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SPITTING IMAGE

Press photographs and memes as digital cultural heritage
in Netarkivet

“Although there is an intention at the origin of every image, it is always possible to project a second gaze onto it, a critical gaze that re-semantizes it and modifies its initial status.”¹

BY

METTE KIA KRABBE MEYER AND ELD ZIERAU

In September 2015 press photographer Sigrid Nygaard photographed a man standing on a bridge above the E47 motorway near Rødby in Denmark. He was spitting on a number of immigrants and refugees walking below him, people who had fled a war zone in Syria, had endured a long and strenuous journey through Europe and were on their way to Sweden, a country that had not yet implemented such restrictive immigration policies as had Denmark. The photograph was shared on Twitter the same night and published in the newspaper *Information* the following day, and it soon became part of an animated national and international debate on Danish immigration policies, human rights, the truth value of photography and press ethics.²

¹ Joan Fontcuberta: From Here On: apuntes introductorios. Chéroux, Fontcuberta et al. (ed.): *From here on, D'ara endavant, la postfotografia en l'era d'internet i la telefonia mòbil, a partir de ahora la postfotografia en la era de internet y la telefonia mòvil, postphotography in the age of internet and the mobile phone*, Barcelona 2013, p. 129.

² Anders Fjordbak Trier: Sådan hilser nogle danskere flygtningene velkommen (“This is how some people greet refugees”, our translation). Twitter 7.9.2015. urn:pwid:netarkivet.dk:2015-09-21T04:59:11Z:page:http://twitter.com/aftrier/status/640972778087313409. The tweet was harvested by The Royal Danish Library as part of the “Immigrants 2015” event harvest.

Morten Frich, Sebastian Gjerding, and Julie Elmhøj: Skræmmekampagnen virker. *Information* 8.9.2015. urn:pwid:netarkivet.dk:2015-09-08T07:41:53Z:page:http://www.information.dk/544526, image: urn:pwid:netarkivet.dk:2015-09-09T07:41:16Z:part:

The photograph adhered to classical standards of press photography by showing a protagonist committing an aggressive act in a situation of conflict. The strong emotions and opinions it provoked also have their analogues in previous debates over press photographs.³ What was new in this case, however, was the fact that the publication and the activity happened on the web, meaning that emotions and opinions about it were expressed in writing and not only in oral culture, as Associate Professor in Media Mette Mortensen and Professor in Political Science Thomas Olesen have both pointed out.⁴ Actually a whole new way of reacting to press photographs which not only included comments but also the recirculation and even the remaking of the photograph in so-called memes has emerged in what Andrew Chadwick has called “a hybrid media society”.⁵ An extensive body of material evolved that is equally elusive, as contemporary circulation of the photograph and discussions about the image take place on a living web that is constantly changing. This poses challenges for libraries that are responsible for collecting such materials and for scholars analysing and referencing them in academic research.

In this article we investigate the extent to which such materials have been archived by the Royal Danish Library. More precisely, we have searched for a selection of sources: the article “Skræmmekampagnen virker” (“The scare campaign is successful”, our translation) in which the photograph first appeared in print; the online version, including comments; other online articles; and a number of social media sources on Facebook, Twitter and Instagram where the photograph was discussed. This is admittedly a subjective selection, but we have covered different types of media sites and social media as sources in order to describe the different methods of harvesting the web under the Legal

http://www.information.dk/sites/information.dk/files/styles/727x/public/20150907-212735-100016_1.jpg?itok=x4J_YEQI. Articles are referenced in the PWID format described on p. 16.

³ See Robert Hariman and John Louis Lucaites: *No Caption Needed. Iconic Photographs, Public Culture, and Liberal Democracy*. Chicago 2007.

⁴ Mette Mortensen: “The image speaks for itself” – or does it? Instant news icons, impromptu publics, and the 2015 European “refugee crisis”. *Communication and the Public* 1 (4), 2016, pp. 409-422. Thomas Olesen: “The role of photography in the production and problematization of online affective debates: Struggles over solidarity and identity during the 2015 refugee crisis in Denmark”. *The Sociological Review*, 2019, doi.org/10.1177/00388026119886967, pp. 1-17. See also Trevor J. Blank: *Folklore and the Internet. Vernacular Expression in a Digital World*. Utah 2009.

⁵ Andrew Chadwick: *The Hybrid Media System, Politics and Power*. New York 2013.



Ill. 1. Sigrid Nygaard. *Information*. 8.9.2015. In 2015 Danish press photographer Sigrid Nygaard documented a racist act during the so-called refugee crisis. A man was photographed spitting down on immigrants and refugees walking below him. The photograph led to legal action and the man agreeing to pay a fine of DKK 5,000 (approximately 650 Euro). The article and the photograph in the digital version of *Information* were collected by The Royal Danish Library as part of a selective harvest under the Legal Deposit Act.

Deposit Act and ways of adding to them.⁶ Believing that such materials are of importance to the humanities and the social and political sciences, in this article we provide an overview of the different fields they are part of and the questions they give rise to. We also describe a possible method of referencing such materials, the “Persistent Web Identifier or PWID”.

Archiving matters

Reconstructing the history of the photograph of the spitting man, from Nygaard’s initial photograph from the bridge to the publication and circulation of the image by the national international press and

⁶ We wish to thank Anders Klindt Myrvoll, Jakob Moesgaard, and Jens Møller of the Royal Danish Library for their cooperation in searching materials and adding to the collections during our research.

individuals on social media today, is possible but also has its difficulties. For traditional resources like newspapers, there are known ways of doing this, like going through piles of newspapers or microfilm, or searching digitised versions of newspapers. However, materials on the living web are much more transient. Plenty of studies have shown that in general resources disappear from the live web, even those that might be expected to be permanent.⁷ Social media especially is an unstable resource, as groups are created and deleted, and contents are frequently altered. Ultimately, referring to the living web can be compared to referring to a person by the position in which that person was last seen. If the person is in a moving crowd the reference will be transient, whereas if the person is at home the reference will be more stable, though hardly lasting fifty years or more. The only way to ensure a reference persists is therefore to make an image, like taking a photo of the person or a snapshot of the web reference. Web archives are doing exactly this: taking pictures by harvesting the internet as it looks when the harvesters have passed. A good alternative to the living web is therefore web archives like Internet Archive, citation services or the Danish web archive Netarkivet, which falls under the Danish Legal Deposit Act.

The Danish web archive Netarkivet's collection practices

At the end of the last century, the Internet Archive was one of the first web archives to harvest the internet. This was done on an international basis and included parts of the Danish internet. However, the harvests were very sporadic and did not in any way cover Danish national heritage even broadly.⁸ With the change to Denmark's legal

⁷ In a large number of scientific works, the digital sources they cite no longer exist. A list of references to such works can be found in Caroline Nyvang, Thomas Hvid Kromann, and Eld Zierau: *Det levende web og de døde links* ("The living web and dead links", our translation). *NTIK*, 6, 1, 2017, SSN (ONLINE) 2245-294X. There are also many examples of formal information on government or university websites where links are broken when the sites are given a new structure.

