive practices of blogshops monitor and discipline each others' bodies and gendered practices on the basis of presumed heterosexual masculine desires (Abidin & Thompson, 2012, p. 468).

The bloggers comment on and criticize each others bodies, tell each other how they should look and how this can be achieved (Abidin & Thompson, 2012, p. 474).

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1.1.2 The Blog as a Cultural Phenomenon

Blogs emerge at the intersection of different languages, cultures and discourses (Dean, 2010, p. 53). Blogging as a cultural phenomenon and a cultural practice vary in different social, political and cultural contexts and thus have to be analyzed as a part of their cultural context (Moe, 2011, p. 315). According to the Norwegian professor in media studies Hallvard Moe, the Norwegian blogosphere is open and free of authoritarian control, moderately networked, layered, with low levels of partisanship and housing young, alternative voices side-by-side with well-known politicians (Moe, 2011, p. 314). By comparison, the Persian-language blogosphere in Iran is dominated by politically radical bloggers and political discussions (Moe, 2011, p. 321). Other countries, like Sweden and Singapore, are more similar to the Norwegian blogosphere and the blogs are dominated by young, female and commercial bloggers (Abidin 2015). Blogs can be a frontier for participatory journalism, public discussion and debate. «[O]nline publishing provide a platform for people with views outside the mainstream voice of opinions and practice amateur investigative journalism.» (Marwick, 2013, p. 81). Many Norwegian bloggers participate in public discussion about topics they find interesting, but the primary focus is often fashion, products and their personal lives.

1.2 Outline of the Thesis

In chapter 1 I defined the term blog, described its characteristics and functions and discussed why I think studying blogs is important and sociologically relevant. In chapter 2 I will define the terms celebrity, strategic self presentation, microcelebrity, self branding, fan/reader and influencer. I will discuss strengths and weaknesses the different terms have. In chapter 3 I will explain how to do Fairclough's version of a critical discourse analysis (CDA) and why I have chosen to do a CDA. I will define the terms discourse, subject position, ideology and power. I will explain the different stages of a discourse analysis: Description, interpretation and explanation. I will define the terms genre and intertextuality. I will describe the sample and discuss different ethical and methodical assumptions. In chapter 4 I will show how the bloggers construct themselves as microcelebrities on their blogs and how the relationship between the fans/readers are constructed discursively and maintained. I will describe the discourse of microcelebrity, its characteristics, how it is drawn upon and the results of drawing upon this discourse. I will also discuss how the bloggers reflect on their positions as

bloggers, their influence on their readers and challenge the discourse of microcelebrity. In chapter 5 I will describe the commercial, Norwegian blog genre and its characteristics. In chapter 6 I will conduct a concluding discussion and discuss challenges and limitations when doing this project.

2. Theories of Celebrity and Microcelebrity

Microcelebrity is a complex term that builds upon traditional theories of celebrity (Turner 2004, Marshall 2006a, Marshall 2006b, Marshall 2010, Rojek 2006b) and of strategic self presentation (Goffman 1959/1992, Trammell & Keshelashvili 2005, Krogstad 2007, Dimitrow-Devold 2017). In this chapter I will define and discuss the term microcelebrity and how it is connected to other relevant theories. I will start by defining the term celebrity. I will then define the terms self presentation and impression management and discuss how it is connected to commercial bloggers today. I will define the terms microcelebrity, self branding and fans/readers. I will describe the term influencer and explain how influencers are connected to microcelebrities and commercial bloggers. Lastly, I will discuss the term microcelebrity's strengths and weaknesses. Defining these terms is crucial to be able to explain how the 11 bloggers I am studying construct themselves as microcelebrities on their blogs and how they discursively construct and maintain their relationships with their readers.

2.1 The Celebrity

The term microcelebrity builds upon the term celebrity. The celebrity is a complicated, cultural construct conceptualized in different ways, the American internet researchers Alice E. Marwick and danah boyd argue. A celebrity can be a famous person, a state of being, a discourse, a cultural phenomenon, a historical process, a part of the mass culture industries, a semiotic system and a part of democratic individualism (Marwick & boyd, 2011, p. 140). The history of celebrity is, according to Marshall, a history of how individuality and exemption is articulated and explained. It involves understanding the will to fame, charisma, the representation of individuality in the entertainment industries and the implications of a mediated world (Marshall, 2006a, p. 20). According to the American cultural historian Leo Braudy, fame traditionally meant grandeur and separation from ordinary human nature. The Egyptian pharaohs and the Chinese emperors, for instance, had fame and status unlike anyone else. True fame, Braudy claims, begins with Homer and his tales of the famous heroes and gods in Ancient Greece (fifth and fourth century B.C.). The first famous person, however, was Alexander the Great. There are many tales about his life and accomplishments, told and shared when he was still alive as well as today (Braudy, 2006, p. 35-38). Celebrity is

sometimes described as a natural quality or personality trait that some people have: A presence, charisma or star quality (Turner, 2004, p. 4). The German sociologist Max Weber defines charisma as: «[…] a certain quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities» (Weber, 2006, p. 61).

The American historian Daniel Boorstin defines a celebrity as a person that is well-known for their well-knownness. The celebrity has gained her status by differentiating her personality from others in the public arena (Boorstin in Turner, 2004, p. 5). Becoming a celebrity involves the discursive constitution or representation of a persona as a celebrity. Celebrities are produced through different types of systems of meaning and different discourses (Marshall in Turner, 2004, p. 20). Understanding the celebrity includes detailed descriptions of the discursive and the ideological context where the celebrity developed. The discursive constitution of the celebrity can be defined by several elements: Interest in the private self, public attention beyond their original achievements and contradictory media representations (both positive and negative) (Turner, 2004, p. 7-9). The Australian professor in cultural studies Graeme Turner, defines a celebrity as:

> […] a genre of representation and a discursive effect; it is a commodity traded by the promotions, publicity, and media industries that produce these representations and their effects; and it is a cultural formation that has a social function we can better understand. (Turner, 2004, p. 9).

Self production and the performance of self are important parts of celebrity culture. The private self is the object of public attention, constructed through promotional discourses, Turner claims (Turner, 2004, p. 7-9). The self is intercommunicative, celebrities present themselves in different ways depending on who they are addressing, and the celebrity stays connected to different audiences and the public arena (Marshall, 2010, p. 40-46). New media forms, like the internet and social media, advance a presentational regime and a personal and presentational mediation of culture (Marshall, 2006b, p. 637-641). The celebrity's power is the power to embody an audience by what Marshall describes as affective investment in the celebrity and her life (Marshall, 2006b, p. 635). The bloggers in my sample, for instance, engage in strategic self presentation and stage their lives so that they can be consumed and

admired by their readers.

According to Marshall, individuality is one of the mainstays of consumer society. Celebrity is a discourse of the self, of individuality, identity, identification by an audience and transforming into and becoming a celebrity (Marshall, 2006b, p. 635). The celebrity and consumer society are closely connected, Marshall claims. The celebrity is a model for consumption practice and an aspiration for the audience. She often displays success through material possession, conspicuous consumption and a luxurious lifestyle (Turner, 2004, p. 34-41). Through consumption individuals have the possibility of change and transformation. Celebrities teach consumers how to engage and use consumer culture to «make oneself», Marshall claims (Marshall, 2010, p. 36). The discourse of microcelebrity, for instance, is characterized by individuality, a focus on the blogger and the self, promotion of the blogger as a microcelebrity and the readers as fans.

The celebrity is a commodity produced, traded and marketed by the media and/or the celebrity herself (Turner, 2004, p. 7-9). When the celebrity is turned into a commodity, the celebrity gains the power to construct a relationship with and power over their audience. The celebrity now has a personal and professional interest in promoting herself (Turner, 2004, p. 13-15). According to Turner, celebrities are developed to make money. Their names and images are used to market different products and to attract attention by their audiences. Celebrities can also become brands themselves, with huge, commercial potential (Turner, 2004, p. 34-41). Fame often seems both achievable and desirable and many people want to become celebrities themselves (Turner, 2004, p. 15-17). Celebrities live extraordinary everyday lives and their lives represents their individuality and possibility of choice. Celebrity status does not necessarily come from prior social status, but can be achieved through different achievements and over a period of time (Marshall, 2006b, p. 635). The microcelebrity bloggers in my sample, for instance, present their lives as attractive and achievable. Their lifestyle can be attained by following instructions and buying the products presented on their blogs.

The British sociologist Chris Rojek distinguishes between ascribed and achieved celebrity

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(Rojek in Turner, 2004, p. 22). An ascribed celebrity is someone who has been ascribed celebrity status, either by birth or due to her or his personal achievements. Achieved celebrity is someone who have started with minimal resources and/or status and achieved celebrity status through her or his achievements (Rojek, 2006b, p. 609). According to Rojek, achieved celebrity and narcissism are closely connected, because the achieved celebrity gains celebrity status due to her achievements and often sees herself as superior to other people. She is a role model and a figure for popular desire, fantasy and affect (Rojek, 2006b, p. 612). Microcelebrity status among the bloggers in my sample, for instance, is usually achieved through strategic self presentation and by drawing upon the discourse of microcelebrity, although some of the bloggers were ascribed celebrity status by participating in TV-shows before starting their blogs.

2.2 Strategic Self Presentation

Microcelebrity is often described as a form of strategic self presentation that contains elements of online impression management. The Canadian sociologist Erving Goffman wrote about strategic self presentation and impression management before social media even existed and his influential work on self presentation is frequently cited in research on microcelebrity, influencers and social media. Goffman compare individuals to actors on a stage, playing different roles. He distinguishes between frontstage, the public sphere where the individuals play their roles in front of an audience, and backstage, the personal and private sphere where the roles are constructed and maintained (Goffman, 1959, p. 107-114). Individuals can switch between frontstage and backstage and change their behavior accordingly (Goffman, 1992, p. 189). Goffman distinguishes between the impression the individuals intentionally try to give (through verbal or bodily symbols) and the actual impression they give off (non-verbal and unintentional). Impression management is to deliberately attempt to manipulate or regulate this impression (Goffman, 1992, p. 12-14). The Norwegian sociologist Anne Krogstad understands social media as a middle scene, a stage between frontstage and backstage. On this stage parts of backstage are strategically shown off to give a certain impression, through what Krogstad names strategic middle scene presentation (Krogstad, 2007, p. 197-200).

Successful bloggers, with a lot of readers and sponsors, reveal more information about themselves than other bloggers and actively engage in impression management, the American professors in mass communication and journalism Kaye D. Trammell and Ana Keshelashvili concludes. Strategic self presentation, strategically sharing parts of one's personal life online to appear a certain way, and impression management is used to create viable online personas that differ more or less from the bloggers' offline selves (Trammell & Keshelashvili, 2005, p. 968). According to Marwick, profile pictures, likes and dislikes and different subjects are strategically chosen to tweet or blog about to give off a certain impression (Marwick, 2013, p. 193). The bloggers share a lot about themselves and their identities: Personal information like full names, biographies, photos, contact information, personal feelings and thoughts, interests and hobbies, political slant, families and friends, places the bloggers have been and so on (Trammell & Keshelashvili, 2005, p. 974-975).

Dimitrow-Devold studied how Norwegian, commercial and female top bloggers performed their selves on their blogs over time. The bloggers had a large following and were celebrities and role models for their readers. According to Dimitrow-Devold mainstream blogging is characterized by three recent trends in youths' digital media culture: The competition for positive responses (girls perform selves online and the audience judges their performances) celebrity culture (high-ranking female bloggers become celebrities) and increasing commercialization of the media culture (bloggers receive products and money from advertising) (Dimitrow-Devold, 2017, p. 1-3). The bloggers performed a blogging self affected by their audience and the context in which it was performed. Dimitrow-Devold understands this self as discursively performative and the bloggers drew upon different femininities that were available to them. She identifies three strategies of performing the blogging self: The adjustment strategy (focus on style and positive presentations of the self), the fit-in-and-be-myself strategy (both positive and negative presentations of the self) and the contestation strategy (opinionated and emotional content, realistic presentations of the self) (Dimitrow-Devold, 2017, p. 5-9).

2.3 The Microcelebrity

According to the American internet researcher Theresa Senft a microcelebrity is: «[…] a new style of online performance that involves people 'amping up' their popularity over the Web using technologies like video, blogs and social networking sites.» (Senft, 2008, p. 25). Information sharing and «Do It Yourself» (DIY) ethic is the core of social media ideology (Marwick, 2013, p. 53). Online celebrity can be generated from scratch, by controlling the representations of oneself. People can produce themselves as celebrities and gain a large fan bases online by communicating with their fans. Celebrities that produce and manage fame themselves, Turner names the Do It Yourself-celebrity or DIY-celebrity. The DIY-celebrity uses the internet and different social media sites to construct and trade fame (Turner, 2004, p. 52-55). Discourses of authenticity, commercialization and exploration frame what is acceptable behavior for the DIY-celebrity. The first DIY-celebrities were the camgirls who started broadcasting their lives online in the late 1990s (Senft, 2008, p. 8). The camgirls used their webcams to constantly film and broadcast themselves online, and thus became famous (Turner, 2004, p. 64-66).

The microcelebrity has gained celebrity status among her readers or followers by using social media to attain status and fame. According to Marwick and boyd, being a microcelebrity involves viewing friends and followers as a fan base, acknowledging popularity as a goal, managing the fan base by using a variety of techniques and constructing an image of self that can be easily consumed by the readers (Marwick & boyd, 2011, p. 141). According to Marwick, a microcelebrity creates a viable online persona, produces content and strategically appeals to fans online (Marwick, 2013, p. 191-192). Microcelebrities are not traditional celebrities. They work within different cultural contexts and often do not have managers or agents working with them[1] (Marwick, 2013, p. 187-188). Like Rojek, Marwick distinguishes between ascribed and achieved microcelebrity (Rojek, 2006b, p. 609-612, Marwick, 2013, p. 229). Ascribed microcelebrity is when celebrity status is ascribed to a member of an online subculture due to her or his personal achievements. Achieved microcelebrity is a self presentation strategy that involves creating a viable online persona by sharing personal

[1] Some famous microcelebrities like the British YouTuber Zoella and the Norwegian blogger Sophie Elise Isachsen do have managers and teams of people working for them.

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information online, acknowledging popularity as a goal, constructing personal relations and closeness to the readers, identifying the readers as fans and maintaining this relationship by strategically revealing new personal information to keep the readers' interest (Marwick, 2013, p. 235-236). Microcelebrity is something someone does. It is a way of thinking of oneself as a celebrity, engaging in strategic self presentation and impression management and treating the readers, followers or viewers as fans (Marwick, 2013, p. 189). The bloggers in my sample, for instance, write themselves into microcelebrities by drawing upon the discourse of microcelebrity. The microcelebrity is famous to a niche of people, but also present herself as a celebrity regardless of how many people who are reading or watching (Marwick, 2013, p. 186, Lat & Shemtob, 2011, p. 410-413).

Social media makes large-scale self promotion possible. This promotion includes both more or less authentic promotions of the self and business-targeted self promotion. Microcelebrity is a collection of self presentation practices, Senft claims. Users create a profile, reach out to followers and reveal personal information to increase attention and improve their online status (Senft in Marwick, 2015, p. 138). Photos, text and videos are used for impression management and to show off parts of the bloggers' backstage lives (Marwick, 2015, p. 143). Authenticity, to be yourself, is often emphasized in social media discourse (Marwick, 2013, p. 37). Microcelebrities are often seen as more authentic than regular celebrities, because they are not a part of the star-making system (Marwick, 2013, p. 196-198). The microcelebrity does not necessarily promote an idealized self and strategic identity construction allows for fun identity manipulation and trying different things out (Marwick, Diaz & Palfrey, 2010, p. 26). Portraying oneself in a highly positive way, however, is common among many microcelebrities (Marwick, 2013, p. 269-271).

2.4 Self Branding

The microcelebrity's self is constructed and performed to attract publicity and attention. It involves self-commodification, making oneself publicizable and a commodity that can be consumed by the readers, Marwick claims (Marwick, 2013, p. 192). The microcelebrity's self is promoted, sold and consumed and can be used to achieve social and economic benefits

(Page, 2012, p. 182). According to Page, self branding and microcelebrity are forms of labour undertaken by both elite and ordinary persons in order to achieve the visibility and influence necessary to achieve status or fame. To Page, social media is a frontstage environment where identity is performed. Being a microcelebrity includes personalizing one's identity, using products to signal status and identity, becoming searchable and creating a public persona that can be consumed and reproduced by others (Page, 2012, p. 182-184). According to Senft, microcelebrities develop and maintain their online identity as if it were a branded good, with the expectation that the readers do the same (Senft, 2013, p. 349). The online self is created and then managed and cared for almost every day. The microcelebrities are curating, rearranging and recirculating what they consider to be their best pictures, videos and status updates on multiple social media sites online. At the same time they do not share what they consider to be ugly or not good enough, carefully cultivating what in a professional venue would be a concerted audience-segmentation strategy, Senft claims (Senft, 2013, p. 349).

According to Senft, microcelebrities can build themselves as brands or commodities that are consumed by their readers (Senft, 2008, p. 26-28). Marwick understands self branding as the process of promoting oneself a a corporate entity (Marwick, 2013, p. 105). Self branding, actually turning yourself or your name into a brand, is an essential strategy online and is important in modern business culture. It is linked to a promotional culture where information sharing, economics and persuasion are closely connected (Marwick, 2013, p. 266-269). Marwick defines self-branding as: «[…] a series of marketing strategies applied to the individual. It is a set of practices and a mindset, a way of thinking about the self as a salable commodity that can tempt a potential employer.» (Marwick, 2013, p. 269). In my sample, blogger 4 had turned her blog into a brand, created products with the same name and sold her own products in both online and offline stores.

2.5 The Fans

According to Rojek, the relationship between the fans and the celebrities involves unusually high levels of non-reciprocal emotional dependence, in which fans project intensively positive feelings onto the celebrity. Celebrities offer powerful affirmations of belonging, recognition and meaning for their fans. The fans participate in imaginary, para-social

relations of intimacy created through the media, rather than by actually interacting with the celebrity. Levels of identification by the fans are reflected in their wardrobe, vocabulary and leisure practices (Rojek, 2006a, p. 389-390). The microcelebrity's readers, viewers or followers, however, are thought of as fans and the relationship with these are carefully maintained by the microcelebrity to sustain her or his celebrity status. According to Marwick, the microcelebrity strategically reveals personal information to maintain the readers' interest (Marwick, 2013, p. 233-236). Closeness and accountability is important to become and remain a microcelebrity. This is received through online presence and interaction with the readers (Marwick, 2013, p. 194). Interaction is maintained with the readers through blog posts, comments, e-mails and occasional face-to-face contact (Abidin & Thompson, 2012, p. 468). The relationship between the blogger and the reader is, according to Abidin, forged as a commercial intimacy based on the bloggers' lives as commodities that are traded and consumed. The bloggers' personas are accessible, the relationship between the bloggers and the readers is close knit and the bloggers try to capture the reader's attention. This is important to gain a large following, sponsors and advertisers (Abidin, 2013, p. 3).

