

[DOI: 10.20472/AHC.2016.001.013](https://doi.org/10.20472/AHC.2016.001.013)

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THE MEOW FACTOR - AN INVESTIGATION OF CAT CONTENT IN TODAY'S MEDIA

Abstract:

Cats share not only people's real lives but also their virtual world. The Meow Factor is a research project that takes an interdisciplinary approach to describe cat content. Cat content generally deals with cats in popular culture, with news articles about cats, cat memes, and cat videos in the public sphere, such as online newspapers and magazines, social media, print media, TV, movies, books, paintings, and merchandise. When taking a closer look at the cats' presence in their relationship with humans, it becomes obvious that cats play a large role in the public sphere. After an observation of traditional and social media in the English-, Russian-, and German-speaking world during a two-year period, categories for news stories and for user generated content have been developed. The results show that cat content maintains a strong presence in art and popular culture, in advertising, in the media, and on the internet.

Keywords:

cat content; internet cats; user generated content; social media; popular culture; news; news values; news categories

JEL Classification: L82

1 Introduction

Cats have been living alongside people for thousands of years and are now sharing not only people's real lives but also their virtual world: Cats have been taking over the internet (Eppink, 2015), appear in advertising (Edwards, 2011; Allen, 2013; Kelley, 2013), and very often feature in news stories all around the world (Podhovnik, 2016).

The phenomenon of cats on the internet and their use in the media is often referred to as cat content or *Katzencontent* in the German language. Though the term is understandable, cat content is not common in the English language. In the English language, the phenomenon is usually called cats on the internet or LOLcats. This paper deliberately uses cat content because the term describes cats in the public sphere in general, not just cats on the internet.

As the aim of the paper is to define the scope for research on cat content, it takes an interdisciplinary approach and deals briefly with various aspects of the relationship of people and cats. Section 2 of the paper looks at existing research on cats in art and literature, ethology, advertising, and media to highlight the cats' appeal to people, and Section 3 describes the impact of cat content on the news, popular culture, the internet, and language.

2 Cat Research

Cats have featured in people's lives for a long time as fellow creatures, companions, symbols, metaphors, and allegories. These roles are still relevant today as cats still fulfil those functions. As is shown below, the image of the cat has not always been as positive as it is today.

Various sciences have developed an interest in cats: apart from the interest of biology and ethology in cats as a domestic animal, cats have been analysed in art and literary history, advertising, and media and communications.

2.1 Historical Pawtraits (Portraits)

Historical accounts of cats are connected to the modern portrayals of cats. Not the subject of the portrayals has changed but the methods and technical possibilities.

Cats found their place in human art a long time ago, for example in statues, paintings, and literature. Several publications describe the cats' role throughout history: Bobis (2001) discusses the history and legends of the cat, and Nikolajeva (2009) talks about cats in literature from antiquity to modern times. Cat paintings are shown by Foucart-Walter and Rosenberg (1988) and Sacquin (2010).

Bobis (2001) looks at many resources from antiquity onwards and gives examples of cats from folklore, mythology, religion, law, and literature. The many roles of cats as devils, demons, familiars, and friends are also described by Nikolajeva (2009), who traces the history of cats in literature in different cultures. The oldest written testimony of cats is Herodotus's account from the 5th century BC (Bobis, 2001, p.19), the first European cat story appeared in the late 14th century (Nikolajeva, 2009, p.250).

Throughout history, the cat played various roles for humans, both positive and negative. Being a divine creature representing the Egyptian Goddess Bast, the cat was a god-like being not only in Ancient Egypt but also in other cultures, such as in Norse mythology. The cat was also regarded as a guardian of the home and as a healer up to and including the Middle Ages. In Oriental and European folklores, the positive image of the cat then became blurred, with the cat becoming one of the antagonists. There are good and evil black cats, and the mystical and magical powers of cats are good and bad in Chinese culture (Nikolajeva, 2009, p.249).

In the Middle Ages under the influence of Christian religion, the cat was vilified as an example for bad moral behaviour (Bobis, 2001, p.99) and eventually became a representation of the devil (Bobis, 2001, p.177). The cat was linked to Satan and Judas and was associated with witches. Cat monsters, turning into witches and back into catshape, appeared in King Arthur stories and Slavic folklore (Nikolajeva, 2009, p.250f.).