⁸ Documented through a pilot project described in Birte Christensen-Dalsgaard, Eva Fønss-Jørgensen, Harald von Hielmcrone, Niels Ole Finnemann, Niels Brügger, Birgit Henriksen, and Søren Vejrup Carlsen: *Final Report for The Pilot Project 'Netarkivet.dk': Experiences and Conclusions from a Pilot Study: Web Archiving of the District and County Elections 2001*, February 2003. urn:pwid:netarkivet.dk:2012-05-03T09:45:57Z:part:http://netarkivet.dk/wp-content/uploads/webark-final-report-2003.pdf

deposit legislation in 2004.⁹ The Royal Danish Library was given the legal authority and obligation to collect Danish web materials, that is, materials addressed to Danes, created by Danes or dealing with Danish issues. Since then, Netarkivet has been harvesting the Danish part of the internet in increasing amounts.

For different reasons, web archives cannot cover all web materials. First of all, as just noted the live web is in constant motion, and harvesters can only take a still image at the time they access it, meaning that materials that emerge and disappear in the intervals between harvests will never be captured. Furthermore, there is no way to ensure that the harvester accesses every address on the internet. All one can do is to pick a starting point and then follow what is referred to from that starting point: materials that are not referred by the starting point will not be discovered. A second reason limiting the harvest is the enormous amount of data available. Even in respect of the Danish parts, there are lots of citizens' personal images and videos that it would be too expensive to harvest and preserve, and the harvests are therefore restricted in different ways, such as by size (number of bytes harvested from a domain) or depth (how many links are followed within a domain).

Netarkivet's first strategy, to cover as much as possible of the Danish web, took as its starting point the domain list of all Danish internet addresses, that is, domains ending with .dk. As this list is owned by a government department, it was easy for Netarkivet to obtain it. Using it, Netarkivet makes *bulk harvests* of all .dk domains about three to four times a year.¹⁰ In order to control the size of what is harvested, there are limits to how deep the harvest is (how many times new links are traced and found), and to the number of bytes collected for each domain. These bulk harvests therefore represent an image of the approximate total of the Danish part of the internet (that part represented by .dk domains). The harvest strategy also takes into account the fact that some of the information changes quite rapidly in the case of important resources like news websites, for which *selected harvests* are therefore performed much more frequently: for example, newspaper websites

⁹ Lov nr. 1439 af 22. december 2004 om pligtaflevering af offentliggjort materiale § 8 ("Act no 1439 from December 22nd 2014 about legal deposit of public material § 8") urn:pwid:netarkivet.dk:2019-04-30T12:30:48Z;page:http://www.pligtaflevering.dk/loven/index.htm

¹⁰ Documented on <http://netarkivet.dk/om-netarkivet/tvaersnitshostninger/> (in Danish) urn:pwid:netarkivet.dk:2019-05-15T06:32:37Z;page:http://netarkivet.dk/om-netarkivet/tvaersnitshostninger/



Anders FjordbakTrier @aftrier · Sep 7
 Sådan hilser nogle danskere flygtningene velkommen
 #refugeeswelcome foto: @Sigrauw
[View translation](#)



En mand står på broen over E47 uden for Rødby og betragter den store flygtningestrøm, der passerer under ham. Pludselig begynder han at spytte ned på menneskemængden, hvorefter han råber til dem, at de skal skride hjem. Foto: Sigrid Nygaard

Ill. 2. News editor Anders Fjordbak Trier shared the photograph on his personal Twitter account the night before it was published in the newspaper. In the following months the photograph was reproduced by national and international media and on social media, prompting debate on Danish immigration policies, human rights, the truth value of photography and press ethics. The Royal Danish Library has harvested a number of sources as part of the “Immigrants 2015” event harvest and in other selective harvests.

are harvested several times each day. Furthermore, the harvest strategy takes into account the fact that at important moments in history information pops up and disappears within short periods. Examples include elections or other events such as the so-called refugee crisis, which are then covered by so-called *event harvests*.

Special harvests on reported sites also form part of the harvesting strategy today, where citizens or researchers can suggest URLs or domains they would like Netarkivet to harvest. Typically such requests come from researchers who have found materials that are not part of Netarkivet, but are important for their research and form part of Denmark’s cultural heritage. Other examples are domains with contents by Danes or addressed to Danes but not covered by Netarkivet, for example, because they are not on a .dk domain. This could be a website created by Danes, but published in a web hotel that is not a .dk domain, or web pages from social media with blogs, tweets or memes.

Strategies for collecting materials from the Danish internet are constantly being revised due to changing internet user behaviour and new technologies. In 2014, it was clear that the Danish part of the internet was far from being represented by the .dk domains, as more and more communications were on other top-level domains than .dk, such as .nu,

.org, and .com.¹¹ It also became clear that the *automatic tracing of non .dk* web materials was necessary if Netarkivet was to harvest these sources, since it would be impossible to cover them manually by reporting sites and discovering and setting up event harvests. In 2015 a research project was started to evaluate how such automatic harvests could be undertaken based on two different strategies for the automatic identification of Danish webpages outside .dk.¹² These two methods had different starting points for spotting potential Danish materials that were then automatically investigated for use of the Danish language or other indicators of their being Danish. However, the results showed that there were only about 2,000 hosts in common of the Danish materials uncovered using the two methods (each of them finding about 45,000 hosts). This result also illustrates the difficulties involved in finding such materials, no matter what method is used, but methods that therefore need to be supplemented by other types of harvests like reported sites and event harvests. For reasons of economy and scalability, Netarkivet ended up selecting only one of the two methods, which is still used today, in which all non .dk URLs indicated by harvested .dk materials are also harvested.

Immigration

Having explained the different strategies where by Netarkivet harvests the web, we will now return to the present case study and describe its different sources, including the original photograph, its reproduction and remade versions on media sites and social media, as well as to the different fields in which research can take place. First of all, for anyone studying reactions to immigration, the photograph of the spitting man is essential. While in 2015 Germany was receiving some 900,000 asylum-seekers, Denmark was closing its borders. Even before 2015 the Social Democrats leaned towards the Danish People's Party and tightened up the immigration rules. With the election of a centre-right government in the summer of 2015, anti-immigration policies were

¹¹ Already in 2012, for instance, it was mentioned that activities that previously took place on private or official websites were moving to social media. Ole J. Mjøs: *Music, social media and global mobility: MySpace, Facebook, YouTube*, 2012.