According to Senft, online popularity and becoming a microcelebrity depends upon a connection to one's audience. The audience is often seen as friends or family, but also as customers, fans, readers, followers or viewers. The relationship is ongoing and has to be constantly negotiated (Senft, 2008, p. 26). Code-switching between fans and friends, audiences and communities requires a fair amount of what the German sociologist Karl Marx named immaterial labor. Immaterial labor is often disguised with words like participation, discussion, flirting or goofing off (Senft, 2013, p. 350). Microcelebrities create a sense of closeness and familiarity between themselves and their followers, by referring to their readers in a form of girl talk, by using words like «hun», «sweetie» and «girls» (Abidin & Thompson, 2012, p. 472). The bloggers in my sample frequently used words like friends, sweetie, dear and mates to describe the readers. The relationship between the bloggers and the readers were also commercial and the bloggers sold sponsored products to the readers.

The microcelebrities, according to Abidin and Thompson, also set bodily, beauty and behavioral standards for their readers. Bloggers participate in modeling and role modeling to

make the readers purchase the products they are promoting. Modeling involves modeling and showing off products, clothes, makeup, accessories and more, how they should be used and combined. Role modeling involves setting standards for how women should look and act and then instructing the readers to act and look a certain way (Abidin & Thompson, 2012, p. 470-473). The bloggers in my sample engaged in both modeling and role modeling.

2.6 The Influencer

According to the American psychologist Robert B. Cialdini one of the most potent weapons of influence is reciprocation: To repay for what someone has done for you. The idea that an action have to be returned with a similar action can lead to unfair exchanges, because what is expected in return is decided by the person who acted first (Cialdini, 1984, p. 29-44). Contrast, to present a product as good by comparing it to a less attractive product, makes it more attractive to the consumer. So does exclusivity, limited access to or few examples of a product (Cialdini, 1984, p. 26). Social proof, showing that a product actually works, is also important to convince someone to buy it (Cialdini, 1984, p. 120, 229). The bloggers in my sample often presented products in a highly positive way. They were effective, exclusive and often compared to similar products that did not work. Authority is the power to give orders or make decisions on the behalf of someone else. Marks of authority can be titles, status symbols and so on. Referring to authorities, like experts, professors or doctors, makes readers trust and listen to the influencers, Cialdini claims (Cialdini, 1984, p. 215-223). The bloggers in my sample referred to experts when describing actual effects products were supposed to have.

It is easier to say yes to an influencer the readers know and like. Presenting oneself as likable and letting others getting to know you is important to be able to have influence over someone (Cialdini, 1984, p. 163). Consistency, continuously sharing the same messages, voice and personality however, is important to seem authentic or real (Moen, 2017, http://tinyurl.com/k9rkgel). Good looking influencers also have an advantage, because they are often assigned traits like kindness, talent, honesty and intelligence. Similarity, relateability and association to the influencers are important, because consumers often prefer influencers that are similar to themselves. Compliments can be used to appear as more likable. Contact and cooperation

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with the readers also makes influencers more familiar and thus more likable (Cialdini, 1984, p. 167-184).

Microcelebrities' blogs, channels and social media accounts are a way for consumers to locate new products and for advertisers to promote them. Through their different channels microcelebrities can reach out to several potential consumers and attract attention through social interaction and social networks where information spreads rapidly (Li, Lai & Chen, 2011, p. 5143, Lagner, Hennings & Wiedmann 1984). Brands and companies can engage with microcelebrities and use them in brand communication to reach out to and affect specific online communities. By interacting with digital influencers like bloggers, brands can strengthen their relationship with the customers, because bloggers can affect audiences attitudes, perception and purchase behavior (Uzunoglu & Kip, 2014, p. 592-596). Influencers are microcelebrities that portray themselves in a high-status light, use and sell high end products to their readers. Abidin understands influencers as young women who market products and services from different industries like fashion, beauty or travel. The influencers share highly personalized, opinion-laden promotions of products/services that the influencers personally experience and endorse for a fee, Abidin writes (Abidin, 2015, http://tinyurl.com/j9ot567). Abidin defines an influencer as:

> […] everyday, ordinary Internet users who accumulate a relatively large following on blogs and social media through the textual and visual narration of their personal lives and lifestyles, engage with their following in "digital" and "physical" spaces, and monetize their following by integrating "advertorials" into their blog or social media posts. (Abidin, 2015, http://tinyurl.com/j9ot567).

Influencers make the audience relate to and identify with them and their lives. This is done by strategically showing off certain parts of their lives and making the personal and private backstage (Goffman 1959/1992) visible to seem authentic to their readers. The influencers also give the impression of authenticity and accessibility. Several aspects of the influencers lives, including their children, are used in marketing and monetized (Abidin, 2015, http://tinyurl.com/j9ot567). The influencers document their lives online and monetize their social media by selling advertising space on their sites, writing personalized advertorials and by having sponsors. To gain power over their readers, the influencers position themselves as

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non-threatening and submissive. They perform and use cuteness as a feminine strategy to secure different gains like attention and commercial gains and as soft power to appear as non-threatening and non-authoritarian (Abidin, 2016, p. 33-44).

According to Abidin babies of microcelebrities can inherit celebrity status from their social media influencer mothers and become micromicrocelebrities and microinfluencers themselves. The influencer mothers share images of and stories about their children online. Many micromicrocelebrities have their own channels, blogs or pages and have gained a large following themselves. Their lives are portrayed as lived and baby products and services are marketed to the followers. Some mommy bloggers write about their role as mothers, their children and their experiences in a non-monetized way. Micromicrocelebrities, Abidin insists, are portrayed deliberately commercial, framed and staged by influencer mothers in order to maximize their advertorial potential (Abidin, 2015, http://tinyurl.com/j9ot567).

The term influencer describes how users influence and sell products to their audiences. A microcelebrity does not necessarily have to be an influencer, non-commercial bloggers can gain microcelebrity-status too. Influencers, however, usually have some kind of celebrity status and a large amount of followers. Like Turner wrote, celebrities are developed to make money. Their names and images can be used to market different products and have huge, commercial potential (Turner, 2004, p. 34-41). Abidin's definition of the term describes influencers as ordinary internet users who have gained a large following. What this does not show, however, is that regular celebrities can be influencers too and use their social media to promote different products. Like by the microcelebrities, this is done by describing the products in a positive way and by making their lives seem attractive and achievable.

2.7 Discussion

The term microcelebrity is used to describe how individuals use social media to attain fame and celebrity status, through strategic self presentation and impression management. However, there is no minimum or maximum of followers/readers required to become a microcelebrity. The micro in microcelebrity can imply that microcelebrities are less famous than regular celebrities and reach out to smaller audiences. Theories on microcelebrity does

not say anything about if there is possible to transform from a microcelebrity into a celebrity. When do microcelebrities become regular celebrities or is this even possible? Some microcelebrities have gained millions of followers or readers and their celebrity status reach beyond their channels, sites or blogs. The British YouTuber Zoella, for instance, created her YouTube channel in 2007 and now has almost 12 million subscribers (Zoella, https://www.youtube.com/user/zoella280390). She started and still makes videos from her bedroom and have achieved her fame through strategic self presentation and strategically appealing to her fans online, what Marwick names achieved microcelebrity and Turner names DIY-celebrity.

The term DIY-celebrity show how social media can be used to attain celebrity status by strategic presentations of the self online. This term does not imply that the celebrity have small audiences and can easily be used to describe YouTubers like Zoella. However, this term does not perfectly describe social media user with smaller audiences that are not famous to a large amount of people. Because some of the bloggers in my sample only had about 300 exclusive readers per day, I have chosen to use the term microcelebrity. Marwick emphasizes that microcelebrity is something someone does. They write themselves into and present themselves as celebrities regardless of how many people who are watching, following or reading their blogs, channel or social media sites. The ability to characterize what they microcelebrity actually does and being able to characterize the behavior of social media users that present themselves as celebrities whenever they are or not, is the strength of this term.

3. Methodology and Selection

3.1 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

Microcelebrity is a way of writing oneself into a celebrity, by drawing upon a discourse of microcelebrity. Describing and understanding this discourse, how the relationship between the blogger and the readers is discursively constructed and maintained and what characterizes the commercial blog genre, require a detailed analysis of discourse. I will be answering my research questions by doing a critical discourse analysis of the textual content of blog posts written by 11 commercial, personal lifestyle bloggers. There are several forms of discourse analysis (Van Dijk, 1997, p. 22). I will be using the linguist Norman Fairclough's version of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Fairclough builds upon the idea that the social world is constructed through texts and discourse. Texts are part of social events and can bring forth changes in people, actions, social relations and the material world. Fairclough uses the term text in a broad sense: Written and printed texts, transcripts of conversations and interviews, TV-programs and webpages (including blogs) are considered texts (Fairclough, 2003, p. 5-9). A discourse analysis can be used in several areas, but can not be done within any theoretical framework. It is a method that rests on certain ontological and epistemological assumptions: Social constructivism (the world is constructed and given meaning through language), a critical view on knowledge (created trough discourse), historic and cultural specificity, connections between knowledge, social processes and social action (knowledge is created through interactions and limits what people can and can not do/say), and a theoretical and methodical base (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2013, p. 13-14).

Fairclough's main point of reference within literature on text analysis and linguistics is Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), a methodology usually associated with the British linguist Michael Halliday. SFL is concerned with «[…] the relationship between language and other elements and aspects of social life, and its approach to the linguistic analysis of texts is always oriented to the social character of texts.» (Fairclough, 2003, p. 5). When doing a CDA, however, one can draw upon a variety of text analytic approaches (Fairclough, 2003, p. 5-6). According to the British linguist Ruth Breeze, CDA takes the social effects of language seriously (Breeze, 2011, p. 495-496). CDA differ from other approaches within

linguistics «[…] in its particular interest in power, and its underlying assumption that the social relations reflected in language phenomena were part of a larger pattern characterised by unequal power relations.» (Breeze, 2011, p. 496). According to Breeze, the origins of CDA's politicized concern with society can be traced back to authors working within a Marxist or neo-Marxist tradition, more specifically to the Frankfurt school (particularly Adorno, Marcuse and Horkheimer) (Breeze, 2011, p. 496).

The French philosopher and social theorist Michel Foucault also had an important influence on CDA. Foucault acknowledge the role of discourse in social relations, power relations and social constructions. To Foucault «[…] discourse moves back and forth, both reflecting and constructing the social world of the different agents who use it, or are situated by it.» (Breeze, 2011, p. 497). To Foucault, it is not possible to access meaning and he concentrates on analyzing the conditions for the existence of meaning and the production of meaning. According to Breeze, Foucault has been taken up in a fundamental sense by analysts who base most of their research on discourse phenomena (Breeze, 2011, p. 497). Fairclough and Wodak writes that discourse is important because « […] it works ideologically, configuring and conditioning society and culture, creating and perpetuating power relations, while remaining curiously transparent or invisible even to the people who use it.» (Fairclough and Wodak in Breeze, 2011, p. 497) Foucault's theory is often disregarded by CDA practitioners, Breeze claims, in favor of a more stable or normative approach when interpreting social phenomena (Breeze, 2011, p. 498). There is a major contradiction between the Marxist and post-structuralist strands in CDA's intellectual antecedents. According to Breeze, Marxists rely on a normative theory of history and society, authors within the post-structuralist or post-modern movement see totalizing meta-narratives as invalid and potentially manipulative (Breeze, 2011, p. 500). Foucault, for instance, once refused to judge the discourses he studied (Foucault 1969 in Breeze, 2011, p. 500).

Discourses represent a part of the world from a particular perspective. Texts differ in the discourses they draw upon. They also set up dialogical relations between own and other texts' discourses. When analyzing a discourse one needs to identify the themes, the part of the world represented and the perspective or point of view they are represented from. Different

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discourses use different words to describe and structure the world. To define a discourse, one have to look at the words that are used, the semantic relationship between these words, the relations that are set up in a text, grammatical features and how meaning and assumptions are made. In my master's thesis I will be doing an interdiscursive analysis. In an interdiscursive analysis one describes the discourses that are drawn upon and how they are articulated together (Fairclough, 2003, p. 127-133). The main focus will be upon describing the discourse of microcelebrity and the Norwegian, commercial blog genre.

3.2 Discourse

A discourse is a way of talking about and understanding the world or a part of the world (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2013, p. 9). Fairclough defines a discourse as «[…] ways of representing aspects of the world – the processes, relations and structures of the material world, the 'mental world' of thoughts, feelings, beliefs and so forth, and the social world» (Fairclough, 2003, p. 124). Different discourses represent different parts of and perspectives on the world, different relations people have to it, their positions in it, their social and personal identities and social relationships. Discourses also represent possible worlds and can change the world in particular directions. Discourses can complement, compete and dominate each other. They are language in use shared by groups of people, are quite repetitive and relatively stable over time. They vary in their degree of abstractivity, repetition, commonality, stability and scale (how much of the world they include). Discourses are complex and can not be understood as single entities, but as different discourses articulated together in particular ways. People are capable of recognizing and acting within a certain type of social practice or discourse. When different discourses are contested or come into conflict, different representations of the world are put against each other (Fairclough, 2003, p. 123-133). The discourse of microcelebrity, for instance, is the dominant discourse drawn upon in my sample. The discourse is characterized by individuality (strategic self presentation and a focus on the self), promotion (of the blogger and different products), identification (by the readers), instruction (on how to attain a similar lifestyle), a way to look (fit and attractive) and act (social and active).

Discourses are determined by and determine social structures, contribute to social continuity or change (Fairclough, 1989, p. 20-21). Social structures determine social practices and discourses, but are also a product of discourse and various social practices themselves (Fairclough, 1989, p. 37-38). The relationship between language and society is both internal and dialectic. Language is a part of society, a social process and a socially conditioned process. People read, speak, listen or write in ways which is determined socially and have social effects. Social phenomena, on the other hand, are linguistic, because the language that are used in different social contexts are a part of the processes and practices they are used within (Fairclough, 1989, p. 22-23).

Discourses are affected by underlying conventions. These conventions are clustered in sets, networks or orders of discourse. Society and social institutions are structured by different situations, spheres of actions and types of practices. Orders of discourse are social orders looked at from a discoursal perspective. They differ in how they are structured and which practices they include. Social institutions have their own orders of discourse, which structure discourses in particular ways. Society also has its own order of discourse which structures the order of discourse of various social institutions. How discourses are structured and how this change over time are connected to power relations in society. This include making sure that orders of discourse are harmonized internally and with each other (Fairclough, 1989, p. 28-31).

3.3 Subject Positions

Subject positions, who is involved in a situational context and in what relations, are created discursively. They are multi-dimensional. Subject positions derive from the activity type they are used within, institutions ascribe social identities to the subjects who function within them and different situations have different speaker and listener positions. The relations between the subject positions express relations of power, social distance between the subjects and the nature of the subjects' relationships (Fairclough, 2001, p. 121-122). Different discourses set up different subject positions. For instance, in the discourse of microcelebrity the subject positions of the microcelebrity and the fan are set up and occupied by the blogger and the readers. The bloggers are positioned over the readers and are role models for and influencers

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over the readers. Even though the bloggers are positioned over the readers, they often describe the readers as friends or family to make them seem like equals.

Occupying a subject position is a matter of doing/saying and not doing/saying certain things in line with discoursal conventions and the discourse the position is a part of. When occupying a subject position one is reproducing this position. The bloggers in my sample, for instance, reproduce the discourse of microcelebrity and the position of the microcelebrity when they write about themselves as microcelebrities. Social actors operate within subject positions set by discourses, but they are also active and creative. They draw upon different discourses, not mechanically adopt them. They can also draw upon a combination of discourse types. When people draw upon, produce and interpret different discourses they draw upon orders of discourse and social structures internalized in their Member Resources (MR), what people have in their heads and draw upon when interpreting texts (language, representations of the social and natural world, values, believes and common sense assumptions) (Fairclough, 1989, p. 38-40).

Social structures, social practices and social agents shape texts. Social agents are affected by social structures and practices, but are not totally socially determined. The relationship between social structures and events are complex and mediated, they affect each other. To Fairclough, language is a social structure that define certain possibilities. An order of discourse is a social practice that select and exclude certain possibilities within language. Texts are the effects of social structures and practices. According to Fairclough, discourse are connected to social practices through genres (ways of acting), discourse (ways of representing) and styles (ways of being). People interact through speech and writing, discourses are therefore a part of social actions (Fairclough, 2003, p. 22- 25). Subject positions are specific to discourse types and vary ideologically. Subject positions and situation types can be naturalized, seen as natural or right. Naturalization of interaction routines puts limitations on social relations enacted in discourse and society's system of social relationships. Naturalization of subject positions limits subjects, because it contributes to socialization and to the social identities available in society (Fairclough, 1989, p. 102-106). The bloggers draw upon the discourse of microcelebrity and reproduce the subject position of

the microcelebrity. However, some of the bloggers also questions their position, how they write about the female body and how this might affect their readers.

3.4 Ideology and Power

Situations, social and institutional contexts are interpreted, understood and negotiated through discourse (Fairclough, 2001, p. 117-118). Language is central in the production, maintenance and change of social relations of power and is used by some people to dominate others. To reveal relations of power, Fairclough focuses on common sense assumptions that are used when people interact linguistically and that are often taken for granted. These assumptions are ideological, closely linked to power, because they depend on power relations, affect the nature of the conversation (what one can and can not say) and legitimize underlying power relations (Fairclough, 1989, p. 1-4). Underlying ideologies and power relations have a deep and persuasive influence on how discourses are interpreted, produced and reproduced (Fairclough, 2001, p. 122-126). According to Fairclough, institutional practices that people draw upon without thinking, often embody assumptions that legitimize existing power relations. Ideological power, the power to present one's practices as universal and common sense, is exercised through discourse and is complimentary to economic and political power (Fairclough, 1989, p. 33-34). When reading a text one has to figure out how parts of the text relates to other parts of the text and then how it relates to one's previous experience of the world. Interpretation rests on common sense assumptions and expectations which are a part of people's MR (Fairclough, 1989, p. 77-78).