In the 19th and 20th centuries, cats came to be regarded as positive again, as being wise and creative. Cats started to appear as heroes - or lesser characters - in nursery rhymes and in literature. Fairy tale protagonist Puss in Boots and E.T.A. Hoffmann's Tomcat Murr are examples of cat heroes. Nikolajeva (2009) also mentions famous authors, such as Lewis Carroll, T. S. Eliot, Edgar Allan Poe, Doris Lessing, Charles Boudelaire, Mikhail Bulgakov, and James Joyce (Nikolajeva, 2009, p.253).

Generally, cats are cultural symbols with diverse images ranging from supernatural figures in various disguises to magical helpers. She-cats are usually associated with feminine witchcraft, shape-shifting, mystery, and sexuality, while male cats tend to be tricksters or carnival figures (Nikolajeva, 2009, p.253).

In arts, too, the cat has fulfilled various functions (Foucart-Walter & Rosenberg, 1988, pp.7–31; Sacquin, 2010). In religious paintings, there are biblical, evangelical, saintly cats and warrior cats in the holy war. In secular paintings, cats, both positive and negative, are used for proverbs, emblems, and popular wisdom, for jests and sorcery, and as cats in arms and at war. Especially from 1850 onwards, cat paintings and cat portraits have become popular. (Foucart-Walter & Rosenberg, 1988, p.33)

2.2 Cats in Ethology

The ethologist Dennis C. Turner (1995, 2000) has looked at human-cat interaction to explain why people like cats. Cats are popular because of the cats' enjoyment of physical contact with their owners, the cats' predictability, the cats' general cleanliness, and, anthropomorphically speaking, the cats' likeness to humans (Turner, 2000, p.199).

Turner's studies (2000, p.200) also show the mechanisms at work forming the human-cat bond. Generally, there is a universally human tendency to care for young, sick, and wild animals, which is probably related to the *Kindchenschema*. The attachment theory and social support theory discuss the details of the *Kindchenschema* (Turner, 2000, p.200).

While cats cannot replace humans in the social network, they provide an additional source of emotional support for their owners. Cats can be “the significant others” for their owners and can lift negative moods especially when there is a strong bond between cat and owner. Yet, cats do not necessarily improve an already good mood, as Turner’s studies (2000, p.201) show.

2.3 Catvertising

Cats are an effective and genuine tool for fundraising, marketing, commerce and audience engagement. (Anon, 2015) To Kelley (2013) cats are perfect for advertising. Yet, cats in ads have not been specifically analysed, though animals in ads generally have a positive effect on consumers (Lancendorfer et al., 2008, p.390).

In advertising especially those animals portrayed as companions influence the consumers in a positive way in both print and TV adverts (Lancendorfer et al., 2008, p.384).

Though the OED (Oxford University Press, 2015) does not list the term *catvertising*, the term is used on the internet. In the Urban Dictionary, *catvertising* appeared in 2014 as cat-vertising: “using felines in advertising campaigns to market products” (Urban Dictionary LLC, 2014).

Catvertising on google.com (2016) comes up with about 40,000 results (as of 08 March 2016). The search results include a newspaper article from 1999 in which the word appeared in the headline “Catvertising; But our moggy tester gives 'first advert for pets' the paws-down” (Oliver, 1999) and with articles on Adweek: “John St. in Toronto Shifts Entire Focus to Catvertising 'Nobody wants to see ads anymore. They want cat videos” (Nudd, 2011), “Nine Awesome Cat Commercials That Drive The Internet Wild. These ads have way more than nine lives.” (Nudd, 2015).

Non-scientifically, catvertising has been taken up by the media. According to Benton (2013), catvertising increases brand awareness and gives the example of the dairy company Cravendale, whose brand awareness went up by 10 per cent and sales increased by 8 per cent after an ad aired featuring cats. Among other companies using cats in advertising are Ikea (Sweney, 2015), Skittles (Cox, 2014), Walmart, Samsung, Kia (Edwards, 2011), O², Bouygues Telecom, Sainsbury’s, and Novartis (Podhovnik, 2016). These examples do not include cat food and cat litter advertisements because the use of cats in those advertisements is an obvious choice.