¹² Partly described in Eld Zierau, Niels Brügger, and Jakob Moesgaard: *Defining a National Web Sphere over time from the Perspectives of Collection, Technology and Scholarship*, RESAW 2015; and Eld Zierau: *Identifying National Parts of the Internet Outside a Country's Top Level Domain*, IIPC GA 2015.

strengthened further. The tightening of the rules was accompanied by a rise in xenophobia. In May 2015 the UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination reported increasing xenophobia and discrimination in Denmark.¹³ The man spitting on people walking below him associated himself with anti-immigration supporters.

The photograph may be classical in how it focuses on an agent in a confrontational act, but according to Olesen, “attention to the visual representation of *encounters* between refugees and civilians (spitting man) and authorities (gentle cop) in receiving countries is still surprisingly rare”.¹⁴ The photograph thus testifies to the fact that xenophobic actions had been committed. From the coverage it also appears that, not only did it take place, but legal action was also taken against it. In 2006 the Danish Supreme Court defined spitting as an act of violence (244 Penal Code). Although for a person to be convicted the spitting had to be directed towards a single person and not a group of people, spitting and shouting at refugees were considered racist acts. The man was found guilty under laws against racism, not against spitting as an act of violence, and he accepted a fine of DKK 5,000 (approximately 650 Euros).¹⁵

Besides being proof of a racist act, the photograph spurred a general discussion about Denmark’s immigration policies. Cover articles were written in the international media, being a source showing how Denmark was perceived by international journalists and researchers.¹⁶ At the same time, on media sites and in social media, a large number of people commented not only on the act itself but on immigration policies as such. Olesen has used a number of these as sources to investigate common topics etc., this being a good example of how public opinions expressed in digital spheres can be explored. Analysing the comments to a Facebook post by Peter Falktoft, a Danish television

¹³ Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD), CERD/C/DNK/CO/20-21 (CERD, 2015) International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination: Concluding Observations on the Combined Twentieth and Twenty-first Periodic Reports of Denmark, 2015.

¹⁴ Olesen (see footnote no. 4), p. 3.

¹⁵ Danmarks mest omtalte spytklat kommer ikke for retten (“The most publicized gob of spittle will not stand trial”, our translation). Ritzau. *Politiken* 6.4.2016. urn:pwid:netarkivet.dk:2016-04-06T19:27:00Z:page:http://politiken.dk/udland/fokus_int/Flygtningestroem/ECE3148465/danmarks-mest-omtalte-spytklat-kommer-ikke-for-retten/

¹⁶ Rick Noack: When it comes to refugees, Denmark is deeply divided. *Washington Post* 9.9.2015. urn:pwid:netarkivet.dk:2019-0816T09:41:37Z:page:https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2015/09/09

and radio host, Olesen tracks the use and understanding of the terms “Danish” and “Danishness” in statements such as “I am so ashamed of being Danish. Where is the empathy, the sympathy...for our fellow human beings?”¹⁷ He also notes that a lot of comments link the man’s violent act to the actions of Muslim terrorists, mostly to downplay the significance of the former. In Olesen’s research one sees how, in public reactions, different events and phenomena are compared and linked, making it possible to map not only recurrent themes in this debate, but also events and places in the debate on immigration.

The call to document and the truth value of photography

Photographer Nygaard described her experience of standing on the bridge in this way:

“I was furious about the fact that he would do this to people who were running away and vulnerable. I had the feeling that of course the image had to get out. It’s important to show that things like that also happen. That there was a man who began shouting at them and that he also spat down on them several times” (our translation).¹⁸

Here the photographer is expressing her emotions at the moment of her taking the photograph, but she is also voicing the classical call of photojournalism to document wrongdoing. In conflict situations marked by violence and pain, the press will document what takes place in order for someone else to call for justice.¹⁹ In this case a former police officer who had only seen the photograph, not the event itself,

¹⁷ Olesen (see footnote no. 4), p. 9. Peter Falktoft: Hvem er disse forfærdelige mennesker? (“Who are these awful people”, our translation). Facebook 8.9.2015, comment September 7, 22.44, urn:pwid:netarkivet.dk:2015-09-08T19:54:09Z:page:http://facebook.com/peterfalktoft/posts/10153558247256665:0. The status was collected as part of the “Immigrants 2015” event harvest.

¹⁸ Translated from “Jeg blev rasende over, at han kunne finde på at gøre det mod mennesker, der er på flugt og sårbare. Der havde jeg bare en følelse af, at billedet selvfølgelig skulle ud. Det er vigtigt at få fortalt, at sådan noget også sker. At der var en mand, der begyndte at råbe ned mod dem, og at han også spyttede ned på dem flere gange”. Maria Christine Madsen: Manden, der lige nu får nettet til at koge: Jeg har ikke spyttet på flygtningene. *B.T.* 8.9.2015. urn:pwid:netarkivet.dk:2015-09-08T18:24:31Z:page:http://www.bt.dk/danmark/manden-der-lige-nu-faar-nettet-til-at-koge-jeg-har-ikke-spyttet-paa-flygtningene

¹⁹ Hariman and Lucaites 2007 (see footnote no. 3), pp. 45-46.



Ill. 3. Radio host Peter Falktoft shared Trier's update on his Facebook-account. More than a thousand people commented on it, and more than two thousand shared the update. Professor of Political Science Thomas Olesen has studied the public's response to immigration as manifested in the comments. Falktoft's status was harvested by The Royal Danish Library as part of the "Immigrants 2015" event harvest.

reported the man for his spitting.²⁰ Thus the case is of interest not only to those who are studying opinions about how to handle immigration, but also the role of the press in this matter.

Nonetheless the photograph was never used as proof. As the man pleaded guilty, the case was never taken to court.²¹ This means that we do not know what legal status the photograph would have been given, but from writings about the photograph we know that the value of photography as proof was questioned. On 8th September the man denied having spat, leading the tabloid *B.T.* to frame the story immediately so as to make it seem that it was the man who had been offended against and spreading doubt about the reliability of the photograph.²² Other

²⁰ Mette Mølgaard: Tidligere betjent har anmeldt "Spytte-manden": Det er fuldstændig usmageligt ("Former policeman has reported The Spittingman", our translation). *B.T.* 8.9.2015. urn:pwid:netarkivet.dk:2015-09-08T17:30:19Z:page:https://www.bt.dk/danmark/tidligere-betjent-har-anmeldt-spytte-manden-det-er-fuldstaendig-usmageligt.

²¹ See footnote no. 15.

²² Ingelise Skrydstrup: Han blev lagt for had på nettet: Måske var der lidt spyt i mundvigen ("He was disliked on the internet: Maybe there was a little spittle in the corner of the mouth", our translation), *B.T.* 9.9.2015, urn:pwid:netarkivet.dk:2015-09-09T17:59:29Z:page:http://www.bt.dk/danmark/han-blev-lagt-for-had-paa-nettet-maaske-var-der-lidt-spyt-i-mundvigen...