Fairclough defines ideology as «[…] *common sense in the service of sustaining unequal relations of power.*» (Fairclough, 1989, p. 84). Ideology can be understood as a way of constructing texts which impose certain assumptions upon readers and producers that they are often not aware of. It is most effective when it is not visible. When people are aware that common sense assumptions sustain power relations, they stop being common sense. The assumptions are reproduced when they are drawn upon in discourse. There are variations of and struggle in ideology, when ideology and common sense assumptions are contested by others (Fairclough, 1989, p. 83-86). Texts have the effect of sustaining and changing ideologies. According to Fairclough: «Ideologies are representations of aspects of the world

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which can be shown to contribute to establishing, maintaining and changing social relations of power, domination or exploitation» (Fairclough, 2003, p. 9). The struggle of language is a struggle between ideologically different discourse types. Often one discourse is dominant in a social domain and other discourses within this domain can be seen as dominated. A dominated discourse can be in opposition to or contained by a dominant discourse. Social struggle, the struggle between discourses where the dominant discourse is contested, takes place within social situations and social institutions (Fairclough, 1989, p. 90-91).

Fairclough distinguishes between the power in discourse and the power behind discourse. The power in discourse is discourse as a place where power is exercised and enacted. It is often exercised as a face-to-face encounter where the participants are unequal. It includes constraining and controlling less powerful participants' content (what is said), relations (the social relations between subjects) and subjects (subject positions participants occupy). The social order of discourse is held together by hidden effects of power. This is the power behind discourse. The power behind discourse affects how institutions and society is shaped and constituted through discourse, relations of power and the effects of power (Fairclough, 1989, p. 43-58). The final aspect of the power behind discourse is access: Who has access to a discourse and who has the power to grant or deny access? There are constraints on various sorts of speech and writing. This is often about access to social institutions, social practices and subject positions (Fairclough, 1989, p. 62-64). Power in and behind discourse is not permanent. Those who hold power has to reassert their power every day and those who do not have power can try to get it. According to Fairclough, power is lost, gained, exercised and sustained through social struggle (Fairclough, 1989, p. 68-75). The bloggers in my sample exercise power, in and behind discourse, in several ways. In my thesis, I will focus on the bloggers' role as influencers: How and why they influence their readers.

3.5 Analyzing Discourse

3.5.1 Description

Fairclough distinguishes between three stages of discourse analysis: Description (of texts), interpretation (of the relationship between texts and interactions) and explanation (of the relationship between interactions and social contexts). The main focus in the analysis should

be on interpretation and explanation, Fairclough claims. When analyzing a text one alternates between what is in the text and the discourse types that are drawn upon. Fairclough distinguish between different values formal features of a text have: Experiential value (how the producer's experience of the social world is represented through content and affects knowledge and beliefs), relational value (how social relations are enacted in the text through discourse) and expressive value (connected to social identities and subjects) (Fairclough, 1989, p. 109-112). Fairclough lists ten questions one should answer when describing a text. The first four questions are about vocabulary. **1. What experiential value do words have?** This includes how ideological differences between texts are coded in their vocabulary in representations of the world. Some words are ideologically contested and can imply ideological struggle. One should alternate the focus between the text and the discourses that are drawn upon when looking at the classification systems, how vocabulary is organized within discourse types and relational meaning between words like synonyms (words that have the same meaning), hyponyms (where the meaning of one word is included within another word) and antonyms (when words have the opposite meaning). These may differ qualitatively, because different parts of reality are worded to different degrees. **2. What relational values do words have?** This question determines how choice of words depends on and create social relationships between participants. Formality in the text often depends on the character of the social relations. **3. What expressive values do words have?** Differences between discourse types are ideologically significant, because different values and evaluations depends on the classification systems. **4. What metaphors are used?** A metaphor is representing one aspect of an experience in terms of another. Different metaphors have different ideological attachments and the relationship between different metaphors should be in focus (Fairclough, 1989, p. 112-120).

The next four questions are about grammatical features. **5. What experiential value do grammatical features have?** The experiential value of grammatical features is how language code events, relationships, the people involved, the circumstances and so on. What types of processes and participants dominate? When events or relationships are represented textually different participant types and grammatical processes are chosen an can be ideologically significant. Is the agency unclear? Are processes what they seem? Are nominalization (a

process converted into a noun) used? Are sentences active/passive or positive/negative? **6. What relational values do grammatical features have?** A number of grammatical features of a text have relational value like modes of sentences (declaratives, grammatical questions or imperatives), modality and pronouns (are pronouns like *we* or *you* used and how). Modality have both relational and expressive value. Modality has to do with the speaker or writer authority, the authority of a participant in relation to another (relational modality) and the participant's authority over the truth of a representation of reality (expressive modality). Modality is expressed by modal verbs like may, might, should, can, can't and so on. **7. What expressive values do grammatical features have?** This considers expressive modality. **8. How are simple sentences linked together?** The focus is the connective values of a text, connecting parts of a text and texts to situational and intertextual contexts. The connections between texts can be formal (cohesion) and can include references, vocabulary links, connectors (temporal, spatial and logical relations between sentences) and so on. Complex sentences can be characterized by coordination (simple sentences with equal weight) or subordination (a main clause and subordinate clauses). What means are used to refer inside and outside a text? (Fairclough, 1989, p. 120-132).

The last two questions are about textual structures. **9. What interactional conventions are used?** Formal features relate to formal organization of whole texts, both monologues and dialogues. How is the taking of talking turns organized? Does one participant control the contributions of others? This depends on the relationship and power relations between participants. **10. What larger scale structures does the text have?** Participants' expectations about structure are important when interpreting social situations and texts. Structures impose routine on social practice which ideologically sets and closes agendas (Fairclough, 1989, p. 132-139). In my thesis the primary focus will be on the textual structures (question 9 and 10). Chapter 4 and 5, however, will include some descriptions of central parts of the language and grammatical features that are used within commercial, lifestyle blogs (mostly question 6 and 7).

3.5.2 Interpretation and Explanation

The process of meaning-making consists of three elements: The production of the text (by writers, speakers or producers), the actual text and the interpretation of the text (listeners, readers, interpreters or followers). Meaning is made though the interplay between these elements (Fairclough, 2003, p. 10). When doing a CDA one must take into consideration the institutional position, interests, values, intentions and desires of producers and receivers. Meaning-making depends on what is explicit in a text and what is implicit or assumed. A text can be given different meaning by different people and is open to diverse interpretations (Fairclough, 2003, p. 10-12). The relationship between texts and social structures are indirect and mediated. It is mediated by the discourses a text are a part of, the social interactions where texts are produced and interpreted against a background of common sense assumptions, the Member Resources (MR). MR are socially generated, depend on social relations and struggles of power. They are internalized and are used in social practices. Both the nature of and the conditions for cognitive resources like MR are socially determined. Discourse involves the social conditions of production and interpretation and relates to several levels of social organization: The social situation, the social environment, the social institution and the society as a whole (Fairclough, 1989, p. 24-25). According to Fairclough, «[…] these social conditions shape the MR people bring to production and interpretation, which in turn shape the way in which texts are produced and interpreted» (Fairclough, 1989, p. 25). Discursive processes and how they depend on these assumptions are the concern when interpreting a text (Fairclough, 1989, p. 140-141).

Interpretation is concerned with participants' processes of text interpretation and production. Interpretations are made through a combination of what is in the text and what is in the interpreter (in her MR). Formal features of a text activate parts of the interpreter's MR. There are six major domains of interpreting: Situational context, intertextual context, surface of utterance, meaning of utterance, local coherence, textual structure and point. The two first ones are for interpreting context, the remaining ones for interpreting texts. The first level of interpretation, surface of utterance, relates to the process where sounds or marks are recognized as words, phrases and sentences. Local coherence establish meaning connections between utterances and produce interpretations of sequences of them. The interpreters draw

upon their knowledge of language (parts of MR) to understand cohesion. Text structure and point is about working out how the whole text hangs together (global coherence) (Fairclough, 1989, p. 141-144). The text is matched to the interpreters schemata: «Representations of characteristic patterns of organization associated with different types of discourse.» (Fairclough, 1989, p. 144). The point is a summary the interpreter makes of the whole text after reading it. Interpretation is also the interpretation of contexts: Situational context (physical situations, participants and the interpretations of these) and intertextual context (basis assumptions of previous series of discourses the discourse is connected to). The different levels of interpretation are connected and interpreters often draw upon the other levels (Fairclough, 1989, p. 144-146).

How someone interprets a situation is determined by which discourses that are drawn upon and the social context the text is a part of. According to Fairclough, there are four questions that relates to four main dimensions of the situation: **What is going on? Who is involved? In what relations? What is the role of language?** The first questions identify the situation, the activity types (categories of activity distinct within social orders within institutions), topics and purposes. The second and third questions identify which subject positions that are set up. When looking at relations between subject positions, one are interested in how relations of power, social distance between subjects and so on are set up and enacted in different situations. The last question is used to determine the institutional and bureaucratic context language is a part of and its genre and form. A text is also tied to the situational context and connections are made between parts of a text (intertextuality) (Fairclough, 2001, p. 121-124).

Discourses give situations meaning and create the framework in which texts are understood. Which discourses that are draw upon is determined by the situation, while discourses also give situations meaning (Fairclough, 2001, p. 122-123). Discourses are always studied as part of the global, local, cultural and social context they are a part of. Discourse is a social practice within a social context. The members of a discourse interpret, categorize and understand the social world. Both those who draw upon and analyze the discourse will understand its meaning and function: What is said, why is it said and what does this mean

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within a given context? (Van Dijk, 1997, p. 29-31). The physical situation and the text work as cues that are read in light of the interpreter's MR. The interpreter decides what institutional setting, situational setting, order of discourse and discourse type she is dealing with. Social orders and orders of discourse are relative to particular ideologies and power relations. Situations may be understood differently by different participants due to different social orders (Fairclough, 1989, p. 150-152). Fairclough summarizes the analysis of interpretation in three questions: 1. Context: How do participants interpret the situational and intertextual contexts? 2. Discourse types: What discourse types are drawn upon? 3. Difference and change: Are question 1 and 2 different for participants? Any change during the interaction? (Fairclough, 1989, p. 155-162). Explanation should show how discourses are connected to social processes as social practices, how they are determined by social structures and how they reproduce or change these structures. As the analyst, one gains access to the discursive process by interpreting the texts and drawing upon your own MR. You therefore have to be aware of your own resources that you draw upon, Fairclough claims (Fairclough, 1989, p. 162-167).

Figure 1: Discourse as text, interaction and context (Fairclough, 1989, p. 25)
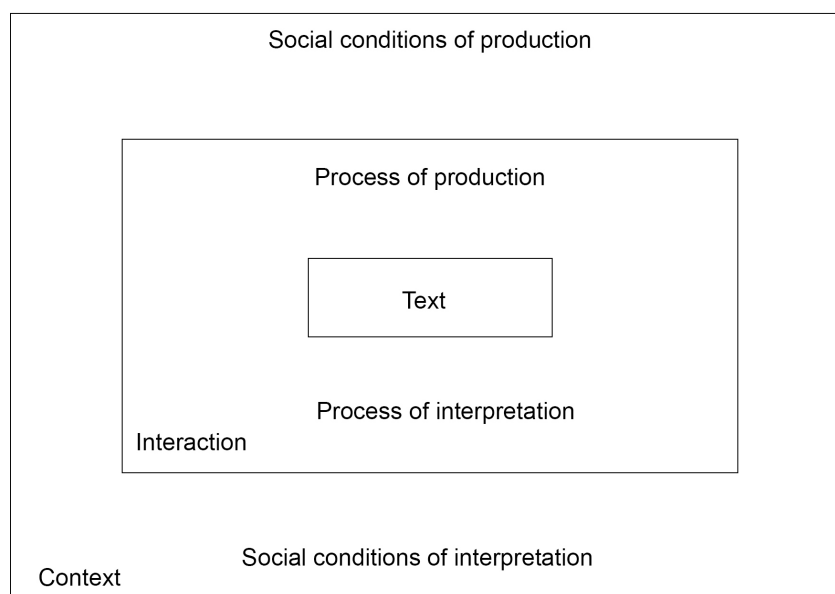
3.6 Genre and Intertextuality

3.6.1 Genres

A genre is a way of acting and interacting linguistically and structuring texts in specific ways (Fairclough, 2003, p. 17). Discourses, genres and styles are relatively stable ways of ways of acting, representing and identifying. When analyzing a text one looks at meaning, how it is made and make connections between social events and social practices by asking which genres, discourses and styles that are drawn upon and how they are articulated together. Genre chains are different genres which are linked together and involves systematic transformation between genres. Genre chains link together social events in different social practices. A text can be a part of several genres at once and it can mix or hybridize genres or discourses (interdiscursive hybridity) (Fairclough, 2003, p. 27-35).

Genres vary in terms of their degree of stabilization, fixity and homogeneity. There are no established terminology for genres, some have well-established names within social practices and some have not. The blog, for instance, is both stable and homogenous. The bloggers in my sample write about similar topics (products, events, travel, clothes, school, makeup and workouts), have the same sponsors (Junkyard, Henry London, Kylie Cosmetics and more), draw upon the same discourses (the discourse of microcelebrity) and have a similar style of writing (informal and verbal with the use of emojis and photos). According to Fairclough, texts are not a part of genres, they draw upon different genres that are connected to a network of social practices that constitute a potential. The individual genres of a text or interaction can be analyzed in terms of social action (what people are doing discoursally, structure and purpose), social relations (between individuals, organizations and so on) and the communication technology the activity depend on. The interdiscursive character of a text is its particular mix of genres, discourses and styles (Fairclough, 2003, p. 66-78).

3.6.2 Intertextuality

According to Fairclough, the intertextual relations of a text is its relations to other texts. All texts are based on assumptions, assumptions of what the reader already know and what is said is based on a background of things that are unsaid. These assumptions connect a text to «a world of texts», what is written or said elsewhere. Intertextuality is drawing upon other

texts and including the voices of other authors in a text (Fairclough, 2003, p. 39-42). «Discourses and the texts which occur within them have histories, they belong to historical series, and the interpretation of intertextual context is a matter of deciding which series a text belongs to, and therefore what can be taken as common ground for participants, or *presupposed.*» (Fairclough, 1989, p. 152). These presuppositions are not a part of the text, but of the text producer's interpretations of the intertextual context. They are cued in the text's formal features. Participants may arrive at the same or different interpretations (Fairclough, 1989, p. 152-155).

Fairclough disguises between four ways of reporting from other texts: Direct reporting, indirect reporting, free indirect reporting and narrative reporting of speech acts. Intertextuality is a way of recontextualizing, a way of moving from one context to another (Fairclough, 2003, p. 47-50). Intertextuality is selective in respect to what is excluded and included in a text (Fairclough, 2003, p. 55). The questions are: Which texts and voices are included? Which are excluded? Are there any absences? Blogger 2, for instance, links to and report from news articles from online newspapers, as forms of direct and indirect reporting, when she writes about the vandalizing of Word War II memorials, rape and consent and sending naked photos. A text is affected by the other texts it draws upon (intertextuality), its genre and genre norms. A discursive practice consists of textual norms that together creates different genres. The genre norms affects text production and how texts are read and understood (Hågvar, 2013, p. 204-206). How something is understood is affected by the person that said it and in which discourse it was said (Hågvar, 2013, p. 216).

3.7 The Selection

As mentioned in chapter 1, the Norwegian blogosphere is dominated by young women between the age of 15-25, who write about fashion, products and lifestyle (Moen, 2012, p. 12). The bloggers write about themselves, their lives and their likes and dislikes. They show off expensive clothes, makeup and products and write about exotic travels and culinary experiences. Sponsors and advertising make a luxurious and expensive lifestyle possible and have made blogging into a full-time job for many Norwegian bloggers. Most bloggers have learned blogging from doing it. To understand blogs, Rettberg writes, they have to be read

over a period of time (Rettberg, 2014, p. 1-5). My sample consists of the textual content of blog posts written by 11 Norwegian, commercial and personal lifestyle bloggers at <u>nouw.com</u> and <u>blogg.no</u> in September 2016. I have included both text, photos and videos in the documents I created based on the content I copied and pasted from the blogs. The textual content, however, will be the basis for my analysis. I included the photos and videos in my documents to fully understand the meaning of the content created by the bloggers, because videos and photos often are a part of the story being told. Two videos posted by blogger 4 (vid1 and vid2) and one video posted by blogger 3 (vid3), are included in the analysis, because they are often referred to and talked about in the additional blog posts. Photos are not shown in the analysis, because they would make it easy to identify the bloggers.

The sample originally consisted of 12 bloggers, but one of the bloggers did not write any entries during the month I was following her. All the blogs in my sample were written by individuals, not by a group of people, clubs or organizations. The bloggers were female, between 18-35 years old and had between 300 and 41.000 unique readers per day. All the bloggers can be categorized as commercial lifestyle bloggers who wrote about themselves, their lives, sponsored and non-sponsored products. Only a few Norwegian bloggers have celebrity status outside their blogs. Using the term microcelebrity, not celebrity, probably made it easier to find bloggers who could participate in the project. Some of the bloggers in my sample, however, do have celebrity status outside their blogs. They are personally related to other celebrities or have participated in TV-shows like *Bloggerne, Paradise Hotel, Robinsonekspedisjonen* and/or *Kjære Mamma*.

Personal, commercial lifestyle bloggers can be sorted into different categories, defined by the theme or main focus of their blogs: Mommy bloggers, fitness bloggers, fashion bloggers, travel- or exchange student bloggers and so on. Different types of bloggers attract different types of sponsors and readers. While a fashion blogger have sponsors like BikBok, Coverbrands, Kylie Cosmetics and Henry London, a mommy blogger have sponsors like Brio, Libero, Adams Matkasse and lekmer.no. Similar types of bloggers also have a more similar style of writing. However, most bloggers today write about more than one topic and creating categories like fashion or mommy bloggers often does not fully describe the

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diversity in what the bloggers actually write about. Blogger 3, for instance is a mother and frequently write about her daughter and role as a mother. She is also a college student, give advise about studying and share what she have learned. Her blog did also contain detailed descriptions of her life: Her routines, meals, workouts, travels, outfits, makeup and the different products she used. She also discussed topics like driving under influence and speeding, and the negative effects this may have on society. I have therefore chosen to categorize all the bloggers in my sample as personal, commercial lifestyle bloggers, because all of them write about themselves, their lives and sponsored products.