2.4 Cats in Media and Communications

Animals, not just cats, often feature in newspaper stories. One study (Herzog & Galvin, 1992, p.79) claims that there are 9.6 animal items on average per issue in the tabloid press. Almost 800 articles and pictures from four tabloids from a five year period were examined qualitatively to find out about the roles animals play in the psychology of 20th century Americans. (Herzog & Galvin, 1992, p.78) Nine categories of animal portrayal were identified. Animals are objects of affection, saviours, threats, victims, things to be used, sex objects, imaginary and mythological beings, surrogate humans, and objects of wonder.

Within the category of animals as objects of affection, the study identified the sub-categories of weird pets, extreme devotion, and cute animal pictures. The cute animal pictures usually show a newborn or juvenile animal, who have the *Kindchenschema* with big eyes, large heads, and short stubby legs. Anthromorphic portrayal is often obvious (Herzog & Galvin, 1992, p.80f).

Another study dealing with the connection of animals and media is the study by Gerber et al. (2011), which analyses the media representation of animals as a risk to people, such as reports on BSE and bird flu (Gerber et al., 2011, p.17). Almost four and a half thousand articles from 1978 to 2007 in the Swiss media were examined with regard to animal as the “dangerous ‘Other’” (Gerber et al., 2011, p.19).

Animals in the article fall into five types of animal figures: undesirable, victim, companion, utilitarian, and shown animal. Shown animals refer to animals exhibited in shows, personified animals, studied or researched animals, animals in sports, and as oddities or art objects. (Gerber et al., 2011, p.23) In Gerber et al.’s study (2011, p.23), more than one third of all the articles featured the animal as an undesirable figure.

One finding is of special interest for this paper: Herzog and Galvin’s study (Herzog & Galvin, 1992) show that dogs appear more often in newspaper articles than cats. The fact that dogs feature in the media more often than cats has also been noted by Jason Eppink (personal communication, February 2016), yet cats are more likely to go viral. It seems, thus, that cats are qualitatively more effective and have more impact than dogs.

2.5 Cats 2.0

Cats are very popular on the internet. Cats appear online in internet videos, as LOLcats and as animated gifs, and cats on the internet generally represent feline sociability with humans, independence, intelligence, and the cats’ apparent secrecy and their association with the home (O’Meara, 2014).

The cats’ popularity on the internet is a fact taken up by Eppink (2015) in the exhibition “How Cats Took Over the Internet” at the Museum of the Moving Image in New York. For Eppink (2015) the popularity of cats is due to several reasons: the rise of user-generated content, pluralistic ignorance, the existence of a virtual cat park, the bored at work network, the global appeal of pictures with no need for language, path dependence, and the happiness factor. In other words, the possibilities of the internet and new technology support developments enabling people all over the world to post and consume cat pictures and videos with enjoyment and without shame in a community (Eppink, 2015).

Two studies deal with cat videos on the internet: O’Meara (2014) and Gall Myrick (2015) both discuss pleasures of watching cat videos from different perspectives. O’Meara (2014) analysed cat videos, which are usually generated by users with their mobile devices, and sees the appeal of cat videos in the cats’ apparent unselfconsciousness of being recorded and watched. Additionally, the audience tends

to anthropomorphise cats and project their own emotions onto cats. People also see cats as cute and as being good for their mood (O'Meara, 2014).

Gall Myrick (2015) conducted a study with almost 7000 respondents on the effect of cat videos on people. The study provides statistical evidence that cat videos act as positive mood enhancers. Though some people might experience a guilt trip after watching internet cats instead of working, cat videos could actually be used to positively influence emotional wellbeing (Gall Myrick, 2015).

Miltner (2012) looked at the appeal of LOLcats using focus groups. LOLcats are cat pictures with funny misspelled captions and might be considered the quintessential internet meme. LOLcats are created by users to provide not only entertainment but also social interaction, communication and expressions of emotions (Miltner, 2012, p.7f).

The humour of LOLcats lies in the anthropomorphic portrayal of cats and in the captions. The LOLcat sphere has its own language, namely lolspeak. Lolspeak is used as the lingua franca, is characterised by a childlike tone and incorrect grammar and is supposed to be the cat's voice in the picture. Lolspeak also serves as an in-joke in the LOLcat community (Miltner, 2012, p.30).

3 Cat Content

Section 3 discusses the research approach to cat content and outlines the results: Cats appear in the news, have their place in modern popular culture, play a role on the internet, and influence language.

Cat content generally deals with cats in popular culture, with news articles about cats, cat memes, and cat videos in the public sphere, such as online newspapers and magazines, social media, print media, TV, movies, books, paintings, and merchandise.