In the print version of the article Sigrid Nygaard's photograph was accompanied by a portrait of the man with a more humane face. *B.T.* 8.9. 2015, p. 8.

media accepted the questioning of the truth value and immediately cited Nygaard as the eye witness as when *Ekstra Bladet* conducted an interview with Nygaard, who confirmed that she had seen the man spitting and shouting. The newspaper also featured another eyewitness, namely the woman standing in the foreground of the photograph.²³ Both Nygaard and *Information* were well aware that the photographs could not stand alone. When *Information* wrote about the case on 9th September, like *Ekstra Bladet* it introduced several eyewitness accounts, along with Nygaard's.²⁴

In the comments written under the different articles the truth value of photography is, if not a frequent theme, then something that is touched on. Commenting on *Ekstra Bladet's* article, readers pointed out that refugees could not actually be seen being spat at and that maybe the man was only leaning out over the bridge.²⁵ Others, on the other hand, expressed their contempt for those who questioned the value of the photograph as documenting the fact of the man spitting. *Ekstra Bladet* itself launched a survey in relation to the article asking people whether they trusted the man or the eyewitnesses, including the photographer. When the specialist press, in the form of the Danish Union of Journalists, covered the case on their blog in an article entitled "Fotograf: 'Vi er nødt til at skildre at det her sker'" ("Photographer: We have to document that this is happening", our translation), a number of readers were equally very sceptical about accepting the photograph as proof that the man was spitting.²⁶ However, their doubts were not

²³ Kristian B. Larsen: Fotograf om spyttemanden: han spyttede på flere før konen sagde stop ("Photographer about the spittingman: he spat several times before his wife said stop", our translation). *Ekstra Bladet* 8.9.2015. urn:pwid:netarkivet.dk:2015-09-08T19:09:20Z:page:https://ekstrabladet.dk/nyheder/samfund/fotograf-om-spyttemanden-han-spyttede-paa-flere-foer-konen-sagde-stop/5721887. During the circulation of the photograph on social media, the woman had wrongly been identified as the man's wife. *Ekstra Bladet* stated that she was actually a volunteer in the local Red Cross. The newspaper also published a photograph of her standing alone on the bridge looking straight into the camera as if visually to erase the understanding of her as the man's accomplice. The comments on the article were not harvested, as they belong to a separate system.

²⁴ Mathias Koch Stræde: Debat om spyt mod flygtninge ("Debate about spitting on refugees", our translation). *Information* 9.9.15. urn:pwid:netarkivet.dk:2015-09-09T11:41:16Z:page:http://www.information.dk/544633

²⁵ See footnote no. 22.

²⁶ Kerstin Bruun-Hansen: Fotograf: "Vi er nødt til at skildre, at det her sker". *Journalisten Blogs*. urn:pwid:netarkivet.dk:2019-02-19T23:48:08Z:page:http://journalisten.dk/fotograf-vi-er-noedt-til-skildre-det-her-sker. In this case the article and associated comments were harvested. Since then the article has been on and off the living web.

ridiculed by *Journalisten's* readers as was the case with *Ekstra Bladet*. Arguments were put forward in a friendlier tone, and attention was directed towards the confirmation given by the eyewitnesses. Finally, the truth value of photography in general was also commented on frequently in social media, reoccurring in the comments to Falktoft's Facebook status.²⁷ For anyone wishing to study the public's faith in photography in media studies, visual culture or photographic history and theory, this is also an obvious example.

Ethics and the right to publish

'The decision by Nygaard and *Information* to publish the photograph did not go uncontested. If the photograph had not been published, the policeman who reported the man would never have done so, and some felt that this would have been the better outcome, preferring the photograph to remain unpublished and the lawsuit to take place outside the scrutiny of the press. In the comments to the blog article at *Journalisten* the primary goal was to focus on the ethical aspect.²⁸ The journalist questioned the fact that *Information* had published the image without speaking to the man and did so without anonymizing him. Nygaard and chief editor Christian Jensen answered by defending the right of the press to take photographs in public spaces and to provide the public with an image of the spitting man.²⁹

In this case, it was often those who doubted the truth value of the photograph who questioned the right of the photographer and the newspaper to publish it. They argued that, no matter whether the man had actually spat or not, publishing the photograph was provoking the public and encouraging a people's court to emerge and judge the man independently of the three-way separation of powers. Others found it acceptable to publish the image, but only provided the newspaper investigated the man's psychological condition. Yet others supported publication and referred to legislation and court sentences. A report by Straffelovrådet (the Standing Committee on Criminal Matters) 601.1971 was cited, and it was pointed out that in several cases the Court of Human Rights has granted the press the right to publish images of individuals even when the latter protested against

²⁷ Falktoft (see footnote no. 17).

²⁸ Bruun-Hansen (see footnote no. 26).

²⁹ Bruun-Hansen.

it (cf. EMD 11.1.2000 (photographs of accused) and EMD 26.2.2002 (photographs of politicians)).³⁰

The ethics of publication was another frequent subject in comments added to the article in *Ekstra Bladet* and to Falktoft's Facebook status. *Information* is likened to a medieval pillory, and the question of the man's mental state is frequently raised.³¹ The taking of the photograph and not least its publication were thus debated, and it is possible to study the different comments regarding ethics in the specialized press and on media sites, including at least Falktoft's Facebook status and other social media. Press legislation is also covered not so much by the media but by readers contributing comments.

Affect

In her book *Affective Publics*, Professor of Communication and Political Science Zizi Papacharissi argues that we should study affective processes in digital political environments, instead of approaching the latter as a forum for rational exchange in a Habermasian sense.³² The case of the photograph of the man spitting is an obvious one. Looking at the photograph itself, Olesen and others speak of the icons of photojournalism as part of a specific way of photographing reality. Such photographs are often taken during conflicts and show protagonists and antagonists "structured into binaries such as fair/unfair, right/wrong, good/bad", as Olesen writes.³³ In this case it is not only the antagonist in the photograph who is emotional. The photographer is obviously annoyed by his anger, and the photograph springs in equal parts from her rage and her sense of injustice.³⁴ From the beginning, then, the situation and the taking of the photograph are loaded with strong feelings.

When *Information* first published the photograph, it appeared in a very small version inside the newspaper.³⁵ On the front cover was a photograph of the refugees walking on the motorway, also taken by Nygaard from the bridge. However, the editor's decision to share the

³⁰ Bruun-Hansen.

³¹ Larsen 2015 (see footnote no. 23), Falktoft (see footnote no. 17).

³² Zizi Papacharissi: *Affective Publics, Sentiment, Technology, and Politics*, Oxford 2015, p. 26.

