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Overview of European Audience Research

Research report from the COST Action IS0906
Transforming Audiences, Transforming Societies



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INTRODUCTION

The Action “Transforming Audiences, Transforming Societies” is a network funded by the European COST programme (European Cooperation in Science and Technology). COST provides support for all types of networking activities (such as workshops, conferences, and short-term scientific exchanges). Its goal is to coordinate nationally or otherwise funded research on a European level, connect researchers on a regular basis and reduce fragmentation in the research field. A project funded by the COST programme is called an “Action”. The COST framework is organised around 9 scientific domains. The Action “Transforming Audiences, Transforming Societies” belongs to the ISCH domain (Individuals, Societies, Cultures and Health). More information on the COST framework can be found on the COST website at: <http://www.cost.eu>.

The Action IS0906 “Transforming Audiences, Transforming Societies” (2010-2014) is coordinating research efforts into the key transformations of European audiences within a changing media and communication environment, identifying their complex interrelationships with the social, cultural and political areas of European societies. Four interconnected but distinct topics concerning audiences are being developed, all of pressing importance to both European communication research and European societies: (Working group 1) New media genres, media literacy and trust in the media; (Working group 2) Audience interactivity and participation; (Working group 3) The role of media and ICT use for evolving social relationships; and (Working group 4) Audience transformations and social integration. The Action offers a perspective which is different from that of conventional ICT-focused audience research, by (a) bringing together experts who study a wide range of media, ‘old’ mass media included, to understand how these relate to each other and to everyday life, and (b) paying equal attention to audience-focused issues (especially media interpretations and mediated experiences) and user-focused issues (both adoption and use of technologies). The Action concentrates on being of benefit to the scientific and education communities, to media, communication and ICT industries and professionals, to policy-makers and regulatory bodies, and to media-oriented NGOs and citizen initiatives.

The state of audience research in European countries is not yet properly charted due to the fragmented and varied nature of the field. Obtaining an overview was both an objective of the Action in its own right, and a precondition of other achievements. For the first meeting of the Working Groups (WG) in Lisbon (November 11-13, 2010), the Steering Group (SG) of the Action invited the members to submit short national essays that review existing and emerging audience research in their respective countries. The reviews could be theoretical, topical, methodological, empirical or institutional. Most of them were presented in the WG sessions of the Lisbon meeting. The SG requested some revisions or additional essays in order to better cover the countries for which the essays were too focused, or to cover the countries that were not represented at all. In total, 58 essays covering the 30 participating countries were delivered and are available on the Action website at: <http://www.cost-transforming-audiences.eu>. This research report brings together these 59 essays as well as a tentative synthesis in the concluding section.

AUSTRIA

AUDIENCE AND RECEPTION RESEARCH IN AUSTRIA

| | |
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I Introduction: Locations and profile of communications in Austria and structure of the essay (Ingrid Paus-Hasebrink)

Austrian communication and audience research is quite diversified and located in three different institutes of higher education: Vienna, Salzburg and Klagenfurt.

In Vienna, two academic institutions are mainly engaged in audience research: the Department of Communication at the University of Vienna (Institut für Publizistik- und Kommunikationswissenschaft) and the Commission for Comparative Media and Communication Studies at the Austrian Academy of Sciences.¹ At the University of Vienna historical media and communication research is traditionally strong. It positions research on journalism as well as on the media professions and media quality in the field of public communication. In addition Vienna offers public relations research, media psychology, research on new media (e.g. Social Media), and gender research. The Commission for Comparative Media and Communication Studies deals with the role of the media in political communication. The work in this area covers both the structural and cultural dimensions as well as the interplay between communication and political science.

At the University of Salzburg (Department of Communications) research is conducted within six divisions: communication theory and media systems, journalism, public relations and organisational communication, transcultural communication, communication politics and media economy, and topics related to research on audiovisual and online communication. The Centre of Information, Communication Technology and Society (ICT&S), an interdisciplinary research center (Computer Sciences and Communications), is closely related to the Department of Communication in Salzburg. It focuses on Internet related topics like usability (human computer interaction), e-participation, e-democracy, and the social web).

The main research areas at the Department of Media and Communications at the University of Klagenfurt are organisational and strategic communication, film and television studies, new media and digital culture, especially their role in learning contexts, as well as media pedagogy and popular culture.