I found bloggers that met my criteria by studying top lists on now.com, blogg.no and blogglisten.no. I reached out to the bloggers by e-mail. Recruiting took a while, because many bloggers that I reached out to never answered my mails. Several bloggers who agreed to participate in the project have taken or are taking college or university education. These bloggers probably know more about what research is, how it is done and what participating in a research project implies. They often were highly interested in the project and wanted to participate. The number of blog posts posted by the bloggers differ. This is the number of blog posts posted by all the bloggers throughout September 2016:

Table 1: Number of Blogposts

Blogger	Number of Blogposts
Blogger 1	19
Blogger 2	7
Blogger 3	10
Blogger 4	36
Blogger 5	0
Blogger 6	26
Blogger 7	26
Blogger 8	47
Blogger 9	3
Blogger 10	23
Blogger 11	18

Blogger 12	24

3.7.1 Ethics

Because all the blogs and blog posts in my selection were available on public blogs online, using these in social research were fairly unproblematic. However, all the bloggers are anonymized in the thesis. To make it harder to find their blogs online, no names or publishing dates were used. Blog posts and bloggers are numerated like this: Blogger 8, 14. This means blogger number 8 and blog post number 14. All the quotes used in the thesis are translated from Norwegian into English, which makes figuring out which blogs they are taken from even harder. I have also removed names of private persons or specific locations mentioned in the blog posts that are used as examples in the thesis: «Tomorrow I am celebrating my birthday together with my best friend NAME and the rest of the girls ♥» (Blogger 3, 1.) Because the project involves gathering, coding and analyzing personal information, the project was reported to NSD – Norwegian Centre for Research Data. NSD approved of the project and concluded that personal information was treated satisfactory (Attachment 1). Because all the content produced and published by the bloggers belong to the bloggers themselves, the bloggers were informed about the project and had to give their consent to participate the project. The bloggers received an information sheet with information about the project and what participating implied (Attachment 2). Participating in the project was voluntarily and the bloggers could pull out at any given moment during the project, without any explanation.

3.7.2 Coding

Codes are words or expressions used to describe whole paragraphs or smaller pieces of the data material. In the first part of the coding one should use words from the sample, the Norwegian sociologist Aksel Tjora proposes, with the intention of describing the data material as a whole. Then more codes are added if necessary and sometimes the codes are sorted into categories. These types of codes are inductively generated and based on the sample itself, not previously made categories, theories, research questions and/or hypothesizes. In my project the codes were constructed from the textual content, no previously constructed codes or categories were used. Codes likes these can, according to

Tjora, be used to sort and describe different parts of the sample in detail, make connections and discover patterns (Tjora, 2012, p. 179-185).

I used the data program NVivo to code and analyze the data material. Programs like NVivo makes coding, handling large amount of textual content and discovering details and patterns in the sample easier (Tjora, 2012, p. 194). I generated the codes from the sample and then sorted the codes into categories: Active and luxurious lifestyle (social, travel, everyday life and events), authenticity (relatability and personal information), the female body (workout, makeup, modeling, treatments, food and drinks, body, looks, clothes, accessories and hair), home and housing (interior and housing), instructivity (routines, role modeling, instruction and DIY), promotion (sponsored, product reviews and links to webpages or other social media) and subjects (friends, siblings, family, partners, moms, dads, readers, strangers, animals, children and bloggers).

3.8 Methodical Reflections

The research questions should determine which research strategies and methods that are used when doing social research (Blaikie, 2010, p. 80). CDA makes it possible to understand the role of language in a given social context, underlying power relations, subject positions that are set up and their relations, which discourses are drawn upon and how they give social situations meaning. In my master's thesis I want to study how the bloggers construct themselves discursively as celebrities, how the subject positions of the reader and the microcelebrity are created and connected and what defines the commercial, Norwegian blog as a genre. Validity in qualitative research concerns whenever the method is suitable to answer the research questions (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2015, p. 276). I understand microcelebrity as a discursive construction and CDA is thus suitable to answer my research questions. Reliability concern whenever the result can be reproduced by a different researcher on a different occasion (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2015, p. 276). A selection of 11 blogs is not generalizable, but can still give interesting results that can be used in and inspire further research on microcelebrity I have also described how I coded the sample and what categories I sorted the codes into. This will make reproducing a similar study easier.

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According to Fairclough, CDA have three basic properties: It is relational (focuses on complex social relations and communication between participants, discourses and objects), dialectic (objects are separate, but not fully exclude each other) and transdisciplinary (combines different theories, frameworks and disciplines). CDA is also a realist approach, because the world and the social world is seen as real, regardless of what one knows about it. The world is discursively constructed, but is also determined by social structures. CDA should be used together with other theories and methodologies to fully explain the phenomena one is researching, Fairclough claims (Fairclough, 2010, p. 3-6). I combine CDA with theories on microcelebrity (Senft 2010, Marwick 2013, Page 2012, Abidin 2015), celebrity (Turner 2004, Marshall 2006a & 2006b, Weber 2006, Rojek 2006b, boyd & Marwick 2011) field specific theories about the blog and social media (Rettberg 2010, Haugseth 2013), influencers (Abidin 2013, 2015, 2016) and strategic self presentation (Goffman 1959/1992, Trammell & Keshelashvili 2005, Krogstad 2007, Dimitrow-Devold 2017).

There is no objective analysis of a text, Fairclough claims. Any analysis will be affected by the analyst's subjectivity (Fairclough, 2003, p. 14-15). My analysis will be affected by what I already know about microcelebrities and commercial, Norwegian blogs from previous research on the field. Fairclough claims that CDA should not only include textual analysis, but analysis of text production and consumption. Most CDAs, however, only involves analysis of texts because analyzing texts, text consumption and text production requires large scale studies that requires both time and resources (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2013, p. 103). In my master's thesis the main focus will be on text and based on analysis of the textual content of blog posts. I can not say anything about why the bloggers have chosen to write about what they do, their internal motivations and external influences for making these choices. I can not say anything about how the readers interpret and understand the blog posts either. I will, however, be able to give detailed descriptions of discourse, subject positions and their relations and the blog genre.

CDA have been the subject of critique over the years. According to Breeze, critics of CDA have pointed out problems with the epistemology and theoretical framework, particularly the

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instrumentalisation of theory and failure to establish an objective standpoint for research (Breeze, 2011, p. 493-494). The findings of CDA researchers can be related to a range of different philosophical and sociological concepts. Some claim that this gives the field a strong base, others that this can result in incoherence, mixing of incompatible concepts or unsystematic application of methods (Breeze, 2011, p. 502). CDA can also fail to integrate contexts and audiences satisfactorily into its analytical framework (Breeze, 2011, p. 494). The term Member Resources (MR) can also be problematic, because the analyst's interpretation is only as valid as any other interpretation done by a regular participant. The difference is that the analyst can draw on social theory to interpret what she has observed (Breeze, 2011, p. 506). Another problem, the Dutch linguist Jef Verschueren states, is that Fairclough often isolates single texts for analysis, without placing them in the social and intertextual context within which they would usually be read (Verschueren 2001 in Breeze, 2011, p. 506). As a researcher I will be interpreting the blog posts and give them meaning, by drawing upon my own MR and use different social theories to explain my finds. Analysis of texts, critics of CDA claims, should be more detailed and that different texts should be compared to each others (Breeze, 2011, p. 504-505). In my analysis I compare blog posts written by the bloggers in my sample, give detailed descriptions and interpretations of these and their social and intertextual context.

A CDA is supposed to provide a critical perspective on society, language and knowledge. Being critical is not easy or unproblematic, however (Hammersley in Breeze, 2011, p. 498). The term critical, Breeze claims, may lead to confusions regarding what the role of the discourse analyst should be, what political stance she should take or if she should take any political stances at all (Breeze, 2011, p. 500). The aim to be critical sometimes prevent reflexivity, that should be an integral part of a CDA. Discourse analysts should also pay more attention to positive or potentially transformative uses of discourse, not the negative nature and uses of it (Breeze, 2011, p. 493-494). In my analysis I aim to be critical of what the bloggers write, not judgmental and suggest what they should/should not write about. I reflect on different possible ways to interpret the textual content of the blogs that I am studying and give detailed descriptions of the sample.

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4. The Discourse of Microcelebrity

A Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) involves detailed analysis of texts and discourses (Fairclough, 2003, p. 5-9). As mentioned in chapter 3, Fairclough defines a discourse as ways of representing aspects of the world: The processes, relations and structures of the material world, the mental world of thoughts, feelings and beliefs and the social world (Fairclough, 2003, p. 124). Different discourses represent different parts of and perspectives on the world, different relations people have to it, their positions in it, their social and personal identities and social relationships. To define a discourse, one has to look at the words that are used and how they are connected, grammatical features, the relations that are set up in a text and how meaning and/or assumptions are made (Fairclough, 2003, p. 123-133). In this chapter I will be describing the discourse of microcelebrity, its characteristics, subject positions, how it is drawn upon and articulated. I will describe how the 11 bloggers in my sample present and construct themselves discursively as microcelebrities on their blogs and how the relationship between the blogger and the readers is constructed discursively and maintained.

As mentioned in chapter 2, Theresa Senft defines a microcelebrity as: «[…] a new style of online performance that involves people 'amping up' their popularity over the Web using technologies like video, blogs and social networking sites.» (Senft, 2008, p. 25). The microcelebrity is a discursive construction created through text, images and videos by drawing upon the discourse of microcelebrity. It is something someones does: A way of writing oneself into a celebrity and treating the readers as fans (Marwick, 2013, p. 189). This does not necessarily mean that the bloggers act or talk about themselves as a celebrities in real life, although some successful bloggers have celebrity status outside their blogs as well. For instance, the Norwegian, commercial bloggers Sophie Elise Isachsen (Sophie Elise), Anna Rasmussen (Mamma til Michelle), Caroline Berg Eriksen (Fotballfrue) and Kristin Gjelsvik (Style Connection) have their blogs as their main source of income, make more than 1.000.000 NOK a year and have more than 20.000 exclusive readers per day[2].

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[2] Often the number of exclusive readers are even higher and can be more than 100.000 readers per day.

The discourse of microcelebrity is the dominant discourse of commercial, Norwegian lifestyle blogs and was drawn upon by every blogger in my sample. The discourse contains elements of promotion, of the blogger as a microcelebrity, an exclusive and luxurious lifestyle, different products used to achieve microcelebrity status, a certain way to look (beautiful and fit) and act (social and active). To distinguish between the way the blogger acts, the way the blogger looks, the way she present herself as a microcelebrity and the products she uses, writes about and gets sponsored, was impossible. These were elements of the discourse of microcelebrity that were closely interconnected. They were written about together, in the same blog posts, and thus can not be separated into different discourses.

The following examples are extracted from a blog post written by Blogger 10. In this blog post she uses several photos to show off a top with flared arms, that she claims has been her favorite lately. «I've worn this top so much this summer, but never caught it on camera for an outfit post, ha ha! I love the flared arms, a trend I'm loving this year.» (Blogger 10, 14.) The top was from Zara and was paired with blue jeans, black sunglasses from Dior, a black clutch and Adidas sneakers. All the products shown off in the photos were listed below them and some of these were also sponsored (add links). «Top: Zara Jeans: Pimkie Sunglasses: Dior Bag: Proenza Schouler Sneakers: Adidas» (Blogger 10, 14). Blogger 10 also described her day: She went to her summer house to do some cleaning and maintenance to make the house ready for next summer. She also told her readers how she spent the rest of her week. «I have a pretty slow week in front of me, before I'm heading to Amsterdam with my co-workers on Friday. Gonna be so much fun..:-)» (Blogger 10, 14.) This blog post shows how both looks (being fashionable and attractive) and an active lifestyle (being social, work and travel) is a part of the discourse of microcelebrity.

4.1 The Bloggers' Construction of Themselves as Microcelebrities

I will now describe the discourse of microcelebrity. I have divided this subchapter into categories that characterizes the discourse: Individuality and a discourse of the self, a way to

Table 2: The Characteristics of the Discourse of Microcelebrity

The Discourse of Microcelebrity	Examples
Individuality and a Discourse of the Self	«Life is about traveling. It is about living, creating and dreaming, and never giving up before you live the life you have always dreamed of.» (Blogger 4, 4.) «I have things I am passionate about, like animal rights, refugees and body image.» (Blogger 4, 4.) «I want to focus on what's not perfect and share truths, without being too personal.» (Blogger 8, 44.)
A way to Look	«Check out the new Reebok x Naked shoes. Cool? Extra cool with socks inside.» (Blogger 7, 3.)
A way to Act	«Now there are a lot of new things going on with school, jobs and homework, but it is still important to be social.» (Blogger 12, 17.)
Promotion and Influence	«After a long night's sleep my face feels oily and unclean, therefore I always clean my face with a cleanser and a day cream from Sensilles.» (Blogger 12, 8.)
Strategic Self Presentation	«Instagram and other social media have become a platform to show off our perfect lives. We show off our good sides, our best sides, the things we are the most happy about and proud of. We stage our lives. I admit that I do too.» (Blogger 8, 14.)
The Readers/Fans	«Hello again my beautiful, gorgeous friends ♥» (Blogger 4,7.) «How are you these days? I miss talking to you, so please leave a comment in my comment section♥» (Blogger 3,1.)
Challenging the Discourse of Microcelebrity	« I don't want to be a part of the glamorous life bloggers live and the skinny ideal that many bloggers unfortunately promote.» (Blogger 8, 44). «You are a celebrity. They just want to look like you.» (Blogger 4, vid2).

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look, a way to act, promotion and influence and strategic self presentation. Above is a table that includes all the categories and appurtenant examples from the blogs in my sample.

4.1.1 Individuality and a Discourse of the Self

The discourse of microcelebrity articulated individuality. The bloggers in my sample earned money from sponsors and advertising on their blogs. They had the time and the money to spend on clothes, products, makeup, treatments, food, traveling, workouts and even plastic surgery. The bloggers drew upon the discourse of microcelebrity to make their everyday lives and lifestyle seem more glamorous, luxurious and interesting. They engaged in conspicuous consumption, travelled, went out to dinners and events and used their money on designer clothes, high-end products and expensive beauty treatments. The bloggers in my sample presented themselves as happy, successful and beautiful. According to blogger 4 life was about:

> Life is about… laughing a lot! Life is about working hard towards your goals, to hug a lot, about family and friends. Life is about traveling. It is about living, creating and dreaming, and never giving up before you live the life you have always dreamed of (Blogger 4, 4.)

Being able to create, live, dream and travel required time and money the bloggers gained from sponsors and advertising.

The discourse of microcelebrity is a discourse of the self and the blogger is the main focus of the blog. The blog is written about her, her life and from the blogger's own perspective. The bloggers in my sample used personal pronouns like me, myself and I and wrote about their experiences from their own perspective. «I am a lame blogger these days. I have so much to do before I finally open my store. Hold on, beauties – I will be back soon.» (Blogger 4, 18.) «I have things I am passionate about, like animal rights, refugees and body image– body image is an eternally important cause that I will never stop fighting for.» (Blogger 4, 4.) The bloggers in my sample shared a lot of personal information about themselves, their lives and the people in it. This included the bloggers' full names, names of their friends, children, family members and co-workers, where they live, what they do for a living, where they work or go to school, places they like to hang out or go out, health issues, allergies and so on. Blog

posts where the bloggers shared personal information under titles like «10 things you did not know about me» or «get to know me better» were also common. In these blog posts the bloggers shared information about personality traits, preferences, habits, dreams, thoughts, feelings, likes/dislikes and more. «Around new people and in new situations, like in a new class at school, I seem modest and do not make a lot out of myself.» (Blogger 8, 39.)

The bloggers shared personal information, but they did not share everything. «I want to focus on what's not perfect and share truths, without being too personal.» (Blogger 8, 44.) According to blogger 8, a blogger can become too personal. The bloggers have to find a balance between being personal, but not share everything about themselves, their lives and the people in it. Sharing personal information differ from sharing information about their personal traits, preferences, thought and feelings. Often it is the latter that makes the readers feel like they actually know the bloggers and that were often requested by the readers in the comment sections. Some times readers know their favorite blogger's favorite color, food, drink, places she has travelled to, the names of her pets and so on. These are things they often do not even know about their own friends.

4.1.2 A Way to Look

Being a microcelebrity is a way to look. The bloggers in my sample portrayed themselves in a high-status light, as status they had achieved though their blogs and that was not given to them by birth. This is what Marwick and Rojek names achieved (micro)celebrity (Rojek, 2006b, p. 609-612, Marwick, 2013, p. 229). The bloggers presented themselves as fit and attractive. They promoted products and treatments that could be used to achieve specific physical traits that they possessed. The products that were used were presented as necessities used to achieve specific looks, standards and/or bodily goals. Physical looks, how you should look and how this can be achieved, are an important part of the discourse of microcelebrity. The bloggers in my sample were skinny and fit and most of them worked out to keep their bodies in shape. Nine of the 11 bloggers in my sample had long hair and often kept it loose. They had clear skin and whatever spots, redness or blemishes they might have had were covered up by makeup. The bloggers had defined brows and long, dark lashes. Brows and lashes were often done in salons and about half the bloggers in my sample had lash

extensions to get longer, thicker and darker lashes. Their nails were usually painted or done. In most photos the bloggers were posing against beautiful backgrounds, often outside, and they were smiling and looking happy.

The bloggers I'm my sample also presented themselves as the reference point for the readers on how to look, dress and act. Bloggers set bodily, beauty and behavioral standards for their readers, Abidin and Thompson claims. The bloggers in my sample were both models, they modeled the clothes and the products, and role models, showed how, why and when the readers should use these products (Abidin & Thompson, 2012, p. 470- 473). The bloggers instructed the readers on how to act and on how to look. Makeup were a way to achieve a certain facial look. The bloggers used foundation, concealer (to cover up imperfections), powder (to prevent shininess), eyeshadows (often matte, light shades for everyday use), some kind of brow product (pomade, gel or pencil), contour, blusher, highlighter and/or bronzer (on their cheeks for color, highlight and/or definition), a lip product (lip balm, lip gloss or lipstick) and mascara (in black and to get volume and length) to create their everyday makeup looks. Some of the bloggers also had permanent makeup done, like lash extensions and tattooed and/or trimmed brows.