³³ Olesen (see footnote no. 4), p. 4.

³⁴ Madsen 2015 (see footnote no. 18).

³⁵ Frich, Gjerding, and Elmhøj 2015 (see footnote no. 2).

photograph of the man spitting on Twitter soon made it the most important aspect of the newspaper's coverage of the event.³⁶ From then on the debates most frequently took the image as their starting point and were therefore very emotional. In the comments on media sites, and even more so on Facebook, supporters of the immigrants often express their own emotions in a very physical way, in many cases adding shame and disgust to the anger felt by the photographer. In some instances they voice a desire for him to be spat at himself, beaten or the like, as when one Facebook user writes: "He ought to be spat at in the public square!" (our translation), reactions which Nygaard has distanced herself from.³⁷ Anti-immigration supporters tend to be less explicit about their own emotions but occasionally allow themselves to be identified with the man. As has already been mentioned, the man's violent act led many anti-immigration supporters to bring up the actions of Muslim terrorists.³⁸ The comparisons between spitting and bombing are meant to reduce the significance of the man's violent act.

Any analysis that focuses on affect will involve the traditions of documenting both strong emotions and actions in press photography and the emotions of the press photographer documenting such acts. It will also include the different emotional reactions of the public and a discussion of how not only the photograph but also social media as such nourish the personal and the emotional in both content and reactions to it.

Memes

Written reactions to the photograph on social media were full of emotional outbursts, as well as arguments for or against the act of spitting or it being photographed. Only very seldom would humour be expressed, as when the man's denial that he had spat gave rise to the comment "Spitting? It's obviously just a friendly Dane saying 'pearl'" (our translation).³⁹ By contrast, this humorous approach was prevalent

³⁶ Trier (see footnote no. 2).

³⁷ Translated from "Han skulle spyttes på, på det lokale torv!".

³⁸ Olesen (see footnote no. 4), p. 12.

³⁹ Translated from "Spytter? Det er da tydeligt at se, at det blot er en venlig dansker der siger 'perle'". Bruun-Hansen. In 2009 a police officer was accused of calling a man who took part in a demonstration "perker", a derogative term for persons supposedly coming from the Middle East. Head of Police Hanne Bech Hansen afterwards explained that the officer had used the word "perle" (pearl). urn:pwid:ne-

in satirical meme culture. The meme was first defined by biologist Richard Dawkins in his book *The Selfish Gene* from 1976. It is a kind of cultural gene, a “unit of cultural transmission” or a “unit of imitation”.⁴⁰ Memes can be certain ways of believing, dressing or acting, but they can also take the form of a remade photograph or verbal expression. Very quickly, after the image was shared on Twitter, the first meme based on it also appeared on Twitter. Lasse Schøber, another journalist, posted Nygaard’s photograph but added a balloon in the form of a heart and the text:

“A man is standing on the bridge crossing the E47 outside Rødby looking at the stream of refugees walking by. All of a sudden he begins inflating a red heart-shaped balloon and shouts to the refugees that they should come home with him” (our translation).⁴¹

The following day, 8th September, someone opened an *Instagram* account called Spyttemanden (“The spitting man”).⁴² The profile image was Nygaard’s photo of the man, but very quickly other remakes of the photograph were also posted. At first sight they may appear to be worlds apart from the serious debate on immigration and the truth value of photography and press ethics which had also been taking place, but actually they became part of a public discourse of a sort

tarkivet.dk:2019-03-03T06:52:03Z:page:https://da.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hanne_Bech_Hansen#Perle-sagen

⁴⁰ Jeff Mapua: *Understanding Memes and Internet Satire*, New York 2019, p. 12. In the early 2000s memes were shared on websites such as Know your meme and Something Awful. Later forums were Reddit and 4chan, as well as social media such as Instagram, Facebook and Twitter. See also Ryan M. Milner: *The World Made Meme: Public Conversations and Participatory Media*, Cambridge and London 2016.

⁴¹ Translated from “En mand står på broen over E47 uden for Rødby og betragter den store flytningestrøm, der passerer ham. Pludselig begynder han at puste en rød hjerteformet ballon op, hvorefter han råber til dem, at de skal komme med ham hjem”. Lasse Schøber: Fixed: Mand på motorvejsbro puster ballon op (“Fixed: man on bridge inflates balloon”, our translation). #dkpol Twitter 7.9.2015 urn:pwid:netarkivet.dk:2015-09-24T08:43:40Z:page:http://twitter.com/lasseschober/status/641125651307724801

⁴² urn:pwid:netarkivet.dk:2019-02-25T16:00:17Z:page: http://www.instagram.com/spyttemanden/



Ill. 4. Journalist Lasse Schøber @Lasse-Schober probably created the first meme to be based on Nygaard's photograph. As part of a humorous remake culture he used a classical approach within satire: conversion. He exploited the ambiguity of the photograph, inserted a red balloon in the form of a heart and reworked the caption so as to extend the migrants a warm welcome. The Tweet was harvested by The Royal Danish Library as part of a special harvest.

that, according to Papacharissi, is a form of “storytelling that facilitates co-creating, collaborative filtering, and curating of news content”.⁴³

In *Memes in Digital Culture*, Professor of Communication and Journalism Limor Shifman gives some seminal definitions of photo memes. According to Shifman, remakers work to achieve *frozen motion* and strive for high arousal of emotions in aiming at viral success.⁴⁴ Seen from this point of view, the image of the spitting man no doubt appeals as an act of defiance. It is already packed with emotions and provocation, the man's as well as the indignant spectators', but as the target of the spitting cannot be seen, the image, as Olesen points out, needs some explanation in order to be understood as xenophobic.⁴⁵ It is precisely this ambiguity that makes it attractive to remakers, according to Shifman: “Since the logic of contemporary participatory culture is based on the active involvement of users, incompleteness serves as a textual [or visual] hook for further dialogue, and for the successful spread of the meme”.⁴⁶

Schøber's meme, where the man is shown inflating a heart-formed balloon, triggered a number of memes where the man is shown doing other things. Friends of Schøber, colleagues and others contributed memes

⁴³ Papacharissi 2015 (see footnote no. 32), p. 34.

⁴⁴ Limor Shifman: *Memes in Digital Culture*, Cambridge 2014, pp. 66, 89.

⁴⁵ Olesen (see footnote no. 4), p. 8.

⁴⁶ Shifman 2014 (see footnote no. 44), pp. 86-8.