3.1 Approaching Cat Content

The approach taken for this research project is an inductive approach and is based on a two-year continuous observation from 2014 to 2016. The aim is to define and categorise cat content and to outline some impacts. The research project has been accompanied by the blog *The Meow Factor* (Podhovnik, 2016), in which some research results and initial observations are documented.

The research involves active interaction with the research subject: the author interacts as *@freemurrl* on Twitter and Instagram and as *The Meow Factor* on Facebook and on the blogging site WordPress.com.

The first field of observation are news stories featuring cats. The second sphere includes social media, like YouTube, Twitter, Facebook, and Instagram, and WordPress to follow developments of internet cats: social media phenomena like *Grumpy Cat* and *Henri, the Existentialist Cat*, user generated cat content on social media platforms, and cat blogs.

The third field touched upon is popular culture. To be precise, cats in TV series, films, and books. When intentionally looking out for cats, it becomes obvious that cats are almost ubiquitous, at least in western culture.

In the course of research it has become apparent that cats are present not just in online or offline media but are also, perhaps increasingly, used as cat merchandise, for example on everyday household goods, like mugs, key-rings, and calendars, in advertising, and in fashion, such as the *Choupette Collection* by Karl Lagerfeld (karl.com, 2016) or the *Kitty Collection* by Charlotte Olympia (2016). Sanrio's cat *Hello Kitty* is a merchandise phenomenon with items ranging from clothes, accessories, and toys to credit cards (Sanrio, 2016) and airplanes (Eva Air, 2016). Though cat merchandise could also be called cat content due to its presence in the public sphere, it is not described here.

3.2 #catnews

With the help of online news aggregators, newspaper articles on cats have been collected and categorised. On the English-language news.yahoo.com and the Russian-language news.yandex.ru English *cat*, German *Katze*, and Russian *кошка* (koška) have been used as key-words for the news search. The results show that cats feature in the media very often. For example, in February 2014 alone, 108 cat news articles appeared in the English speaking media in one month (February 2014), and 31 Russian language articles appeared just on one day (28 February 2014).

To establish the categories of news stories, a qualitative data analysis with the help of QDA Miner Lite (Provalis Research, n.d.) was conducted with the 108 cat articles in English. News articles about cats can fall into ten categories: cruelty to cats, show cats, cats and business, cats and human health, homeless cats, feral cats, cat companions, cat heroes, unbelievable cats, and internet cats. Cat news stories can be put in more than one category, such as feral cats being a danger to human health or a celebrity internet cat making an impact in business.

The categories are on the whole self-explanatory. At first glance, some categories are similar to each other and are therefore explained in more detail here: Cat heroes are cats who have helped humans in some way, such as a cat saving people from a burning house, while unbelievable cats refers to stories like run-away cats returning home after years or cats surviving trips hidden in the motor block of a car. Homeless cats and feral cats differ from each other by definition: homeless cats refer more to stray cats which are essentially used to handling by people, whereas feral cats are untamed cats living in cat colonies.

The coding frequency, shown in Table 1 below, gives some idea about which categories are used the most. However, as the analysis is based on only 108 English-language articles of one month found on news.yahoo.com, the results are not representative.

Table 1 – Coding Frequency of Story Types

Code	Count	% Codes
unbelievable cats	27	29.70%
cruelty to cats	19	20.90%
cat companions	12	13.20%
feral cats	11	12.10%
homeless cats	8	8.80%
internet cats	5	5.50%
cat heroes	3	3.30%
show cats	3	3.30%
cats and human health	2	2.20%
cats and business	1	1.10%

Source: Author

Apart from categorising cat news stories based on the story type, news values (Galtung & Ruge, 1965) can be applied to find out why cat stories make the news. Selections of stories are based on unexpectedness, unambiguity, reference to elite nations, reference to elite people, continuity, meaningfulness, negativity, and cultural proximity.

Cat stories often carry with them the news values of unexpectedness, unambiguity, continuity, meaningfulness, composition, and cultural proximity. The story on a cat stuck on a pole for three days the so-called Hydro Pole Cat (Podhovnik, 2016) is a good example: the story is unexpected, unambiguous, meaningful and culturally near. Additionally, the story was covered for a few days telling the reader about the rescue and the final adoption of the cat by a family.