For more formal occasions, when the bloggers were going to events or parties, the bloggers used more makeup and different products. Often the eye makeup were heavier and darker. Most bloggers used lipsticks and eyeshadows in darker shades, often metallic and/or glittery eyeshadow shades and darker reds for the lips. They also used eyeliner, usually liquid liner used to create a «wing» or a so called «cat eye». The bloggers told the readers how to appropriately do their makeup for different occasions and what products they should use. The products that were mentioned were affected by the bloggers' sponsors, general makeup trends, the bloggers personal style and preferences in products. «I am wearing Kylie Cosmetics KYSHADOW, Kylie Cosmetics Lip Kit in Candy K, Milani Perfect and Conceal Foundation and NARS Radiant Moisturizing Concealer in Custard. Kylie's makeup is amazing.» (Blogger 1, 2.) In September 2016 the products from Kylie Jenner's line where frequently raved about in social media, especially on Instagram. Kylie Jenner is a celebrity known from the TV-Show *The Kardashians* and is also an influencer with almost a 100

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million followers on Instagram. The bloggers showed that they had their own role models too; other celebrities that they looked up to and wanted to become like. This probably made the bloggers more relatable and could possibly be a way of showing their own readers «how to fangirl.»

Clothes were an important part of the bloggers' looks. They told their readers how they dressed up, how to appropriately dress for different occasions, what clothes and brands they used and how clothes could be matched and combined together. «[…] fall is my favorite season when it comes to clothes. Layers, oversized sweaters, scarfs, boots and coats 🍁» (Blogger 12, 5.) Most of the time the bloggers modeled the clothes, accessories and products themselves. They often showed off their outfit of the day (OOTD) and informed the readers where they had bought the items. The clothes, makeup and accessories were often a combination of cheaper high street products from stores like BikBok, H&M, Topshop or Zara and more expensive, designer brands like YSL, Michael Kors, Dior or Céline. «Velvet sweater: BikBok T-shirt: Zara Jeans: Topshop Flats: Zara Bag: Céline.» (Blogger 10, 18.) «My new favorite autumn jacket 💄 🕶 👢 Sunglasses BikBok Jacket NewYorker Jeans BikBok Bag Michael Kors.» (Blogger 12, 24.) For everyday use the bloggers usually wore jeans, a top, t-shirt or sweater, a light jacket, low-cut boots or white sneakers. September 2016, when I was following the bloggers, was particularly warm and sunny and the outfits where a bit more summery than usual, with the use of light jackets. No layers, coats, scarfs, gloves or chunky sweaters that are more typical for fall were used. Outfits were usually dressed up with accessories like sunglasses, necklaces, rings, bracelets and/or handbags. Makeup or doing their hair, curling, straitening or doing fancy updos, were used to make casual outfits more dressy.

The bloggers' hair were an important part of their appearance. The bloggers in my sample wrote about haircuts, treatments, hair products, hairstyles and hair styling. As mentioned, the bloggers' hair were usually long and worn loose. Often the hair were curled, straightened or styled in some way in the pictures shared on their blogs. Some bloggers also colored their hair and/or had hair extension to make their hair longer and thicker. «Celebrities swear to this

as hair treatment and [Blake Lively] says that her mother used this when she grew up.» (Blogger 8, 40 about coconut oil). The blog posts dedicated to hair only were often instructive and the bloggers told their readers how, by whom and what were done, what products they used, for how long and how the readers could achieve similar results. «Well, when the hair is 50% orange and 50% purple after a failed purple toning and people are asking why my hair is purple – then enough is enough. One box of Casting Cream Gloss in 513 Iced Truffle fixed my hair. This is a toner, not a permanent hair color.» (Blogger 1, 11.)

Some of the bloggers in my sample used different treatments or even had plastic surgery done for physical improvements and to achieve specific bodily goals. Most of the bloggers got their nails done (painted and often applied acrylic nails). To get brows colored and shaped to get more defined, darker brows and get eyelash extensions applied for longer and thicker lashes were common and also mostly accepted among the bloggers. So were coloring your hair and having hair extensions. Treatments that are not permanent, did not make permanent changes to your body for the rest of your life, seemed to be mostly accepted. This even included synthetic lip injections like restylane, because, unlike botox, your lips have to be «refilled» after a couple of months. «With full, dark and tended to brows I save time every morning + I feel fresh enough to not use makeup at all.» (Blogger 7, 23.) «In the evening I did some pampering and it was lovely. New lashes, brows and nails are painted. Amazing! One of these days I will get my roots colored, so this is so my week, haha!» (Blogger 8, 24.)

Plastic surgery and physical treatments to become skinnier, getting bigger breasts, fuller lips or smaller noses are not uncommon among commercial, Norwegian bloggers. Blogger 1, for instance, tried a treatment when I was following her called the «Newlife Biosimulator» that was supposed to simulate actual workouts and make her skinnier. «The main reason why I chose to try Newlife Biosimulator was to get the motivation and a kickstart to start working out again. This is a cleansing, tightening and slimming treatment that simulates 200 pushups or four hours at the gym.» (Blogger 1, 10.) Some treatments were sponsored and the bloggers often praised clinics, their employees and the results they had achieved after going through these treatments. Sometimes they also offered the readers discounts on different treatments. «I color my brows and lashes at the clinic H2 in PLACE, a clinic I have been using since I

was 18 years old. Amazing girls!» (Blogger 7, 23).

Being active and working out were important to improve and maintain their fit bodies. The bloggers in my sample worked out regularly and shared with their readers what they did, how to achieve bodily goals (become skinny and fit), their training programs, tips from their personal trainers and their routines. «[…] long walks in the woods. Good for your body and mind.» (Blogger 12, 18.) «I am planning to book a PT appointment to get a workout program that is made for me and I have also joined yoga.» (Blogger 3, 5.) Most of the bloggers worked out 4-5 times a week. When working out they did a combination of cardio (running on treadmills or outside, cycling or using the elliptical) and programs dedicated to strength and body definition. What most of the bloggers desired were a small waist, defined, but skinny arms and legs and a bigger butt.

Food and diets were also connected to the bloggers' physical appearance. The bloggers in my sample wrote about what they ate, where to eat, how it affected their bodies and shared recipes and photos of restaurants and meals. Often the food were healthy, some of the bloggers I followed were into so called super foods[3], and the bloggers' shared healthy alternatives to breakfasts, lunches, dinners, desserts and/or comfort food. «I ordered an acai bowl with blueberries, bananas, coconut and ecological granola (yum) while I read the interior magazine RUM.» (Blogger 7, 13.) «Amazing to serve during the summer and the best thing is that it is healthier than regular ice cream. Have you made a version of nice cream you want to share with me?» (Blogger 8, 5 on nice cream[4]). Blog posts also included specific instructions on how to make different meals, often healthy alternatives to fast food like hamburgers, fries, desserts and so on. «Cut the sweet potatoes into long pieces, put them on a baking tray and add some olive oil. Then season with salt and pepper. Cook on 250 degrees for 15 minutes.» (Blogger 12, 16.) Blogger 4 recently became a vegan and her passion for food were also ethical. Being a vegan, she claimed, was beneficial for the climate and animals and supposedly healthy. She encouraged her readers to become vegan too and more

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[3] Super food is a term used to describe food with supposed health benefits, like a high level of vitamins, minerals and so on. This often includes raw food, non-processed ecological food.

[4] Ice cream made of frozen bananas and other heathy ingredients.

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ethical consumers. Sometimes the bloggers took a break from working out and eating healthy and enjoyed candy, fast food, junk food, snacks and so on. «Should probably have done something useful today, but you know what? I did not bother. The bed seemed so much more tempting, I ate two bags of chips and devoured a plate of chocolate. Because today I wanted to!» (Blogger 10, 1.) This probably made the bloggers more relatable for readers who ate less healthy. Being able to enjoy this type of food without it affecting the body is also desirable and requires a healthy and already fit body.

4.1.3 A Way to Act

Being a microcelebrity is a way to act. The bloggers in my sample were social and active. They wrote a lot about being out of the house, being active and doing things with other people. They hang out with their friends, children and families, go out, attend parties and events and travel across the world. «After I was done with my hair I met a friend in Oslo that is in one of my classes. We went to Aker Brygge, ate at Burger Joint and enjoyed ourselves a lot.» (Blogger 1, 16.) «Now I am going out with a friend of mine and we are going out to dinner.» (Blogger 11, 1.) «We had the best weekend ever that consisted of fun and relaxing. And a lot of amazing people.» (Blogger 11, 7.) Being likable and social were important, even though most of the bloggers had busy lives: They blogged, worked, worked out and went to high school or college. «Now there are a lot of new things going on with school, jobs and homework, but it is still important to be social» (Blogger 12, 17.)

Traveling, seeing and discovering different parts of the world, were an important part of being social and active. «Hello from Palma de Mallorca!» (Blogger 10, 7.) «Cali in September is magical and even more magic when you can experience it with someone you care about.» (Blogger 4, 23.) The bloggers travelled to different countries and cities. They wrote travel guides informing the readers on what to do, what to see, where to stay and where to eat. «Remember that you can always read more guides to London on my blog, but these are my favorites right now! London is so beautiful in the summer and I recommend doing something else that just running up and down Oxford Street in the heath.» (Blogger 8, 8.) Sometimes the bloggers got travels sponsored: They got plane tickets, free festival passes or stayed at hotels for free and wrote about them in return.

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The bloggers were invited to and attended different events, also outside Norway, and often wrote about them in return. This could be events like store openings, product launches, product showings, festivals, hotel openings, plane companies flying to new destinations and so on.

> I went to an event yesterday, Bubbles & Brunch, anyone else who have been? Anyways, one drink became two, then ten, in the middle of the day. A long time since I've had a day this great. Nice and warm weather, good friends and amazing music. A perfect day! (Blogger 9, 1.)

The bloggers went to the events, enjoyed food and drinks, took pictures of and later wrote about the products, brands and/or stores and how much they enjoyed or liked them. «This morning I went to the launch of Henry London – an amazing, British brand of watches with so many beautiful watches.» (Blogger 10, 17.)

4.1.4 Promotion and Influence

The discourse of microcelebrity is a promotional discourse. Promotional discourses have the purpose of promoting and selling commodities, brands, organizations or individuals, Fairclough claims (Fairclough, 2003, p. 33). A promotional text represents (moves in place of), advocates (moves on behalf of) and anticipates (moves ahead of) what it is meant to promote (Fairclough, 2003, p. 113). Most of the blog posts in my sample can be understood as promotional texts, where the bloggers promote themselves as celebrities and different products used to achieve celebrity status or specific bodily goals. The discourse of microcelebrity have the intention of promoting the blogger as a microcelebrity, her life as extraordinary and her lifestyle as luxurious and glamorous.

As mentioned in chapter 2, influencers are microcelebrities that portray themselves in a high-status light, use and sell high end products to their readers (Abidin, 2015, http://tinyurl.com/j9ot567). The bloggers in my sample were influencers. In addition to promoting themselves, the bloggers promoted different products. The products ranged from clothes, makeup and personal products to travels, treatments and events. The presentation of the products were highly positive. Products the blogger did not use or enjoy were rarely written about. «Ruby

woo is one of Mac's matte lipsticks. It is durable and the color is beautiful!» (Blogger 12, 14.) «Day cream form Aurelia. Gives a lot of moisture and smells real. Forrest, ground, trees – a pure smell. Mmm.» (Blogger 7, 15.) As mentioned, the products were presented as necessities, used to achieve a given look, result or status as microcelebrities. «After a long night's sleep my face feels oily and unclean, therefore I always clean my face with a cleanser and a day cream from Sensilles» (Blogger 12, 8.) Giveaways and discounted products were often presented as gifts for or favors to the readers. «I have an exciting announcement. On September 14th, at 6 PM, Sunsilk Minerals and I arrange a real girl's night for 20 lovely girls in my store.» (Blogger 4, 9.) These «gifts» or «favors» were returned by buying the products, giving both the sponsors and the bloggers money in return.

The blog is an instructive genre and the bloggers in my sample instructed the readers on how to look and act.« At school I do a simpler and easier makeup look, because I spend several hours reading in a room with poor ventilation.» (Blogger 12, 8.) As mentioned, the bloggers model clothes, makeup and other products showing off how they can and should be used. «Check out the new Reebok x Naked shoes. Cool? Extra cool with socks inside.» (Blogger 7, 3.) The bloggers in my sample portrayed themselves in a way that made their lives achievable and attractive. They gave the impression that their fame, success and lifestyle could be bought by following instructions on their blogs. In the blog posts readers were encouraged to buy clothes, makeup, haircare, beauty treatments and so on to become like the bloggers, look like the bloggers, attain similar lifestyles and become microcelebrities themselves.

4.1.5 Strategic Self Presentation

The bloggers in my sample shared strategic presentations of themselves, through strategic middle scene presentation (Goffman 1959/1992, Trammell & Keshelashvili 2005, Krogstad 2007, Dimitrow-Devold 2017). They actively engaged in impression management to deliberately attempt to manipulate or regulate the impression they gave off on their blogs (Goffman, 1992, p. 12-14). According to blogger 8, social media were a platform where life was portrayed as perfect, where users stage their lives and only show off the best parts of themselves:

Instagram and other social media have become a platform to show off our perfect lives. We show off our good sides, our best sides, the things we are the most happy about and proud of. We stage our lives. I admit that I do too. (Blogger 8, 14.)

According to blogger 8, what people see on social media does not reflect the bloggers' actual lives, but a polished version of reality. She often cleaned her room, dressed up, did her makeup or made her food look beautiful and appetizing, just so that she could take pictures of it to share on her social media accounts and her blog. Blogger 8 intentionally staged her life to make it seem perfect, by intentionally showing off the best parts of herself and her life. According to blogger 8, she showed off a polished version of herself and her life online, because a photo of her in her messy room, in sweats and a messy bun, eating granola and yoghurt from a dirty bowl were not inspiring to her readers and/or followers. She also wanted other people to like her, both accepted her for who she was and actually press like on her blog posts and photos.

The way blogger 8 staged her life were inspired by other more successful, female users on social media that she looked up to and used as role models. Blogger 8 created similar content to gain the same level of success and/or number of followers and readers. «The girls that inspire me and that I look up to are extremely clever and of course I want to attain the same level of success that they have. Don't we all, right? xoxo» (Blogger 8, 14.) Readers probably use their favorite bloggers as inspiration on their own blogs and/or social media sites. Adopting similar styles of writing and behavior from other users reproduce discourses on social media, also the discourse of microcelebrity, whenever the bloggers or users are aware of this or not. I will return to the issue of how the bloggers reflect on their role as bloggers and how they influence their readers in part 4.2.2.

The bloggers in my sample reveal a lot of personal information and actively engage in impression management. Strategic self presentation and impression management were used to create viable online personas and to become microcelebrities. These online presentations of the self differ more or less from the bloggers' offline selves, Trammell and Keshelashvili claims (Trammell & Keshelashvili, 2005, p. 968). Continuously sharing the same messages, voice and personality online is important, the CEO of United Influencers Thomas Moen

claims (Moen, 2017, http://tinyurl.com/k9rkgel). When reading a blog the readers get to know the blogger. Consistency, to present oneself the same way, makes the bloggers seem more authentic, regardless if this is really who they are in real life or not. The bloggers in my sample were definitely consistent in how they presented themselves, even though it was a staged versions of themselves and their lives that they were only showing off online.

4.1.6 Theoretical Implications

Subject positions, who is involved in a situational context and in what relations, are created discursively and derive from the discourses they are used within, Fairclough claims (Fairclough, 2001, p. 121-122). Occupying a subject position is a matter of doing/saying and not doing/saying certain things in line with discoursal conventions (Fairclough, 1989, p. 38-40). The microcelebrity is a subject position within the discourse of microcelebrity and is held by the bloggers who draw upon this discourse. This subject position involves a way to look (fit and attractive), a way to act (social and active), promotion (of the bloggers and products used to achieve microcelebrity-status and bodily goals), strategic self presentation and having influence over the readers. Microcelebrity is something someone does and a form of strategic self presentation, Marwick claims (Marwick, 2013, p. 189). My research also strongly indicate that microcelebrity is something someone does. The bloggers in my sample dress up, go out, work out, eat healthy and travel across the world. They actively stage their lives and engage in impression management, to look their best on their blogs. According to Fairclough, language and social practices are closely connected. As mentioned in chapter 3, people read, speak, listen or write in ways which is determined socially, but also have social effects (Fairclough, 1989, p. 22-23). Drawing upon the discourse of microcelebrity clearly has an effect upon the bloggers social practices and lives, because it makes them act and look certain ways.

As mentioned in chapter 2, Marshall claims that becoming a celebrity involve the discursive constitution or representation of a persona as a celebrity and so does becoming a microcelebrity (Marshall in Turner, 2004, p. 20). The celebrity discourse is, like the discourse of microcelebrity, a discourse of the self characterized by identity, individuality, identification by an audience, transforming into and becoming a celebrity, conspicuous consumption,

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promotion and using the celebrity status to make money (Marshall, 2006b, p. 635). There are many similarities between microcelebrities and regular celebrities. Both celebrity and microcelebrity involve promotion and celebration of the self. The celebrity/microcelebrity is always the center of attention and live extraordinary ordinary lives (Marshall, 2006b, p. 635). Both celebrity and microcelebrity status can be ascribed to someone due to personal achievements or it can be achieved through strategic self presentation (Marwick, 2013, p. 229, Rojek, 2006b, p. 609-612). Celebrities and microcelebrities can become brands or commodities, continuously promote themselves in a highly positive way and can have huge commercial potential (Turner, 2004, p. 34-41). Both regular celebrities and microcelebrities can use social media to engage in impression management and strategic self presentation and become influencers who sell and promote products to their followers, viewers and/or readers (Abidin, 2015, http://tinyurl.com/j9ot567). The fans, regardless if they are readers, viewers, friends or followers, identify themselves with the celebrity/microcelebrity, show interest in her and her life and often want to become like her (Marwick, 2013, p. 233-236).

4.2 The Relationship Between the Blogger and the Readers

4.2.1 The Readers/Fans

The microcelebrity (the blogger) and the fan (the reader) were subject positions constituted through the discourse of microcelebrity and held by the bloggers and their readers. The bloggers in my sample used words like beautiful, gorgeous, mates, people, friends, darlings, babes, lovelies, dears, good looking, amazing and so on to describe their readers. The words were positive, the readers were complimented on their looks and often described as friends and/or family. «Good morning, darlings ♥» (Blogger 4,1.) «Hello again my beautiful, gorgeous friends ♥» (Blogger 4,7.) «Good afternoon beautiful girls and boys!» (Blogger 1,15.) «Hello beautiful readers ♥» (Blogger 3, 6.) The bloggers often told their readers how much they appreciated and loved them and how lucky they were to have their specific readers in their lives. «I hope you know how much I love you and I feel so lucky to have amazing readers like you ♥» (Blogger 4,10.) «I appreciate every one of you that clicks into my blog everyday, you deserve something new to read when you spend your time reading my blog.» (Blogger 3, 5.) The bloggers used words like «you» (plural and singular form) to talk directly to the readers. This made the relationship between the readers and the blogger seem

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more personal and informal. The bloggers asked the readers questions, encouraged them to comment on blog posts and participate in discussions. «How are you these days? I miss talking to you, so please leave a comment in my comment section♥» (Blogger 3,1.) «How is the Sunday treating you so far? Done anything fun today?» (Blogger 4, 6.) «Hope you have had a nice day in the sun today as well. xoxo» (Blogger 8, 4.) «Hey you. I appreciate that you read and comment on my blog, so this week I wanted to start with a giveaway.» (Blogger 12, 7.)