Ill. 5. The majority of memes sought to disarm the aggression and hatred implied by the image. People inserted hearts, doves of peace and lolcats and transformed the spitting man into a bagpipe-player, dandelion-blower etc., though the meme shared by Anders V. Jacobsen @andersvincent was an exception. This Tweet was harvested by The Royal Danish Library as part of a special harvest.

where the man is smoking a hookah, playing a saxophone, blowing the seeds of a dandelion etc.⁴⁷ As they appeared simultaneously with the man denying having spat, they came to function as a comment on the denial. They served as visual contributions to the debate, but whereas the arguments for and against the truth of photography were deadly serious, the memes were playful. Similarly, whereas the emotions towards the man expressed in the comments were equally grave, whether they were positive or negative, a lot of memes had the ridiculous as their message. Although there were memes in which the urge to punish the man was expressed visually, albeit humorously, as in the meme in which the man receives a blow from Batman, the majority were positive in kind.⁴⁸

In several memes attempts were made to disarm the man's aggressive act by turning it into its opposite through simple visual means. Someone working in the manner of Schøber added hearts, so that it looked as if the man was spewing out love.⁴⁹ Someone added the Nyan Cat meme, also known as Pop Tart Cat, and tried to erase the hateful act.⁵⁰ The re-maker behind the Spyttemanden profile also circulated an image in which the spitting man was adorned with a garland and

⁴⁷ urn:pwid:netarkivet.dk:2016-06-30T03:19:22Z:page:https://twitter.com/johsaagaard/media?lang=da

⁴⁸ urn:pwid:netarkivet.dk:2019-08-16T09:41:29Z:page:https://twitter.com/andersvincent/status/641539591657390080, image: urn:pwid:netarkivet.dk:2019-08-16T09:41:50Z:part:https://pbs.twimg.com/media/COc029_WwAA6XUU.jpg

⁴⁹ urn:pwid:netarkivet.dk:2015-09-09T21:28:02Z:page:https://twitter.com/hashtag/rodbymanden?src=hash

⁵⁰ urn:pwid:netarkivet.dk:2019-08-26T12:41:39Z:page:http://hotsta.org/media/1069768821613576300_22931071, moving image: urn:pwid:netarkivet.dk:2019-08-26T12:41:48Z:part:https://scontent-lht6-1.cdninstagram.com/vp/9f67f186eee5f35cf8ed1cc088e8dbb8/5E0ED6A5/t51.2885-19/s150x150/13102481_174911165307500_295113050_a.jpg?_nc_ht=scontent-lht6-1.cdninstagram.com

Archive Coverage of Sources for the Spitting Man

As the previous discussion should make clear, many resources have been harvested by The Royal Danish Library. In the following paragraph, we will outline how we searched for materials on the living web, to what extent we have been able to find them in Netarkivet, and the methods we used to harvest them.

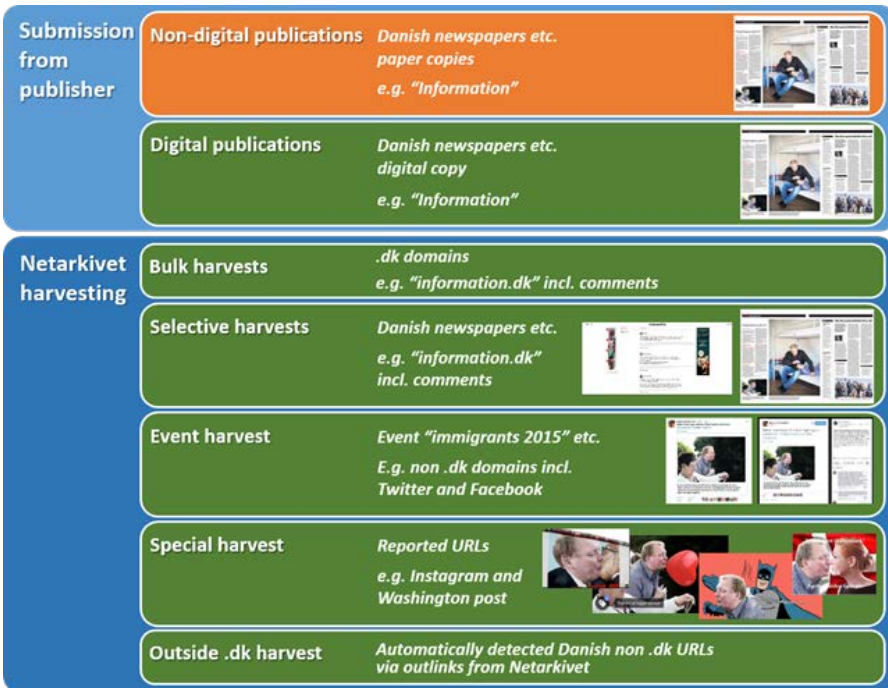


Figure 1. An overview of materials searched for and different methods of harvesting them to Netarkivet.

We selected newspaper articles with the aim of covering central aspects of the reception of the photograph and the debate over it. Articles, analogue as well as digital, were submitted to Netarkivet by the publisher.

inger-stjberg-gif-og.html, image: urn:pwid:netarkivet.dk:2019-08-16T09:41:56Z: part:https://3.bp.blogspot.com/-f50wCEv2Mnw/Ve7B6J4XoOI/AAAAAAAAAYIk/WXT4-4jLuVY/s640/Spyttemanden%2Bog%2BInger.jpg, urn:pwid:netarkivet.dk:2016-06-30T03:19:22Z:page:https://twitter.com/johsaagaard/media?lang=da

Online articles were also harvested by Netarkivet as part of selective harvests done on the day the articles were published. They were also captured by the quarterly bulk harvest.

Comments on web articles were usually harvested in selective harvests, although in this case there were gaps. Usually harvesters are set up to capture comments trails, but in some cases these are run in separate systems and are therefore left out during the harvesting process. Luckily there were still relevant usable comments that could be collected and preserved, but some comments had also been deleted and can never be recaptured.

In the research process, we tracked memes on the living web by means of different strategies. Some were found using image search engines, others by searching tags such as #rodbymanden or #spyttemanden on Twitter and Instagram, while some appeared with others, for instance, on the Instagram profile Spyttemanden or in “meme battles” on Twitter. Afterwards we investigated whether any sources had been harvested by the library. Comments and discussions on social media and remakes of the photograph were to a large extent harvested as part of the “Immigrants 2015” event harvest, set up to capture the immigration crisis of 2015. However, the event harvest had written sources as its primary target and was therefore based on text, including tags such as #dkpol and #refugees. What was shared on visual sites such as Instagram was not included. Harvests from Instagram happened as part of this research project. As we reported materials for collection, they were harvested as they appeared online at that moment (e.g. without closed comments etc.). If this event harvest had not been set up, there would still have been a chance that the materials (if referenced by .dk domains like information.dk) had been captured by the automatic harvest of non .dk URLs. Unfortunately, we cannot know whether this had been the case, since the automatic harvest filters out investigation of URLs that are already in the Netarkivet collections, as they were because of the event harvest. However, it is doubtful that the automatic harvest of non .dk had captured all the materials, since they are not all referenced by a collected .dk web page. Furthermore, there are limits to what can be automatically identified as relevant for the purposes of archiving Danish cultural heritage. For instance, the *Washington Post* article (referenced by information.dk) would not have been recognized as Danish because it is in English with too few (automatically) recognizable indicators of any Danish connection.