Unexpectedness and composition are probably the key factors for cat news stories. Some cat stories make the news worldwide because of that. The news sections range from current affairs to sports. In the aftermath of the terrorist attacks in Paris in 2015, news around the world focussed on the cat pictures tweeted with the hashtag #brusselslockdown. News items appeared for example in Chile, the UK, the US, Italy, Austria, and Russia. Other examples include the cat strolling onto the football pitch during a game of Everton FC and the cat on the tennis court in a WTA tournament, which appeared in the USA, the UK, Germany, Spain, New Zealand, Ukraine, and Russia.

3.3 Modern Popular Cat Culture

When using the term 'popular culture' in the sense of cultural artefacts or media content produced for mass audiences (Chandler & Munday, 2011, p.327), some productions featuring cats have become a commercial success for companies. The roles of cats as warriors, friends, familiars, guardians, healers, or mystical creatures have not changed. The image of the cat is generally positive.

Cats are now heroes in popular culture in music, literature, and film: Andrew Lloyd Webber's musical *Cats*, Erin Hunter's *Warrior Cats*, Judith Kerr's *Mog*, the animated series *Tom & Jerry*, the comic books with *Garfield*, *Simon's Cat*, and *Oatmeal*, Disney's *Aristocats*, and DreamWorks' movie *Puss in Boots*, which is a spin-off to the

successful *Shrek* series featuring the cat Puss in Boots. Cats also have guest appearances, such as in the *Star Trek* series, *The Simpsons*, and *James Bond* movies, and are, in addition to appearing, recurring song themes in popular series like *Friends* and *Big Bang Theory*.

The role of the cat as healer and guardian is especially evident in real life story accounts, such as James Bowen's extremely successful *The Street Cat Bob* series, in which a stray cat helps a homeless man to get back on his feet, or Gwen Cooper's *Homer's Odyssey: A Fearless Feline Tale, or How I Learned about Love and Life with a Blind Wonder Cat*, with the blind cat Homer defeating a burglar.

The cat is still a muse for art. Cats in art are directed towards a broader audience, for example with the CatArtShow (2016) and the Internet Cat Video Festival (Walker Art Center, 2016), also referred to as Catvidfest. The CatArtShow showcases paintings of cats by modern artists, and the Catvidfest is a compilation of cat videos shown at festivals around the world.

3.4 Catnet

As mentioned in the section Cat 2.0, cats are very popular on the internet, and social media play an important role. Social media can be regarded as a virtual meeting place and refers to a broad category of communications media enabling people to interact with each other across geographic and linguistic boundaries regardless of whether they know each other or not (Chandler & Munday, 2011, p.397).

Based on algorithms, social media platforms suggest posts which might interest the users. Eppink (2015) refers to this phenomenon as path dependence. In other words, the previous online history of a user influences which posts appear in the newsfeed or in the search suggestions.

The social media platforms discussed here are Facebook and Instagram. On Facebook, cats appear in different ways: as memes, cat videos, and cat gifs on users' newsfeed, as cats with their own accounts, in special interest Facebook communities, as shelter cats waiting to be rescued, and as cats as public figures with their own pages. Examples for a Facebook community is *For the Love of Black Cats (Black Cat Appreciation Page)* with almost 195,000 likes (as of 17 March 2016), the news/media website *Love Meow* with more than 2 million likes, and the non-profit organisation *Cats Protection* with 368,000 likes. Among cats as public figures are *Grumpy Cat* with 8.5 million likes, *Nyan Cat* with almost 4.9 million likes, *Lil Bub* with 2.7 million likes, and *Henri le Chat Noir* with 175,000 likes.

The photo-sharing platform Instagram can be considered as one of the virtual cat parks (Eppink, 2015) where users show their cats to others. In the absence of a real meeting place where cat owners can meet other cat owners together with their pets, cat owners have the possibility to share their cats' photos. There are more than 87 million photos and videos with the hashtag #cat (as of 17 March 2016)¹.

¹ There are more than 98 million photos and videos with the hashtag #dog. While there are more dogs on instagram.com, cats are much more likely to go viral (Eppink, 2015)

With regard to cats, Instagram accounts can be categorised as follows: users who post primarily cat photos and videos, organisations posting photos and videos of their cat mascots, animal charities posting rescue cat photos, and users who post cat photos only once in a while. Accounts are often given the name of the cat, such as *freemurrlli*, *uglycatmary*, *ravenvonmaven*, *scootertheblackcat*, *simbathebengal2015*, or *station57cat*.