The bloggers drew on well-known discourses, like an educational discourse or a medical discourse, where the blogger and the reader occupied the same subject positions: They were both students or patients. In the educational discourse the college student were described as lazy and did not do anything more than what he or she absolutely had to to be able to pass the exams and other requirements. Enjoying life and taking part in social events and settings available to students seemed to be their main goal in life. This discourse were also adopted by the bloggers. This was particularly visible when the bloggers wrote about their study habits. «Yesterday I had my first reading day as a college student! A very ineffective one, where I read one chapter before I fell asleep with my book over my face.» (Blogger 1, 7.) «Think the rest of the family is going hiking tomorrow, so either I get a full day of studying done or a day of not studying.» (Blogger 10, 23.) «So weird to go to bed after finishing the paper. Suddenly there were more hours during the day and I could take a breath, relax and watch some series.» (Blogger 9, 3.) In the medical discourse the doctor was the expert and the blogger, reader and patient could only redistribute the information the doctor gave them. The bloggers and readers were not competent to make their own medical evaluations or diagnoses. Drawing upon these discourses made the bloggers more relatable and concealed the unequal relationship between the bloggers and the readers. Like Abidin claims that influencers usually do, the bloggers in my sample presented themselves as non-threatening and submissive. At the same time they tried to influence and sell products to their readers (Abidin, 2016, p. 33).

According to Senft, the readers or followers on social media are seen as friends or family, but also as customers and readers. The relationship is ongoing and has to be constantly negotiated

(Senft, 2008, p. 26). The bloggers in my sample described their readers as friends and family. This made the bloggers and readers seem like equals, even though the bloggers were positioned over the readers in the discourse of microcelebrity. The relations between the subject positions express relations of power, social distance between the subjects and the nature of the subjects' relationships, Fairclough claims (Fairclough, 2001, p. 121-122). As mentioned, the relationship between the bloggers and the readers can be exploited for personal gain, when the influencer and microcelebrity bloggers influence the readers and make them buy products presented on their blogs. The relationship between the blogger and the readers is thus partly commercial and the bloggers use this relationship to make money. The absence of a traditional marketing discourse, where the bloggers are sellers and the readers consumers, also makes it easy to forget that the bloggers have an actual influence upon the readers and sell products to them. The bloggers exercised influence, as power in and behind discourse, because the bloggers determined who occupied which subject positions (the microcelebrity and the fan), how they were positioned in addition to each other and reproduced through discourse (Fairclough, 1989, p. 43-64). On the other hand, the readers were the reason that the bloggers were able to make money from their blogs. Without any readers the money and lifestyle they had would not be possible. The bloggers acknowledged the importance of their readers and seemed to appreciate that their readers continuously read their blogs and took an interest in their lives.

4.2.2 Challenging the Discourse of Microcelebrity

When different discourses are contested or come into conflict, different representations of the world are put against each other, Fairclough claims (Fairclough, 2003, p. 127-133). The microcelebrity is supposed to look a certain way: Beautiful, skinny and fit. As mentioned, the bloggers in my sample told their readers how they should look, act and how to become microcelebrities. Some of the bloggers encourage the readers not only to dress or do their hair and makeup a specific way, but to make permanent changes to their bodies. Plastic surgery, hair- and lash extensions, fake nails, permanent makeup, different treatments, botox and lip fillers like restylane were used and/or written about by some bloggers. Treatments like these are sometimes sponsored, discounted or given away for free to the readers. What is seen as permanent changes to the body is a cultural construct and what was not accepted seemed to

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be limited to life long changes to the body. Permanent hair color was accepted, because the natural hair can grow out eventually. So was fake nails and eyelash- and hair extensions, which have to be replaced after a month or so. Braces, to correct crooked teeth, and bleaching or whitening your teeth were also accepted. There also seemed to be a difference between making changes on the outside and the inside of the body. Some of the bloggers accepted the lip filler restylane, because the lips have to be eventually «refilled» to stay «full». Others were opposed to having synthetical substances injected by syringe into their lips and did not think this was okay. Treatments like the Biosimulator that were used on the outside of the body, seemed to be accepted. Tattoos and permanent makeup, which many of the bloggers in my sample had, also the ones who advocated that bloggers should not make permanent changes to their bodies, was accepted too. Changes like these were on the outside of the body, but were definitely permanent, lifelong changes.

Some of the bloggers in my sample condemned and reflected on how bloggers present themselves and their bodies. Like mentioned in part 4.1.5, blogger 8 wrote about how she staged her life on social media and showed off a polished version of herself and her life online. Blogger 4 did not want plastic to become a common part of everyday life. «We can not accept this development – just imagine how the future will be like if plastic is a common part of our everyday lives?» (Blogger 4, 15.) «THIS IS THE BOTTOM FOR GOD'S SAKE!» (Blogger 4, 15.) Do bloggers really know what they are marketing and writing about on their blogs, blogger 4 asks, in a video posted on her blog (Blogger 4, vid2 about botox). According to blogger 4, children down to the age of 10 comment that they want bigger lips and want to try lip fillers like restylane and botox. «This is poison we are talking about,» blogger 4 writes about botox (Blogger 4, vid2.) According to blogger 4, bloggers have a responsibility as role models and as celebrities. «You are a celebrity, they just want to look like you.» (Blogger 4, vid2.) The readers look up to them and want to look like them. The bloggers need to take their readers, who are often young, easy influenced girls, into consideration when they choose what to write about and how to describe the female body on their blogs.

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Blogger 4 used her blog as a channel to spread «body positivity», to make people feel comfortable with their own bodies, to understand that different body types were equally beautiful and that being different is what makes you beautiful and yourself. Her aim were to spread her message as far and wide as she could, try to change how bloggers wrote about themselves and their hunt for the perfect bodies. «I hope that we can make a difference and that children today do not have to grow up in a world were plastic and the aim to become perfect is common.» (Blogger 4, 16.) The video got a lot of positive response from both regular media, her readers and her followers on YouTube where the video was posted. Many readers encouraged her to continue to address issues like this, said that she was a good role model and that they wanted to become like her. «I am so happy that this video actually makes a difference and appreciate everyone that engage themselves in this. Together we will fight bad body images and role models!» (Blogger 4, 23.)

Blogger 2 and 8 also talked about the bloggers' responsibility as role models, their chase after perfection, the perfect bodies and their influence over young girls. Blogger 2, that is now in her early thirties, wrote about how it was like being a teenager, constantly being insecure and worrying that she never looked good enough. «One of the things I remember from being a teenager was the panic that I always looked ugly (I was convinced that I looked hideous) and that no boy would ever want me.» (Blogger 2, 6.) Teenage girls want to look beautiful and attractive to make boys interested in them, blogger 2 wrote. At the same time they also compete against other girls their own age to look the most beautiful, skinniest, fittest and so on. «Girls want to look beautiful, and even more beautiful, than every other girl.» (Blogger 2, 6.) Worrying about never looking good enough have made blogger 2 insecure about her body and her looks and even today she worries about not looking good enough. After interviewing the 10 year old daughter of a co-worker of hers, blogger 2 concludes that the reason why girls worry about this is because they are scared. They are scared to be bullied, teased, judged and that people will not accept them for who they are. However, everyone worries about not looking good enough. Girls often care too much about how they look themselves to care about how others look, blogger 2 states. «We are our own worst, strictest judge.» (Blogger 2, 6.) By explaining to her readers that people do not really care about how they look all the

time, she wanted her readers to stop worrying so much about not being and looking good enough.

Blogger 8 wrote a master's thesis in e-marketing and social media about the effects of exposure to fashion and lifestyle blogs on young, female readers. She presented the results from her thesis in several blog posts. According to blogger 8, her research showed that reading blogs affected how girls viewed themselves and their bodies in a negative way. After doing research on the subject and understanding how she might affect and influence young readers, blogger 8 have reconsidered how she write about her own body and present herself on her blog. She advocated the importance that bloggers become better role models, because they do have influence over young girls and should consider how they present and write about themselves and their bodies:

> It is important that bloggers are aware that, even if they want to or not, they are role models for girls all over the world. They are looked up to and affect readers in a more negative way than what they actually believe. Girls that read blogs are more positive to plastic operations and I think that this is so sad. This is not the direction we want to go, we are going in a bad direction for young girls, when girls down to the age of 15 are starving themselves, saving money to take silicon the day they turn 18, do their makeup better and more beautiful than I do. Something is wrong. (Blogger 8, 44.)

She did not want to show off a glamorous lifestyle and the skinny ideal body that many bloggers wrote about:

> I don't want to be a part of the glamorous life bloggers live and the skinny ideal body that many bloggers unfortunately promote. I want to show the good and bad parts of life, show that being a college student is not always easy and fun, that cheap clothes can be as cool as expensive ones and that a body to look up to is not altered or that skinny. (Blogger 8, 44.)

Blogger 8 wanted her blog to reflect her reality, what she was like in real life, without being too personal and sharing too much about herself and her life. How she was supposed to do this, she did not know, but she did not want to write about herself and her life in a way that affected the readers in a negative way. She also wanted more bloggers to reconsider their influence over their readers and how they presented themselves on their blogs. To show off a less perfect life online is hard, however. As mentioned, blogger 8 admitted that she also

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staged her life and showed off a polished version of herself online to gain success, likes and readers/followers.

All the bloggers in my sample have a similar style of writing, the same sponsors, draw upon the same discourse(s) and write about similar topics. The discourse of microcelebrity is drawn upon by all the bloggers and is adopted by new bloggers who read and use other established bloggers as inspiration. The sponsors, product reviews and that many bloggers have their sponsors as their main source off income, made it hard for the bloggers to stop writing about their bodies and products used to achieve certain looks or physical, bodily goals. However, the bloggers were aware of the influence they had on their readers. They reflected on how they influenced their readers and took partial responsibility for the negative effects the way they presented themselves and their bodies might have on these. Several bloggers advocated that they should become better role models, promoted body positivity and tried to affect their readers in a positive way.

As mentioned in chapter 3, discourses can be contested and/or changed. However, who is able to define, challenge or contest a discourse is not random. Underlying ideologies and power relations have a deep and persuasive influence on how discourses are interpreted, produced and reproduced, Fairclough claims (Fairclough, 2001, p. 122-126). In my sample the most successful and established bloggers, the bloggers with the most readers and sponsors, were the ones who questioned and contested the discourse of microcelebrity in terms of how the female body were described and supposed to look like. The bloggers in my sample used their blogs as platforms to reflect on their role as bloggers, what they used their blogs to write about, how they presented themselves and their positions as role models.

5. The Norwegian, Commercial Blog Genre

In the previous chapter I described the discourse of microcelebrity, how drawing upon this discourse made the bloggers into microcelebrities and how the relationship between the readers and the bloggers were discursively constructed and maintained. In this chapter I will describe and define the Norwegian, commercial blog as a genre. I will describe its characteristics, language, structure, purpose, discourses and the communication technology depended upon (Fairclough, 2003, p. 66-78). I will also describe the different ways to use this genre. As mentioned in chapter 1, a blog is «[…] a frequently updated website consisting of dated entries arranged in reverse chronological order so the most recent post appear first» (Rettberg, 2014, p. 32). It is based on the publication of self-produced content like text, photos and videos (Haugseth, 2013, p. 69). The bloggers in my sample are commercial, personal lifestyle bloggers. They wrote about themselves, their lives, likes/dislikes and different products (both sponsored and non-sponsored).

As mentioned in chapter 4, the bloggers are influencers, but they do not merely use their influence to sell and promote different products. The bloggers were aware of their power as influencers, the different ways they could use their blogs and affect their readers. The bloggers in my sample also used their influence to share values, beliefs, experiences, advice, opinions and to participate in public discussions and debates. They occasionally discussed a variety of different subjects on their blogs, like education, health, veganism, sex, feminism, nudes[5] and so on. The bloggers felt a responsibility for their readers and how they affected them. They did their own version of «social work», they used their voices and their blogs to affect the readers in what they believed was positive and their influence could reach outside their blogs.

5.1 Blog Platforms and Formal Guidelines

The bloggers in my sample used the Norwegian and Swedish blog platforms blogg.no and nouw.com to create and run their blogs. To create a blog at Nouw and Blogg.no users have to be at least 13 years old. User data, names and contact information, have to be entered

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[5] Short for nude or naked photos.

correctly. The blog's name can not be a protected brand name, like Justin Bieber, Coca Cola or Pretty Little Liars. The bloggers are not allowed to remove adds from their blogs, promote other blog platforms or money games (bingos and casinos). All blog posts that include any form of advertising, should be properly marked as «advertising» (in Norwegian as «reklame»). The bloggers are responsible for all the content published on their blog(s). Any content that violates Norwegian (Blogg.no) or Swedish (Nouw) laws are prohibited. This includes writing about or sharing hateful comments, racism, gossip, offensive/scary content, copyrighted content, religious/political propaganda, personal/confidential information, virus or malware and erotic content that contains animals, children, incest or is monetized. Blogs that promote or normalize drugs/drug use, eating disorders, suicide, self harm, violence, crimes, terrorism or anti-democratic organizations are also prohibited. Violation of Nouw's or Blogg.no's terms of services can result in the blogs being shut down. Inactive blogs can also be removed from the top lists or deleted (blogg.no, http://tinyurl.com/znx7a6n, Nouw, http://tinyurl.com/j6gefls). Nouw also stores the users' personal information and can use this for marketing purposes. Users give Nouw the rights to all images they publish on their blogs. These can be used by Nouw, free of charge (Nouw, http://tinyurl.com/j6gefls).

According to Forbrukerombudet, sponsored blog posts should always be marked as «advertising» if the they contain any form of it. This also includes blog posts that mix personal and commercial content. The bloggers, however, are not required to distinguish between personal and sponsored opinions and/or content (Forbrukerombudet, 2017, http://tinyurl.com/lv9cc9y). This separates the blog and the blog posts from regular journalistic articles, where journalistic and commercial content should always be clearly separated, as stated in Vær varsom-plakaten's point 2.6 (Presse.no, 2017, http://presse.no/pfu/etiske-regler/vaer-varsom-plakaten/). If the bloggers have readers that are under 18 years old, they should be extra careful to mark their posts as advertising. This should be done in Norwegian, to ensure that the readers fully understand that they have been exposed to it (Forbrukerombudet, 2017, http://tinyurl.com/lv9cc9y).

It is the consumers' or readers' responsibility to contact Forbrukerombudet and report when blog posts are not properly marked as advertising. Forbrukerombudet then collects several

violations and do larger scale campaigns, where they reach out to several bloggers at once. The fact that the consumers are supposed to report violations of the rules themselves and that many readers are children under the age of 18, makes it more likely that violations that do happen are not reported or discovered. The bloggers in my sample did not always mark blog posts as advertising, even when the blog posts did contain it. Because they usually wrote about non-sponsored products the same way they wrote about sponsored ones (highly positive and as necessities), it were hard to tell if blog posts did contain advertising or not, especially when they were not marked. If violations are most likely not discovered and the bloggers do not suffer any consequences when they do break the rules, it makes it more likely that they will eventually break them. They either forget or do not bother to mark blog posts as advertising.

5.2 A Commercial and Promotional Genre

When analyzing a text one looks at meaning, how it is made and make connections between social events and social practices by asking which genres, discourses and styles that are drawn upon and how they are articulated together (Fairclough, 2003, p. 27-29). As mentioned in chapter 3, Fairclough defines a genre as a way of acting and interacting linguistically and structuring texts in specific ways (Fairclough, 2003, p. 17). According to Fairclough, texts are not a part of genres, they draw upon different genres. The interdiscursive character of a text is its particular mix of genres, discourses and styles (Fairclough, 2003, p. 66-78). In this chapter I will describe the interdiscursive character of the commercial, Norwegian blog genre and its characteristics.

The blog is an instructive genre. As mentioned in chapter 4, the bloggers in my sample give the impression that their fame, success and lifestyle can be bought by following instructions on their blogs. The blogger is both model, she models the clothes and products, and role model, she shows the readers how, why and when they should use these products (Abidin & Thompson, 2012, p. 470-473). The blog posts written by the bloggers in my sample contained detailed, diary-style descriptions of the bloggers everyday lives. «Today I went to work, not as easy today, haha! Now I have been lying in bed for a couple of hours and I really want to end the day right now and start fresh tomorrow.» (Blogger 9, 1.) «Except from

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enjoying the nice weather, I have not done anything special the last few days. I have been to classes, done some reading, enjoyed the sun with my friends and read some more.» (Blogger 11, 1.) Although the blog still contains daily, diary-style descriptions of the bloggers' lives, the blog is not merely an online diary and have transitioned into a marketing channel as well (Kristoffersen, 2011, p. 3).

5.2.1 Promotion and Sponsors

Promotional genres have the purpose of promoting and selling products, brands, organizations and/or individuals (Fairclough, 2003, p. 33). They build relations between the producers, consumers, products and audiences, the audiences draw upon ideological elements of their MR to establish an image of the product and they construct subject positions of consumers as members of consumption communities (Fairclough, 1989, p. 202-203). The blog is a promotional genre. The bloggers in my sample were influencers and in addition to promoting themselves they promoted different products. They wrote about products like clothes, accessories, makeup, food, travels, events, toys, gadgets and so on. They had sponsors like clothing and accessory stores/brands like Junkyard, Henry London, Pierre Robert, BikBok and Weekday, makeup brands like Glossybox, L'orèal, Coverbrands and Kylie Cosmetics, food, fitness sites and products like RAW 42 and Adams Matkasse, travels and hotels from sponsors like KLM and Clarion Hotels, toys and baby products from lekmer.no, Brio and Libero and hair treatments, haircuts and hair products from Sunsilk Minerals, Hendrix Hair and Hair Care. As mentioned in chapter 4, the presentation of the products were generally positive and the products were described as necessities used to achieve status as microcelebrities, a luxurious lifestyle and a specific look. «[…] the smell of YSL's Black Opium perfume is amazing. So good, warm and fresh 🌸» (Blogger 12, 2.)