There are gaps in what we could find in Netarkivet, and there probably always will be some because of changing behavior or a lack of technology, which is why it is important that Netarkivet's harvest strategy is constantly reassessed.⁵³

Referencing and accessing the materials in Netarkivet

As with any proper research, we need to be able to reference the sources for the study so that other researchers can verify the authenticity of our sources. Regarding the ethics of internet research, we only cite materials which have been made publicly available, that is, published on media sites or open social media accounts. We recognize that especially comments on social media can be considered private by users though shared on open accounts. In this case we argue that comments are shared in a discussion which is openly a part of public discourse and where users are well aware that they are communicating their images or comments to a broader crowd.⁵⁴

For at least a decade, researchers have been writing about the problem of impermanent web references,⁵⁵ prompting different suggestions for how reference web materials. A common recommendation is to use *Persistent Identifier systems* (like DOI⁵⁶) for web references. However, this can only cover registered resources. It is also noteworthy that there is no guarantee that the information behind a persistent identifier is generally stable. For example, the DOI for the DOI handbook points to the latest version of the handbook, meaning that references to a paragraph in a specific earlier version of the handbook cannot be made via the current handbook's DOI. As none of the resources used in this study are registered, this is not an option in this case.

⁵³ Other examples of a lack of material in Netarkivet can be found described in, for example, Henrik Smith Sivertsen: Et vaskeægte Myspace-fænomen – Sys Bjerre i Netarkivet, 2014.

⁵⁴ We refer to the case-based heuristic tools suggested by Heidi A. McKee and James E. Porter in *The Ethics of Internet Research*, New York 2009, pp. 86-87.

⁵⁵ Jonathan Zittrain, Kendra Albert and Lawrence Lessig: Perma: Scoping and Addressing the Problem of Link and Reference Rot in Legal Citations, 2017. doi:10.1017/S1472669614000255, 2014. Nyvang et al. 2017.

⁵⁶ International DOI Foundation: The DOI System, 2016. urn:pwid:archive.org:2016-10-20T22:26:35:page:https://www.doi.org/

Another option is *Web citation services* (e.g. WebCite⁵⁷ and OpenCitations⁵⁸) which offer on-demand archiving systems for web references in which a new identifier (e.g. an URL like <https://archive.is/NIHlh>) is provided as a key to where the harvested and archived referenced resources can be accessed. Such services can be useful for sources found on the live web provided the risk of losing the reference is acceptable. Losses could be caused by the service disappearing or it losing the connection between the NIHlh key and the harvested web material, since the key has no information on what was harvested and when. In the case of the present study there are some references whose content has changed since 2015, so that the most precise reference is to the source as it looked in 2015. Furthermore, for this purpose we prefer references to an archive that are covered by government funding, since they are more likely to be maintained.

The only formal referencing standard for web archives is reference to its http address. An example is the following web reference in the Icelandic web archive: <http://wayback.vefsafn.is/wayback/20151010003955/http://www.dr.dk/>.

However, this does not work for materials in Netarkivet, first of all because Netarkivet has restricted access to materials (not online, and only for researchers), and secondly because internal links refer to the data files in the web archive, which are likely to change over time.⁵⁹

The lack of referencing techniques for materials in Netarkivet was the subject of an earlier study which led to the proposal to introduce PWIDs (Persistent Web Identifiers).⁶⁰ The purpose of a PWID is to

⁵⁷ Described in Gunther Eysenbach: Going, Going, Still There: Using the WebCite Service to Permanently Archive Cited Web Pages. *JMIR Publications*, 7, 5, 2005.

⁵⁸ Described in David Shotton: Publishing: Open citations. *Nature, International Weekly Journal of Science*, 502, 7471.

⁵⁹ Recently, data files in Netarkivet were migrated to compressed form, which meant that all references to internal http-addresses became invalid.

⁶⁰ First described in Eld Zierau, Caroline Nyvang, and Thomas Hvid Kromann: Persistent Web References: Best Practices and New Suggestions. *Proceedings of the 13th International Conference on Preservation of Digital Objects (iPres)*, 2016, pp. 237-246 and elaborated in Caroline Nyvang, Thomas Hvid Kromann, and Eld Zierau: Capturing the web at large: a critique of current web referencing practices. *Proceedings of the Researchers, practitioners and their use of the archived web (RESAW2)* 2017. DOI: 10.14296/resaw.0004, Nyvang et al. and Eld Zierau: Precise and Persistent Web Archive References: Status, Context and Expected Progress of the PWID. *Proceedings of the 15th International Conference on Preservation of Digital Objects (iPres)*, 2018. DOI: 10.17605/OSF.IO/U5W3Q]

generate a web archive reference that is as simple as possible while at the same time meeting the requirements for sustainability, usability and scope. Therefore, the PWID is focused on having only the minimum required information to make a precise identification of a resource in an arbitrary web archive. This research showed that this can be obtained by means of the following information:

- Identification of the web archive (via web archive host name)
- Identification of the source:
 - Archived URL
 - Archival time stamp (when URL was archived in UTC time format)
- Precision (page, part)

The precision specification expresses the intended precision of the reference. Usually a web reference is to some web page code (e.g. html) which is used by a browser to look up all the elements (e.g. images) that are to be displayed and to display them in the way the code specifies (e.g. where to place text and images). This means that the archived URL only points to the code for the web page, while all the elements for the page itself are archived separately, with different archived URLs and archival times. It is the web archive application that calculates which elements to include. One consequence of this is that the reference to the archived URL is very precise if it is the actual file with code for the web page (e.g. html) that is referenced. However, if it is the page that is referenced, the precision of the reference will depend on the algorithm used for finding the page elements and which versions of the elements the web archive contains at a given point in time. A well-known example is a web page with weather information on which the satellite image shows a clear sky, while other data says that it is overcast.⁶¹ The reason for this is that the weather page was first harvested without a satellite image, but the satellite image URL being referred to was harvested properly nine months later. Hence, if the reference is meant to be the full web page, it will be less precise. This

⁶¹ Presentation available in S. G. Ainsworth, M. L. Nelson and H. Van De Sompel: Evaluating the Temporal Coherence of Archived Pages, 2015. urn:pwid:webarchive.org.uk:2016-01-14T23:31:44Z:part:http://netpreserve.org/sites/default/files/attachments/2015_IIPC-GA_Slides_18_Nelson.pptx

means that reference to a web *page* will be less precise than a reference to precisely one *part/file* (e.g. a pdf-file or an html-file).