The essay at hand provides an overview of the central lines of audience and reception studies in Austria. It is structured as follows: Firstly it looks back into the rich tradition of empirical research on audience and reception topics in Austria. Secondly it looks into the current academic research related to audience and reception in Austria, which is located at the Universities in Vienna, Salzburg and Klagenfurt; the essay portrays the main research interests in these places. It only takes academic research into account; both commercial or market oriented media research and research which is done by the radio and television broadcasters or other non-academic institutions² will not be mentioned.

II History reception research Austria (Elisabeth Klaus)

Austria has a strong tradition in empirical reception study and audience research. In 1925 Paul F. Lazarsfeld established a research institute, die "Wirtschaftspsychologische Forschungsstelle", in Vienna dedicated to the application of psychology to social and economic

¹ It should be mentioned, that there is research at the University in Vienna which is related to the Department of Education and Media Pedagogy (Christian Swertz); in cooperation with other institutions, e.g. at the Donau-University Krems (a postgraduate institution), we can find a strong tie on games studies.

² Research on young people's media use is also done by the Austrian Institute for Youth Research in Vienna; using mixed methods: quantitative and qualitative.

problems. In 1930-1931 the institute conducted a survey of radio listeners on behalf of the Austrian RAVAG (Österreichische Radio-Verkehrs-Aktiengesellschaft) that probably was the first large-scale study on the audiences of radio worldwide. The dissertation of a young scholar, Herta Herzog, „Stimme und Persönlichkeit“ (Voice and Personality, 1933) was dedicated to the same issue and raised the question how the voice of the radio announcer influenced the perception of his or her personality by listeners. The Institute became famous for its multi-method study „Die Arbeitslosen von Marienthal“ (The Unemployed of Marienthal, 1933), that explored the influence of unemployment on the social life of workers and their families. Marie Jahoda, Hans Zeisel and Lazarsfeld work is still groundbreaking, both for its lucidity, its clarity of writing and its skilful and creative use of different methods. This very potent research tradition came to an abrupt end due to the authoritarian, anti-Semitic turn in Austria in the 1930s. Lazarsfeld, followed in 1935 by Herzog, migrated to the United States and became the director of the famed „Office of Radio Research“ (ORR), the later „Bureau of Applied Social Research“. Within this transatlantic context the Vienna tradition enfolded its full potential. Lazarsfeld conducted many large-scale studies on the effects of mass media communication on society, especially on voting behaviour and in this context he developed the „two-step-flow“-model of communication. At the same time Herzog substantiated the need for qualitative audience research. She took a leading role in designing the questionnaire for „The Invasion from Mars“ (1940). „Professor Quiz“ (1940), for which Herzog also conducted in-depth interviews, until today provides many insights into the attractiveness of Quiz shows for their audiences. In her work Herzog laid the foundation for the uses-and-gratifications model of communication. The fruitfulness of using both quantitative and qualitative interviews was demonstrated by Herzog’s work on soap-opera listeners. When she returned to Europe in the 1980s she followed this research tradition with work on Dallas and Dynasty.

III Audience and reception research in Vienna (Birgit Stark)

At the University of Vienna, the following scholars are connected to audience research: Peter Vitouch, Jürgen Grimm, Gerit Götzenbrucker and for a short time in Vienna Klaus Schönbach.³

Peter Vitouch is involved in audience research of a mostly psychological kind. His research profile can be described with the following keywords: media/cultivation effects of TV and Internet. In particular, pervasive consequences of cumulative exposure to television’s messages are substantial part of his research. Generally speaking, his work combines theories and research methods from various traditions of media psychology and mass communication research.

Jürgen Grimm’s main research fields are the use and effects of media, in particular, the reception and impact of specific TV genres/contents (e.g., reality TV, talk shows or media violence). For example, in his last book he examined the audience of ‘Super Nanny’s’ in a comparative perspective.

Gerit Götzenbrucker’s work is dealing with media innovations, technology assessment, social networks as well as theory and practice of new media and ICTs including the fields of media cultures and critical media studies. Her recent projects are dealing with the impact of social media both on an individual and societal level and gamer-careers (habitus and lifestyle of online role playing gamers in Austria). Therefore, her methodological focus lies on social network analysis, technology assessment and evaluation.