Sponsors usually reach out to the bloggers through e-mail to agree on sponsored deals or they send the bloggers products that they can try out in the mail. When the bloggers are sent products, it is up to the bloggers themselves to decide which products they want to keep and feature on their blogs and which products that are returned to the sponsors. Sponsored deals can be a one time product review or the blogger can regularly be sent products from a brand or sponsor that she continuously feature on her blog. Sometimes the bloggers participate in

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campaigns for charity or public organizations like Røde Kors (Red Cross) and Politiet (the Norwegian police). These campaigns include one or a few blog post(s), and the blogger is trying to affect the readers' attitudes towards different issues, for instance the importance of knowing CPR and not using social media to warn drivers about speeding- or drug tests done by the police. Participating in campaigns like these can be payed up to 30.000 NOK per blog post (Redaksjonen Kampanje, 2016, https://tinyurl.com/kk4qvh9).

5.2.2 Redirecting to Other Social Media Sites

Redirecting the readers to other social media sites like Facebook, Snapchat and/or Instagram were common among the bloggers in my sample. Sometimes the readers were asked to follow the bloggers' additional social media accounts or they were asked to follow the bloggers' sponsors. Some of the bloggers also created commercial content and had sponsors on their other social media accounts. Often these were the same sponsors as on their blogs, but some had additional sponsors as well. The bloggers promoted sponsored products, held competitions and giveaways and showed off how products were used, just like on their blogs. «I have a fun giveaway going on Instagram where you can win shoes from Shoe Lounge. The shoes are one of my favorite pairs from the store and by the Dutch company Royal Republiq.» (Blogger 7, 13.) Add links were often used on blogs and additional social media sites to link to sponsored products and the sponsor's webpages online.

5.2.3 Product Reviews

The bloggers in my sample wrote non-sponsored product reviews about products they had purchased for their own money. «Dry shampoo is a savior on busy days and my all-time favorite is the shampoo from Batiste. Works amazing and smells okay!» (Blogger 12, 2.) The bloggers adopted a similar style of writing as in the sponsored blog posts when writing about these products. This probably makes it hard for the readers to distinguish between sponsored blog posts and unsponsored product reviews. Sponsored blog posts affect the bloggers' authenticity and integrity, Rettberg claims (Rettberg, 2014, p. 138-155). The bloggers in my sample often claimed that their opinions were their own and that they genuinely enjoyed the products they wrote about on their blogs, even though they received these products from their sponsors. According to Hwang and Jeong, the negative effects of sponsorship disappear when

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bloggers claim to be honest (Hwang & Jeong, 2016, p. 528). That bloggers write about products and try to sell these to the readers seemed to be very common, seen as a natural part of being a blogger and were accepted among the bloggers in my sample.

5.2.4 Self Branding

Some bloggers take their marketing value as microcelebrities one step further by making themselves into actual brands that can be monetized and sold to the readers. As mentioned in chapter 2, Marwick defines self branding as: A series of marketing strategies applied to the individual and a way of thinking about the self as a salable commodity (Marwick 2013, p. 269). Blogger 4, for instance, had made herself and her blog name into a brand. In 2014 she started an online clothing store where she sold clothes, accessories and makeup under the same name as what her blog is called. In October 2016 she also opened a physical store, selling the same products as in her online store. Consumers/readers recognize the brand name and acknowledge the relation to the blogger herself and her blog. Because the blogger is both influencer over and also role model for many of the readers, the readers buy the clothes and products to look and become like the blogger.

5.3 The Blog Posts

5.3.1 Language

The blog posts written by the bloggers in my sample were often short and usually contained more pictures than text. The language were informal and quite verbal. The bloggers often used slang words and a mix of different dialects and languages. For instance, the bloggers frequently used English words and expressions mixed in with the Norwegian. «Hva sier dere? På tide å kline til med en ukessoppsummering, eller? Here we go…» (Blogger 4, 6.) The bloggers used emojis[6] to enhance their points or to express feelings described in their blog posts. «OMG... 😂 Do you have any bad habits?💩» (Blogger 1, 18.) There are a variety of emojis: Smiley faces, hand gestures, people, animals, foods, plants, flags, symbols, transport, weather and so on. The emojis amplified the bloggers' feelings, represented things written about in the blog posts (like clothing items or accessories) and strengthened the impression

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[6] An emoji is «a small digital image or icon used to express an idea or emotion.» (Oxford Dictionaries, 2017, https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/emoji).

that the blog was an informal genre, because emojis are frequently used in informal texts and genres like text messages and/or online conversations.

5.3.2 Clickbait

Some of the bloggers in my sample used shocking headlines or wrote provocative content to attract new readers, to get attention and media coverage. This content can be defined as clickbait. In the Oxford Dictionary clickbait is defined as «[…] content whose main purpose is to attract attention and encourage visitors to click on a link to a particular web page.» (Oxford Dictionaries, 2017, https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/clickbait). Clickbait is frequently used among some bloggers. Blogger 6 wrote a blog post with the headline «DO NOT FOLLOW ME ON INSTAGRAM» in all capital letters. The blog post turned out to be about her current number of followers on Instagram, 9999 followers, and that she actually wanted her readers to follow her on both Instagram and Facebook, so that she could get more followers than her blogger husband. Blogger 4, however, did not like clickbait and thought it was sad that bloggers do not necessary have to write content of a certain quality to become successful:

> I think it is terribly sad that you do not longer have to write meaningful blog posts or create quality content to call yourself a blogger and that some people think it's okay to trick the audience on their channels. It does not take a lot to have a blog on the top lists, the only think you have to do is create shocking headlines or provocative content. (Blogger 4, 31.)

Scandals and gossip is a central part of being a celebrity. According to Turner celebrities have to continuously attract public attention to remain celebrities and preserve their celebrity status (Turner, 2004, p. 3-5). Clickbait generates a lot of readers, attention, media coverage and debate. However, the bloggers have to make sure they remain likable and relatable, to keep their regular readers who take pleasure in following their everyday lives online. The readers should not feel tricked into reading their blogs, by following headlines that frequently do not match the content. According to blogger 4, tricking the readers into reading their blogs were not okay. To her, having people reading her blog because they like the content she produces and taking pride in producing quality content were important.

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5.3.3 Pictures and Videos

Pictures and videos were frequently used by the bloggers in my sample and were a part of the story being told. Often the blog posts contained more pictures than text. The pictures often showed the bloggers showing off their OOTD, where they were, what they were doing, eating, using different products and how these products were used. The use of many pictures and a small amount of textual content made the blog posts easy to read. The reader can skip the text entries entirely, only look at the pictures, and still get what the blog posts were about. The pictures were usually high quality and not blurry pictures taken with cell phones. Most of bloggers in my sample owned an SLR camera or a system camera that took high quality, clear and detailed photos. Videos were used more infrequently, even though most cameras and phones these days can also be used for filming.

Blogger 3 made a video of herself and her daughter attending an event, Politiets dag (The Day of the Police), where her daughter got to meet several police officers, sit in their cars, meet their dogs and learn about what they do. Instead of putting what they did into writing she showed the readers how they spent their day (Blogger 3, vid3). Blogger 4 used videos in a different way, to argue against the way bloggers write about the female body and the way they make permanent physical changes to their bodies to look a certain way. Her videos were long, around 30 minutes, and a way for her to sit and talk continuously about a subject she was passionate about (Blogger 4, vid1, vid2). To put everything she said in her videos into writing would create extremely long blog posts and probably break some of the genre norms of the blog genre. As mentioned in chapter 3, a discursive practice consists of textual norms that together creates different genres. The genre norms affects text production and how texts are read and understood (Hågvar, 2013, p. 204-206). The readers probably expect short texts when reading a blog. Suddenly writing a huge amount of textual content will probably be off putting to some readers, hard to read and some readers would probably skip blog posts like these entirely. Blogger 4's videos were an easy way to say everything she wanted to, without having to write everything down in detail. The two videos were followed up by blog posts where she continued to write about bloggers and how they write about the female body (Blogger 4, vid1, vid2).

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5.3.4 A Regular Blog Post

Most blog posts in my sample started with the blogger greeting the readers by saying hello, calling them lovely, beautiful or darlings, and asking them how their day had been so far. The blogger then summed up her day: What she had done and where she had been. This was done like a small, diary-style summary. Because the weather in September 2016 was unusually nice, the blog posts often had comments about the nice, sunny weather. The bloggers then shared several pictures of themselves in their OOTD. The pictures were taken with a self-timer and usually showed the blogger posing in and modeling her full outfit from different angles. The backgrounds were usually simple, with few distractions, often taken against a wall, a background of trees and greens or in front of a building. Pictures like these were often taken outside, even in the winter, to take advantage of the natural light. Pictures taken inside require additional lighting, like a ring-light. Sometimes the bloggers also included closer shots of specific items like their shoes, jewelry, tattoos or other accessories or clothing items. The blog posts also included information about the clothes, accessories and makeup the blogger were wearing, where this could be bought and links to products and items that could be found online. The blog posts were concluded with information about how the blogger would spend the rest of her day. She often wished the readers a good evening, asked them how they would spend the rest of their day and encouraged the readers to comment on the blog posts or follow her additional social media sites.

5.4 Different Ways to Use the Genre

According to Moe, the Norwegian blogosphere is open and free of authoritarian control, moderately networked, layered, with low levels of partisanship and housing young, alternative voices side-by-side with well-known politicians (Moe, 2011, p. 314). The bloggers in my sample decided what they wanted to write about on their blogs and how they wanted to write about it. At the same time the similarity between the bloggers in my sample, in what they wrote about and how they did it, implied that the bloggers did not choose write about a variety of subjects or in a variety of ways. My sample indicate that the commercial blog genre is both stable and homogeneous. All the bloggers had a similar style of writing, drew upon the same discourses and wrote about similar topics. As mentioned in chapter 4, the

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bloggers became microcelebrities by adopting and drawing upon the discourse of microcelebrity, positioning themselves as microcelebrities and treating their readers as fans. Microcelebrity were something someone did and involved a way to look (attractive and fit), act (active and social), promotion (of the blogger as a microcelebrity and products used to achieve celebrity-status and bodily goals), strategic self presentation and influence (as power in and behind discourse). The readers also expect a certain type of content when visiting personal, commercial lifestyle blogs. If these expectations or genre norms are frequently broken, the bloggers might loose their readers, because the readers do not know what to expect when visiting their blogs.

However, the blog can be used to write about something else than just products and the bloggers' everyday lives. The bloggers in my sample used their blogs to give their opinion on the news of the day and participate in public discussions and debates. They shared experiences and advice with their readers without seeming judgmental, but still taught the readers what to do or not to do. The bloggers used their role as influencers to share opinions, values and beliefs with their readers and tried to influence them in a positive way. I will now discuss the bloggers' role as social actors and different ways to use the blog genre.

5.4.1 The Bloggers as Social Actors

The bloggers do occasionally discuss a variety of different subjects on their blogs. As previously mentioned, the bloggers were influencers, but they did not merely use their influence to sell and promote different products. The bloggers were intelligent, young women that were aware of their role and power as influencers and the different ways they could use their blogs and influence. The bloggers felt a responsibility for their readers and how they affected them. They did their own version of «social work», they used their voices and their blogs to affect the readers in a way they believed was positive. For instance, the bloggers gave advise on subjects that were important to and affected the readers. Sending nudes, naked or intimate photos, is common among teenagers and young adults. Blogger 4 used her own experience with nudes, to describe the possible consequences of sending photos like these and to prevent her readers from doing it. Blogger 4 once accidentally sent a nude photo to a journalist, that she was supposed to send to her boyfriend at the time. Stopping the photo

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from sending was impossible, she just had to apologize repeatedly and pray that the photo was deleted and not shared. The story ended well, the photo was deleted and she and the journalist are now friends. It could have ended badly, however, with the photo being made public and blogger 4 learned that she is never sending or taking nudes again. «But I did learn that nudes and phones are a ridiculously bad combination. Never ever taking nudes again!» (Blogger 4, 17.) Written this way the readers can relate to the blogger and blogger 4 is able to discourage the readers from sending nudes without seeming judgmental.

The bloggers in my sample used their blogs to share opinions, values and beliefs. As mentioned, blogger 4 was a vegan and in September 2016 she had been a vegan for six months. Being a vegan means eating a plant based diet, no animals or animal based products included. Also, it is not merely a diet, but a lifestyle. Wearing products made of leather, wool and other animal products is condemned by some vegans. Blogger 4 does still wear her Doc Marten leather boots and her «bunad» (traditional Norwegian dress made of wool). However, she did have a plant based diet and can therefore be described as a vegan, even though other vegans that do not wear leather or wool say she is not. Being vegan is, in addition to being supposedly healthy, an ethical diet and lifestyle that takes both the environment and animal rights into consideration. According to blogger 4, everyone can become a vegan:

> There is no excuse to eat meat – we do not need meat to survive, we are not made for eating meat considering our teeth or intestinal system and meat is just something we feel we need based on heritage, traditions and propaganda. Being a vegan is better for the earth, animals and your health and with so many alternatives that are available in 2016, there is actually no good reason not to be a vegan, except laziness. (Blogger 4, 7.)

Blogger 4 did not want to force anyone to live their lives the way she did, but she wanted people to make as little damage as possible to the animals and the environment. That animals should suffer or die so that people can drink milk or eat meat was not okay, according to blogger 4. The meat industry did not care about animal rights or suffering, pollute and affected the environment in a negative way, she claimed.

The bloggers in my sample also show interest in and responsibility for society and the other members of society. Their blogs can be used to share important information and try to change

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society in a positive direction. Under the title «Are you helping a drunk driver?» blogger 3 wanted to stop people from spreading information about speeding- and traffic controls. Blogger 3 is a mother and her daughter is 2 years old. By describing the worst possible thing that could happen to her daughter, blogger 3 made the readers understand the consequences of speeding and the importance of these controls:

> Suddenly, out of nowhere, a car crashes into the stroller. I drop the shopping bags and food are rolling across the road along with pieces of the stroller. The blanket and the teddy bear. In the middle of everything DAUGHTER lies, not moving. The driver falls out of the car, without a scratch. This is my worst nightmare, that something will happen to DAUGHTER. (Blogger 3, 9.)

One day, blogger 3 claimed, it might be your child, father, mother or friend that die because someone is playing Pokemon Go[7] behind the wheel, speeding or driving under influence. Traffic controls are done to prevent these things from happening and using social media to warn potential dangerous drivers from controls and preventing these from being caught might take lives. «It should be cool to care about a safe community, to help the neighbor's daughter to get to school safely and that mothers can safely drive to the hospital when they are about to give birth.» (Blogger 3, 9.) If this means telling your friends that they drive to fast or making them pay a fine once in a while, it is totally worth it, blogger 3 wrote.

5.4.2 Self Reflection

The blog were a space for self reflection. The bloggers reflected on their role as bloggers, role models and how they affected their readers, but also on their personal lives, thoughts and feelings. Blogger 11 used her blog to reflect on what home meant to her. She grew up in a small town in the Western parts of Norway and she now lives and go to college in Oslo. Before she moved the small town was her home and also was where her boyfriend, friends and family lived. Now, however, she owns an apartment in Oslo, has most of her friends there and spends most of her days in the capital. «Home is where the heart is … Or so it is said.» (Blogger 11, 2.) When she first moved to Oslo, her boyfriend did not come with her right away. She then felt that her heart were split into two pieces and that home were two

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[7] A game that makes it possible to walk around and catch Pokemon in the real world with your cell phone.

different cities at the same time. Her boyfriend eventually moved into her apartment in Oslo and made it feel more like home to her. He was the missing part of her everyday life that made it all come together. Maybe home is the people we love and hold dear, blogger 11 asked. It is not merely the places we live. Home is where the heart is, but your whole heart does not necessarily stay in one place, she concluded. Blogger 11 showed that the blog can be a platform for self reflection, a place were the bloggers can reflect on their role as bloggers, how they present themselves on their blogs, their lives, thoughts and personal opinions. Reflections like these show the diversity in the use of the genre, even though the genre is affected by promotional discourses and the sponsors.

5.4.3 Amateur Journalism

Blogger 2 is a commercial blogger that is payed by and blog for the media institution Nettavisen. Unlike the other bloggers in my sample she does not mainly write about fashion and lifestyle. She mostly used her blog to discuss different topics like if the sex exhibition «Sexibition» were discriminating or objectifying towards women, vandalization of World War II (WW II) memorials in Oslo, rape and consent, body image and sharing naked photos online. Blogs can be a frontier for participatory journalism, public discussion and debate, Marwick claims. «[O]nline publishing provide a platform for people with views outside the mainstream voice of opinions and practice amateur investigative journalism» (Marwick, 2013, p. 81). Although the main focus of the blogs in my sample were writing about fashion, products and their personal lives some of the bloggers used their blogs to participate in public debate, discussions and to give their opinions on the news of the day, as presented in regular media. Blogger 2 frequently used her blog to participate in public debate. Her blog posts, however, were not written like normal journalistic articles, but in first-person and fronted as her personal opinions. «With the exception of the porn shown on the large screens I can not say that I experienced Sexibition as particularly objectifying or discriminating.» (Blogger 2, 1 on Sexibition.) The issues she chose to write about were often discussed in social media (Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, Snapchat and so on) or regular media (TV, radio and newspapers) in advance.

As mentioned in chapter 3, intertextuality is drawing upon other texts and including the voices of other authors in a text (Fairclough, 2003, p. 39-42). Fairclough claims that: «Discourses and the texts which occur within them have histories, they belong to historical series, and the interpretation of intertextual context is a matter of deciding which series a text belongs to, and therefore what can be taken as common ground for participants, or *presupposed.*» (Fairclough, 1989, p. 152). When describing the intertextual features of a text, one has to describe which texts and voices that are included and excluded. Blogger 2 used facts and information in her blog posts extracted from articles and online newspapers. She often linked to articles or other webpages that contained this information. This information or voices were included through direct and indirect reporting. Direct reporting were marked as quotes and blogger 2 informed by whom the quotes were made and where they were found. Indirect reporting were used to sum up information from the articles in the blogger's own words and fronted as her personal opinions and knowledge. Like the other bloggers in my sample, blogger 2 thanked the readers for reading her blog, asked the readers questions, encouraged the readers to comment (both on her blog and Facebook page) and to participate in the discussions. «Hey you! Thank you for reading my blog post.» (Blogger 2, 5.)