The PWID can be expressed in two ways: as a strict syntactical representation of the four elements that enables technical solutions to interpret the PWID, e.g. in resolution of the resource:

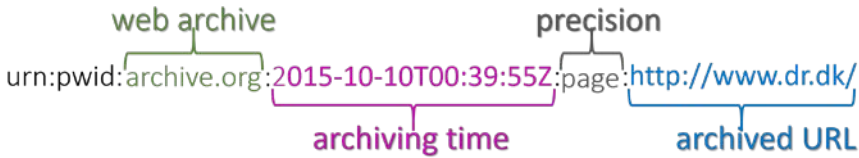


Figure 2. A PWID example with indications of its four parts.

or with a more descriptive version where the four elements are specified as:

Archived URL: `http://www.dr.dk/` archived in the Icelandic web archive (vefsafn.is), archival date: 2015-10-10 00:39:55 UTC [web-page]

While the corresponding PWID URN⁶² would be

`urn:pwid:vefsafn.is:20151010003955Z:page:http://www.dr.dk/`

When using a PWID one does not have to think about the ephemeral character of the living web. However, one does need to consider whether the archived material actually represents the intended purpose (as with the weather example, it may not correspond to what was on the web, or it may lack important information).⁶³ Furthermore, the method implies that one is a researcher, as only researchers are granted access. This means that finding, accessing and verifying sources are

⁶² The PWID is currently suggested as a proposed Uniform Resource Name (URN). See Peter Saint-Andre and John Klensin: Uniform Resource Names (URNs), *RFC 8141*, 2017. DOI 10.17487/RFC8141

⁶³ Verification can be made by looking at time stamps for the individual parts, e.g. by using the SOLR Wayback tool, The Royal Danish Library (Netarkivet): *SolrWayback 3.1*, 2018, `urn:pwid:archive.org:2018-06-11T02:00:05Z:page:https://github.com/netarchivesuite/Solrwayback`, which have time stamps in PWIDs for all parts on a web page. Description of how to reference a web page by its part can be found in Bolette Jurik and Eld Zierau: Data Management of Web Archive Research Data. *Proceedings of the RESAW 2017 Conference*, 2017. DOI: 10.14296/resaw.0002

reserved to a limited number of people where materials in Netarkivet are concerned.

Conclusions

The photograph of the man spitting at refugees taken by the press photographer Sigrid Nygaard in September 2015 received a great deal of attention at the time of its publication and in the months that followed. Not only did it document an aggressive racist act, it also led to the man being charged with a breach of the law, a charge he acknowledged. But the photograph also provoked broader discussions on behaviour, human rights and Danish immigration politics, as well as the truth value of photography and press ethics. These discussions took place in articles, but even more so in comment trails on media websites and social media. However, coinciding with the spread of the photograph in national and international media and the animated debates on racism, the truth value of photography and press ethics, a humorous remaking and sharing of the image took place in the form of memes. By adding elements and text to Nygaard's photograph of the man, they became part of a "storytelling that facilitates co-creating, collaborative filtering, and curating of news content", to quote again the words of Papacharissi.⁶⁴

In this article, we have described the photograph and its subsequent life on the internet as part of newsreels, documentation, debate and collaborative remaking. We have pointed to the sort of research that can be undertaken in fields such as political science, ethics, media studies, visual culture, and the history and theory of photography using digital sources. Given the ephemerality of the living web, we have pointed to Netarkivet as a crucial source in a digital era. We have also investigated the extent to which sources have been archived in line with the Legal Deposit Law as part of different types of harvesting. For researchers with access to the archive, it offers them the ability to search, retrieve and cite references and materials. Especially when citing them in the PWID format, the precise identification of a resource in an arbitrary web archive can be secured.

The effort to investigate the extent to which present-day memes especially have been archived seems urgent. For photohistorian Clé-

⁶⁴ Papacharissi 2015 (see footnote no. 32), p. 34.

ment Chéroux, technical changes have always spurred developments in remaking images:

“Advances in photomechanical printing processes and the subsequent rise of the illustrated press in the 1910s and 1920s led to the invention of photomontage. Similar upheavals in the field of visual art can be seen with the advent of the popular print in the nineteenth century, the emergence of television in the 1950s... and the Internet today”.⁶⁵

In this article, we have illustrated not only the need to use web archives, but also the challenges involved in collecting, using and referring to the materials in Netarkivet. For the purposes of this particular study, the circulation of memes has taken place on sites outside .dk domains, and the event harvests have focused on textual materials. Therefore, meme culture needs researchers to make the effort to report on it in relation to special harvests of uncovered materials, as well as gaps in covered materials, if it is to be archived for the future. Furthermore critics suggest that the present wave of remaking will soon decline due to changes to EU copyright law (Article 13).⁶⁶ All the more reason, then, to investigate especially today’s remakes, their archival circumstances and citations of materials in academic praxis.

⁶⁵ Clément Chéroux: The Gold of Time. Chéroux, Fontcuberta et al. (ed.): *From here on, D’ara endavant, la postfotografia en l’era d’internet i la telefonia mòbil, a partir de ahora la postfotografia en la era de internet y la telefonia mòvil, postphotography in the age of internet and the mobile phone*, Barcelona 2013, p. 104.

⁶⁶ urn:pwid:archive.org:2019-04-26T08:19:01Z:page:https://www.wired.co.uk/article/what-is-article-13-article-11-european-directive-on-copyright-explained-meme-ban

SUMMARY

METTE KIA KRABBE MEYER AND ELD ZIERAU: *Spitting Image. Press photographs and memes as digital cultural heritage in Netarkivet*

This article deals with the challenges that confront libraries in their efforts to collect and make available national cultural heritage to researchers in today's hybrid media society. The authors illustrate their arguments with a case study: Sigrid Nygaard's photograph of a man spitting down on to immigrants from its initial appearance in a Tweet of 2015 to its reproduction in the national and international and social media, a field which also includes the many memes it engendered. The authors describe how the photograph became part of a heated debate on immigration policies and media ethics and suggest different academic fields in which the material can be studied, such as political science and media studies. They investigate a selection of sources and describe how these were collected by Netarkivet as part of the library's obligation under the Legal Deposit Act, thereby providing insights into the different methods of finding and collecting material from the internet. Finally they argue that commonly known referencing practices are insufficient when it comes to web archive materials in general and point to a newly emerging referencing practice using so-called Persistent Web IDentifiers (PWID), which enable researchers to create precise and persistent references to web archive resources. The research was carried out to ensure that such materials would be saved and would continue to be available to researchers, to investigate and contribute to new collection methods, to cite digital cultural heritage, and to inform researchers about Netarkivet's resources and ways in which one can work academically with the materials the archive contains.