The Commission for Comparative Media and Communication Studies is the only independent non-university media research institute in Austria. In the Commission’s new area of interest, research on media use: it was recently possible – for the first time in Austria – to establish a long-term secondary analysis of Media Analysis data. The relationship between traditional mass media and the Internet is the focus of Birgit Stark’s investigations. The studies examine both the impact of the Internet on the use of traditional media and the differences between younger and older users. In the meantime, the primarily quantitative analysis was

³ He is a well known researcher who conducted the dynamic transactional approach on media research (together with Werner Früh)

complemented by qualitative data with the focus on changing news media consumption among teens and young adults in Austria.⁴

To sum it up, current academic audience research in Vienna⁵ addresses some selected topics of audience research, but there is no broader program with interrelated lines of research.

IV Audience and reception research in Klagenfurt and Salzburg (Ingrid Paus-Hasebrink)

Similar to Vienna in Klagenfurt reception studies are done only by few scholars:⁶ Brigitte Hipfl and Christina Schachtner. Research in Klagenfurt is characterized by the following lines of traditions: Education and Learning and Media pedagogy, Cultural Studies.

Brigitte Hipfl in her rich work focuses on the question: How do media content of film and television contribute to the construction of meaning? Starting from the theoretical basis of post structural and psychoanalytical theories as well as from cultural dimensions and conflicts a central topic is strongly related to memory work and narrating media experiences. Another research topic concerns the border discourse with a focus on 'changing nations, changing stories in European border communities and cultural conflicts'. Hipfl asks for regional violence prevention against the background of migrants and their perception of media. Another area in her reception research is related to women's medial and cultural constructions of peace.

Christina Schachtner⁷ recently conducted a study on 'Subject Constructions and Digital Culture. Communicative Publics in Cyberspace'. The study explores the subject constructions of children, youth and young adults at the age between 8 and 30 in the realm of virtual communicative spaces. The main focus of attention is drawn to the communicative practices. Her research interest includes the question if and how the topic of gender affects the style and content of communication as a structuring element in identity processes.

Audience and reception research in Klagenfurt is mainly based on qualitative methodology.

In Salzburg research on topics related to usage and reception processes is mainly done by three researchers: Margit Böck, Elisabeth Klaus, and Ingrid Paus-Hasebrink.⁸ They mainly conduct qualitative studies, but often combine these with quantitative research and data from representative studies. In addition at the ICT&S-Center in Salzburg Ursula Maier-Rabler is working on topics related especially to Internet and usability research; research on human computer interacting is done by Manfred Tscheligi.

A main research cluster is on topics in the framework of Media Entertainment and Popular Culture (Klaus; Paus-Hasebrink) and another on young people's media use (Böck with a focus on print media; Paus-Hasebrink with a focus on radio, television, Internet and Social Media. Margit Böck is a well known reception researcher whose work relates to the usage of print media, especially in the context of reading competencies⁹ related to class and gender. Her research on reception processes has a media pedagogical background and is driven by the goal to improve media competence.

Elisabeth Klaus has done research on entertainment programs like soap operas and reality TV (a multi-method study of the popular Austrian Show *Starmania* and together with

⁴ Moreover, under the scope of this research focus, Birgit Stark and Melanie Magin provide an overview of "The Changing Austrian Media Landscape" – for the first time in 15 years – in the most recent edition of the "Relation" book series.

⁵ Two other research institutions in Vienna concentrate on audience research in a more praxis-orientated way. The 'Medienhaus Wien' is an organisation for research and further education, especially engaged in the field of journalism. Their current projects are concerned with international media convergence, press subsidies, media accountability in Europe, comparative journalism research or the future of journalism. The 'FH Wien University of Applied Sciences of WKW' also conducts applied research and responds to the specific demands of companies. One line of research ("Public Value –The Future of Public Broadcasting") addresses the current debate about public broadcasters in a comparative perspective, and includes the use and assessment of public service broadcasting among younger audiences.

⁶ This information relates to the websites of the University of Klagenfurt.

⁷ Claudia Ebner-Roth, a former graduate student of Christina Schachtner's, pondered in her dissertation the role of daily soaps in the every day lives of young people.

⁸ In the late 1980ties and early 1990ties Kurt Luger conducted a number of reception studies concerning the media usage of young people in special regions of Austria and Nepal.

⁹ In the past this topic has been intensively researched by Angela Fritz as well, who is currently working as a lecturer at the University of Vienna.