Sharing of cat related topics also happens on blogs and on Twitter. One such blog is *Katzenworld* (Katzenworld Blog Team, 2016), which is a special interest blog dedicated to cats and cat products. This blog has more than 5,400 followers. To give an example of Twitter, the hashtag #academicswithcats attracted more than 1000 people to take part in Academia Obscura's competition, which also featured in the Guardian and the Times Higher Education (Lock, 2015; Wright, 2015a, 2015b). The cat community is, thus, very active.

3.5 Caterwauling

Users and traditional media alike use specific language referring to cats. In addition to LOLspeak, which was briefly discussed in Section 2.5, wordplay is quite common. Even though English is the lingua franca of the internet, but, depending on the community, other languages play a role, too. Meme captions, hashtags, and comments are not limited to English. To communicate with users of specific language and to increase the reach of an account, the languages of the hashtags are not limited to the languages a specific user speaks. Users include hashtags in other languages.

Wordplay in English includes for example *pawtrait* for *portrait*, *purrfect* for *perfect*, *furreal* for *for real*, *meowgic* for *magic*, *meowjesty* for *majesty*, *paws* for *pause*, *purr review* for *peer review*. In Italian *meowgiorno* might be used for *buon giorno*, and in Russian the phrase *pret-a-kote* – *kote* is a Russian slang term for cats - was created by an online store selling cat merchandise as a wordplay on *pret-a-porter*.

Hashtags are also of interest. Table 2 below shows a selection of hashtags, collected in February 2016. Most hashtags are in English, but there are also examples from German, Italian, and Russian.

Table 2 – Hashtags on instagram.com

	English	German	Italian	Russian
general	#cat, #cats, #catsofinstagram, #catstagram, #happycat, #instacat, #catsagram, #catoftheday, #caturday, #lazycat, #catnap, #fatcat, #catselfie, #ilovecats	#katze, #katzen, #mieze, #katzenliebe, #babykatze, #katzenbabys, #schmusekatze, #instakatze, #katzenaufinstagram, #katzenselfie, #catcontent, #katzencontent	#gatto, #gatti, #instagatto, #gattogram, #gattoneo	#кот (kot), #кошка (koška), #котэ (kotè), #котик (kotik),
kittens	#kitten, #kittens, #kitty, #kittenofinstagram, #kittylove, #cutekitty, #instakitty, #kittycat, #prettykitty, #kittygram, #softkitty, #sillykitty	#babykatze, #katzenbabys, #kätzchen, #kätzchenliebe		#коятя (kotjata), #котейки (kotejki), #котенок (kotënok)
people	#catlover, #catlovers, #catlady, #crazycatlady			
cat-specific	#blackcat, #blackcats, #blackcatsofinstagram, #blackcatsrule, #tabbycat, #gingercat, #siamesecat, #calicocat, ...	#schwarzekatze		#чернаякошка (černajakoška), #чёрнаякошка (čërnajakoška)
sounds	#meow, #meows, #meowsie	#miau		#мяу (mjau)
days	#caturday, #tummyrubtuesday, #wonderfulwhiskerswednesday			

Source: Author

Apart from the hashtags, the captions are of interest. In the captions, the cats are very often given a voice with *I*, like in LOLspeak, and call their owners *my humans*. There is a slight difference between the use in English and German. While in English the pet owners refer to themselves as *mom* or *dad*, they call themselves *Dosenöffner* (can opener) in German.

4 Conclusion

Cats share not only people's real lives but also their virtual world, and cat content plays a big role in the public sphere. Nowadays, cats have a positive image and are regarded as fellow creatures, companions, symbols, metaphors, allegories, heroes, guardians, healers, and muses. Cats are appreciated for their cuteness, secrecy, and independence. Not the roles of the cat have changed throughout history but the technical possibilities which are used to look at and portray cats. Cat content influences the public sphere with cats having become the symbol for the entertainment and communication possibilities of the internet.

In how far and why cats influence the public sphere still needs to be investigated. While this paper has given an overview over cat content research and has made some initial observations of cats in the public sphere, more research is needed concerning

qualitative content analysis of news articles, the analysis of news selection, the language, cross-cultural approaches to online communities and the image of cats, and the reasons why cats are so successful in the public sphere of today.

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