For instance, blogger 2 discussed the vandalization of the WW II memorials «Snublesteinene» in Oslo. Snublesteinene is an art project by the German artist Gunter Demnig, memorial tiles that are made in honor of jews deported and killed by the nazis during WW II. The tiles are made of brass and the names, date of birth, deportation and death of some Norwegian jews are engraved into the tiles. In September 2016 the tiles were vandalized and drawn on with blue spray paint by an unknown tagger (Blogger 2, 3). Blogger 2 described the tagger as pathetic, with no respect for other people or their history. This post got a lot of attention in social media and also made several people act. Blogger 2 were sent a lot of pictures of the tiles from readers that wanted to show her that they do care about the victims of WW II and the tiles. *Stopp Tagging AS* sent someone to clean the tiles and the tagger himself sent an anonymous note to a family member of one of the people mentioned on the tiles, apologizing for vandalizing the tiles and telling him that he did not know what they were or signified. According to the blogger herself, the blog post had an actual effect upon society. «I copy NAME and state that there sometimes are the worst actions that bring

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out the best in people.» (Blogger 2, 3 about *Stopp Tagging AS* that cleaned the tiles that were vandalized). This shows that the bloggers' influence can reach beyond their blogs and make an actual difference in society.

6. Concluding Discussion

The aim of this master's thesis was to describe how the bloggers constructed themselves as microcelebrities, how the relationship between the readers and the bloggers were discursively constructed and maintained and what characterized the commercial, Norwegian blog as a genre. My research questions were: 1. How do the bloggers construct themselves discursively as microcelebrities on their blogs? 2. How is the relationship between the blogger and the readers constructed discursively and maintained? 3. What characterizes the Norwegian, commercial blog as a genre? My research differ from previous research on the field of microcelebrity mostly by the way I describe microcelebrity as a discourse and the microcelebrity as a discursive construction. Regular celebrities are often described as discursive constructions. Marshall, for instance, claims that becoming a celebrity involves the discursive constitution or representation of a persona as a celebrity (Marshall in Turner, 2004, p. 20).

There are many similarities between microcelebrities and regular celebrities. Both celebrity and microcelebrity involve promotion and celebration of the self. The celebrity/ microcelebrity is always the center of attention and live extraordinary ordinary lives (Marshall, 2006b, p. 635). The fans (regardless if they are readers, viewers, friends or followers) identify themselves with the celebrity/microcelebrity, show interest in her and her life and often want to become like her. Both celebrity and microcelebrity status can be ascribed to someone due to personal achievements or it can be achieved through strategic self presentation (Marwick, 2013, p. 229, Rojek, 2006b, p. 609-612). The celebrity discourse and the discourse of microcelebrity can be drawn upon and used to position oneself over whoever is watching or reading. It is something someone does, by writing themselves into and acting like celebrities, and thus becoming celebrities (Marwick, 2013, p. 189). Celebrities and microcelebrities are made to make money. They can become brands or commodities with huge commercial potential and continuously promote themselves in a highly positive way (Turner, 2004, p. 34-41). They use their power and influence to sell products to their fans, whom by using these products want to become like the celebrities (Abidin, 2015, http://tinyurl.com/j9ot567).

As mentioned, Marwick states that microcelebrity is something someones does (Marwick, 2013, p. 189). My research strongly indicate that it is as well. The bloggers in my sample dress up, do their makeup and hair, eat and work out to look a certain way. Some bloggers also make permanent changes to their bodies to achieve this look. The bloggers are active and social, they go out, travel and go to events. To look their best on their blogs they actively stage their lives and take pictures of it, to make it seem better than it actually is and to give off a certain impression. According to Fairclough, language and social practices are closely connected. People read, speak, listen or write in ways which is determined socially, but also have social effects (Fairclough, 1989, p. 22-23). As mentioned in chapter 4, drawing upon the discourse of microcelebrity clearly has an effect upon the bloggers social practices and lives, because drawing upon this discourse make them act and look certain ways.

6.1 The Microcelebrity – Something Someone Does

In my thesis I argue that the microcelebrity is a discursive construction created through text, images and videos. The microcelebrity was a subject position within the discourse of microcelebrity, held by the bloggers who draw upon this discourse. Microcelebrity was something someone did and a way of writing oneself into celebrities by drawing upon the discourse of microcelebrity. All the bloggers in my sample drew upon the discourse of microcelebrity and became microcelebrities, whenever they were aware of this or not. The discourse of microcelebrity is a discourse of the self. The blogger is the main focus of the blog. It is written about her, her life and from her own perspective. The bloggers share a lot of personal information: Full names, where they live, what they do for a living, places they hang out or go out, health issues, personal traits, preferences, thoughts and feelings.

Microcelebrity is a way to look (fit and attractive) and act (social and active). The bloggers presented an exclusive and luxurious lifestyle on their blogs and lived extraordinary everyday lives. They worked out, ate healthy, did their makeup, dressed up, had permanent makeup, nails, eyebrows and eyelashes done to look good. The bloggers were social and active. They hung out with their friends and families, attended different events and travelled across the world. The blog were an instructive genre where the bloggers instructed the readers on how to look and act. The bloggers portrayed themselves in a way that made their lives achievable

and attractive. They gave the impression that their fame, success and lifestyle could be bought by following instructions on their blogs. They used and modeled the products and were role models, showed how, why and when the readers should use these products (Abidin & Thompson, 2012, p. 470- 473). The products were presented in a highly positive way and as necessities used to achieve specific looks, standards, statuses and/or bodily goals.

The bloggers actively engaged in impression management and staged their lives to make themselves seem perfect and intentionally showed off the best parts of themselves and their lives online. What the readers actually see on their blogs were a polished version of reality that did not represent the bloggers' actual lives. This behavior were inspired by more successful, female users on social media that the bloggers' looked up to and used as role models. The bloggers were influencers, microcelebrities that portray themselves in a high-status light and use and sell high end products to their readers. In addition to promoting themselves as microcelebrities, the bloggers promoted different products (Abidin, 2015, http://tinyurl.com/j9ot567). They made money from advertising and sponsors and some even had their blogs as their main source of income.

6.2 An Unequal, Commercial Relationship

The microcelebrity (the blogger) and the fan (the reader) were subject positions constituted through the discourse of microcelebrity and held by the bloggers and their readers. The bloggers in my sample used words like beautiful, gorgeous, mates, friends and amazing to describe their readers. The readers were often complimented on their looks and described as friends and/or family. The bloggers asked the readers questions, encouraged them to comment on blog posts and participate in discussions. The bloggers also drew upon educational and medical discourses, where the blogger and the readers held the same subject positions. This made the bloggers more relatable and concealed the unequal relationship between the bloggers and the readers. The bloggers were positioned over the readers in the discourse of microcelebrity and their relationship were unequal. The relationship were partly commercial, used for personal gain and to make money. The bloggers exercised influence, as power in and behind discourse, and the bloggers determined who occupied which subject positions (the microcelebrity and the fan), how they were positioned in addition to each other

and reproduced through discourse (Fairclough, 1989, p. 43-64). However, without the readers the bloggers would not be able to have their blogs as their main source of income. The bloggers acknowledged the importance of their readers and seemed to appreciate that they continuously read their blogs and took an interest in their lives.

The most successful and established bloggers questioned and contested the discourse of microcelebrity in terms of how the female body was described and supposed to look like. The bloggers used their blogs as platforms to reflect on their role as bloggers, what they used their blogs to write about, how they presented themselves, affected their readers and their position as role models. Changing or challenging a discourse, however, involves effort and consistency over a period of time. If many top bloggers work together to change the discourse about young women and the female body, this is definitely possible. The bloggers have to be consistent though, not continuously show off a polished version of themselves online. For instance, blogger 8 reflected over how she wrote about herself and her body. At the same time she admitted that she often staged her life to make it look better than it actually was and only showed off the best parts of herself and her life. To completely stop writing about body and looks would be hard without loosing many of the bloggers' regular sponsors. What the bloggers in my sample wanted, however, were to redirect the focus from bodily goals to body positivity. The bloggers were aware of the influence they had on their readers and took partly responsibility for the negative effects the way they presented themselves and their bodies could have on these.

6.3 A Promotional, Stable and Homogenous Genre

The blog is an informal genre and the bloggers have few formal guidelines for what they can and can not write about (blogg.no, http://tinyurl.com/znx7a6n, Nouw, http://tinyurl.com/j6gefls). The bloggers had the power to decided what they wanted to write about and how they wanted to write about it. The commercial, Norwegian blog are a stable and homogenous genre. The bloggers wrote about similar topics (products, events, travel, clothes, school, makeup and workouts), had the same sponsors (Junkyard, Henry London and Kylie Cosmetics), drew upon the same discourses (the discourse of microcelebrity were the dominant discourse) and had a similar style of writing (informal and verbal with the use of

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emojis, slang and photos). However, the bloggers were also social actors and used their blogs to front discussions and opinions that were important to them.

The bloggers used their blogs and their influence to share self reflections, values, beliefs, experiences, advice and personal opinions. They occasionally discussed a variety of different subjects, like education, health, veganism, sex, feminism, rape and nudes. The bloggers did their own version of «social work», they used their voices and their blogs to affect the readers in a way they believed was positive. The bloggers showed an interest in and a responsibility for society and the members of society. Their blogs could be used to share important information, like how speeding and driving under influence can take lives, and the bloggers tried to change society in a positive direction. Although the main focus of the blogs in my sample were writing about fashion, products and their personal lives, the bloggers also used their blogs to participate in public debate. Sometimes the bloggers' influence also reached beyond their blogs and made an actual difference in society.

6.4 Challenges and Limitations

The aim of this project has not been to understand all aspects of microcelebrity, but to understand how the 11 bloggers I have been studying act and construct themselves discursively as microcelebrities. I advocate that the microcelebrity is a discursive construction created by drawing upon the discourse of microcelebrity. I wanted to describe this discourse and how it was drawn upon. The sample contained interesting reflections made by the bloggers' on how they present themselves and affect their readers. The actual effect upon the readers, however, is not the focus of this thesis and would require a different sample like interviews with readers, analysis of the reader's blog comments and/or online discussions about blogs and bloggers. Textual analysis of blog posts can explain how the bloggers write about the readers, which discourses they draw upon, the subject positions that are set up within these, how they are occupied by the blogger and readers and how the bloggers position themselves in addition to their readers in their blog posts.

As mentioned, Rojek and Marwick distinguish between ascribed and achieved (micro)celebrity (Rojek, 2006b, p. 609-612, Marwick, 2013, p. 229). Some of the bloggers in

my sample did have celebrity status outside their blogs. About half of the bloggers had participated in reality shows like *Paradise Hotel, Robinson Ekspedisjonen, Bloggerne* and *Kjære Mamma* and gained many blog readers after participating in these shows. Participating in shows like these on TV gave the bloggers celebrity status that definitely reached outside their blogs. This possibly affected the bloggers' position as microcelebrities, because they did not merely have to rely on strategic self presentation and drawing upon the discourse of microcelebrity to become celebrities. Celebrity was a status that had already been ascribed to them on TV and the readers of their blogs probably recognized the bloggers and acknowledge their status as celebrities. Regular celebrities also use social media, engage in strategic self presentation and impression management, have a large amount of followers and interact with their fans online. That regular celebrities and microcelebrities engage in similar activities online, makes it difficult to distinguish between them. All the bloggers in my sample, however, did draw upon the discourse of microcelebrity and wrote their blogs in a similar way.

Microcelebrity is a complex term and fully understanding the concept require larger ethnographic studies and the combination and use of methods like textual analysis, interviews, observation, internet archeology, archival research and so on (See for instance Abidin 2016). Combining textual analysis with analysis of text production, interviews with the bloggers about what they chose to write about and why, and text interpretation, interviews with the readers about why they read blogs and how they affect them, would be preferable and give a better understanding of the discourse of microcelebrity, how drawing upon this discourse affects the readers and the relationship between the bloggers and the readers. This project, however, is limited when it comes to time and resources and doing interviews with bloggers, readers and textual analysis would be more suitable as a Ph.D.-project. The aim has been to describe the discourse of microcelebrity, how it is drawn upon, the relationship between the bloggers and the readers and the Norwegian, commercial blog genre.

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All the sources used in this paper are listed.

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Attachments

Attachment 1 – Approval of the Project from NSD

NSD

Anne Krogstad
Institutt for sosiologi og samfunnsgeografi Universitetet i
Oslo Postboks 1096 Blindern
0317 OSLO

TILBAKEMELDING PÅ MELDING OM BEHANDLING AV
PERSONOPPLYSNINGER

Vi viser til melding om behandling av personopplysninger, mottatt
26.05.2016. Meldingen gjelder prosjektet:

48764 Behandlingsansvarlig Daglig ansvarlig Student

Bloggere, micro celebrity og makt – En kritisk diskursanalyse
Universitetet i Oslo, ved institusjonens øverste leder
Anne Krogstad
Mathilde Aarvold Bakke

Personvernombudet har vurdert prosjektet og finner at behandlingen
av personopplysninger er meldepliktig i henhold til
personopplysningsloven § 31. Behandlingen tilfredsstiller kravene i
personopplysningsloven.

Personvernombudets vurdering forutsetter at prosjektet
gjennomføres i tråd med opplysningene gitt i meldeskjemaet,
korrespondanse med ombudet, ombudets kommentarer samt
personopplysningsloven og helseregisterloven med forskrifter.
Behandlingen av personopplysninger kan settes i gang.

Det gjøres oppmerksom på at det skal gis ny melding dersom behandlingen endres i forhold til de opplysninger som ligger til grunn for personvernombudets vurdering. Endringsmeldinger gis via et eget skjema, http://www.nsd.uib.no/personvern/meldeplikt/skjema.html. Det skal også gis melding etter tre år dersom prosjektet fortsatt pågår. Meldinger skal skje skriftlig til ombudet.

Personvernombudet har lagt ut opplysninger om prosjektet i en offentlig database, http://pvo.nsd.no/prosjekt.

Personvernombudet vil ved prosjektets avslutning, 30.12.2017, rette en henvendelse angående status for behandlingen av personopplysninger.

Vennlig hilsen

Kjersti Haugstvedt   Andreas Bratshaug Stenersen

Kontaktperson: Andreas Bratshaug Stenersen tlf: 55 58 30 19

Vedlegg: Prosjektvurdering

Kopi: Mathilde Aarvold Bakke mathildeaar@gmail.com

Personvernombudet for forskning

Prosjektvurdering - Kommentar

Formålet med prosjektet er å undersøke norske bloggere som kjendiser (micro celebreties), deres status blant lesere og hvordan denne rollen legger grunnlag for makt.

Utvalget består av kvinnelige bloggere med flere enn 1000 unike lesere hver dag som hentes fra en liste over de 100 mest leste bloggene i Norge. Tekstinnhold fra blogginnlegg fra september 2016 skal undersøkes.

Utvalget informeres skriftlig om prosjektet og samtykker til deltakelse. Informasjonsskrivet er godt utformet.

Personvernombudet forutsetter at bloggeren selv informerer tredjepersoner som eventuelt er omtalt i bloggen, jf. meldeskjemaet.

Personvernombudet legger til grunn at forsker etterfølger Universitetet i Oslo sine interne rutiner for datasikkerhet. Dersom personopplysninger skal lagres på privat datamaskin/mobile enheter, bør opplysningene krypteres tilstrekkelig.

Forventet prosjektslutt er 30.12.2017. Ifølge prosjektmeldingen skal innsamlede opplysninger da anonymiseres.

Anonymisering innebærer å bearbeide datamaterialet slik at ingen enkeltpersoner kan gjenkjennes. Det gjøres ved å:
- slette direkte personopplysninger (som navn/koblingsnøkkel)

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- slette/omskrive indirekte personopplysninger (identifiserende sammenstilling av bakgrunnsopplysninger som f.eks. bosted/arbeidssted, alder og kjønn)

Attatchment 2 – Information Sheet Sent to the Bloggers

Forespørsel om deltakelse i forskningsprosjekt

Bloggers, Microcelebrity and Power

Bakgrunn og formål

Jeg går master i sosiologi ved Institutt for sosiologi og samfunnsgeografi ved Universitetet i Oslo. Jeg skal skrive masteroppgave om bloggere og microcelebrity høsten 2016 og våren 2017. Jeg ønsker å undersøke hvordan bloggere konstruerer og fremstiller seg selv som microcelebrities, hvilke diskurser de trekker på, hvordan forholdet mellom blogger og leser konstrueres diskursivt og hvordan microcelebrityrollen legger grunnlag for makt og innflytelse. Kort om hva microcelebrity er (fra prosjektskissen):

> *A microcelebrity can be defined as: «[...] a new style of online performance that involves people 'amping up' their popularity over the Web using technologies like video, blogs and social networking sites.» (Senft, 2008, p. 25). A microcelebrity is someone who have gained celebrity status among her readers or followers by using social media to gain status and/or fame. Becoming a microcelebrity involves creating a viable online persona, producing content and strategically appealing to fans online (Marwick, 2013, p. 230).*

Du er spurt om å delta i forskningsprosjektet fordi du er kvinne, mellom 18-35 år, har mer enn 1000 unike lesere daglig.

I oppgaven vil jeg gjøre en tekstanalyse av tekstinnholdet i blogginnlegg publisert på din blogg september 2016. Hvis du sier ja til å delta i prosjektet godtar du at innleggene du skriver i løpet av denne perioden blir brukt som grunnlag for analyse i min masteroppgave og at sitater fra bloggen din kan benyttes i analysen.

Hva skjer med personlig informasjon som samles inn i forbindelse med prosjektet?

Alle personopplysninger vil bli behandlet konfidensielt. Kun student og veileder

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vil ha tilgang til disse. Personopplysningene lagres på passordbeskyttede datamaskiner og harddisker. Alle deltakerne i prosjektet vil bli anonymisert i oppgaven. Studien er også meldt til og godkjent av Norsk senter for forskningsdata (NSD).

Prosjektet skal etter planen avsluttes i juni 2017. Alle personopplysninger vil da bli slettet.

Frivillig deltakelse
Deltakelse i prosjektet er frivillig. Du kan på hvilket som helst tidspunkt og uten å oppgi noen grunn til dette velge å trekke deg fra prosjektet. Dersom du trekker deg, vil alle opplysninger om deg bli slettet.

Dersom du har spørsmål om studien ta kontakt med student Mathilde Aarvold Bakke på mathildeaar@gmail.com eller hovedveileder Anne Krogstad på anne.krogstad@sosgeo.uio.no.

Vennlig hilsen,
Mathilde Aarvold Bakke

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