Barbara O'Connor a cross national study on young people's use of Casting Shows in Austria and Ireland), and on the perception of a famous TV program broadcasted by the main television channel ORF 1 (*Vier Frauen und ein Todesfall*). Her work is located with feminist audience studies and explores the construction of (intersectional) identities through the use of media as well as the function of media in everyday life.¹⁰

Ingrid Paus-Hasebrink's main research interests relate to children's, adolescents' and young adults' usage of radio, television, and the Internet. She ponders the research question which meaning young people derive from their favorite (cross mediated) media programmes.¹¹ She conducts research on children's usage of radio programs in Austria as a whole and especially on the role of science radio programs for young people¹²; daily talks of young people (e.g. the very famous daily talk show *Barbara Karlich Show*), reality TV programs (for example *Taxi Orange*, an Austrian version of reality TV such as Big Brother) and daily soaps. Another research field relates to cross media strategies underlying children's favorite media brands. 2005 she started a long term panel study (until 2012), on the media usage of socially disadvantaged children and their families and the role of media within the socialization processes of these children. Recently the Internet and the social Web became a central research topic, e.g. on the role of the social Web in the every day lives of young people between 12 and 24 years old,¹³ in cooperation with the German Hans Bredow Institute. Currently she is the Austrian member of the European research project *EU Kids Online I and II*, a study on the Internet usage (chances and risks of the Internet) of children, young people and their parents (EU Kids Online I) and the role of risks and harm of the Internet usage in 27 European countries (EU Kids Online II). Besides that she did research on the role of digital television in Austria, e. g. DVBT (Digital Television Broadcasting Terrestrial), for different social groups and on the perception and usage of interactive television (an experimental study).

V Conclusion (Ingrid Paus-Hasebrink)

The rich tradition on empirical audience and reception in Austria (Lazarsfeld, Herzog) has become one of the groundwork of global communication studies. Today the bulk of academic research on audience and reception is carried out by only few individual scholars at three Universities Vienna, Salzburg and Klagenfurt with programmes in Communications and the Commission for Comparative Media and Communication Studies at the Austrian Academy of Sciences. These researchers specialize on diverse issues which relate to the following thematic clusters: entertainment and popular culture, pedagogical aspects of media use, the role of media in the every day lives of children and adolescents, digital and interactive television, and the impact of the Internet on the use of traditional media. They work with different theoretical and methodological approaches; while Vienna mainly relies on quantitative research, in Salzburg and in Klagenfurt qualitative methods are at the focus of research activities.

¹⁰ In this context, she has summarized the research on gendered audiencehood and done theoretical work on the concept of pleasure as well as on the problematic distinction between entertainment and information.

¹¹ In this context, she developed an integrative theoretical model of research on audiovisual and online communication which is based on a molar perspective; to reach this goal she mostly works with the concept of triangulation (see Norman Denzin), on the methodological level by combining quantitative (e.g. representative standardized questionnaires) and qualitative methods (e.g. focus groups and guided interviews). In her research (e.g. on the role of radio, respectively of daily talks or reality TV programmes in the every day lives of children and adolescents, and on the usage of the social web in the every day lives of adolescents and young adults) she identified patterns of action which show what young people actually do with the media services and for which purposes they use it.

¹² This research, a cooperation study with the non-commercial radio stations in Germany and Austria, especially the 'Radiofabrik Salzburg', a non-commercial radio station, has been funded within context of the 6th. program of framework of the European Commission.

¹³ One central question is how these media services are being used by young people for forming and defining concepts of the self and identity.

BELGIUM

AUDIENCE RESEARCH IN FLANDERS (NORTH BELGIUM)

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Keywords television, cultural identity, ethnic minorities, reception analysis

Conceptual and methodological observations on media and cultural identity

This essay will first give a brief and general overview of audience research in Flanders, the Dutch-speaking northern part of Belgium, situating it within the academic context of communication studies. Then, it will go more deeply into a sub-field that has recently boomed, the issue of ethnic minority media use. Here, recent Flemish research will be discussed and linked to similar Dutch research, which often inspired it.

Academic audience research in Flanders is very diverse and quite scattered, so it is not a discipline in its own right. Rather, audience research takes places in different institutions and using diverse methodologies, all linked to the field of communication studies. This field developed mostly from the 1970s, as part of faculties of social sciences (typically including sociology and political science). The K.U.Leuven was the first university to install a degree and later department of communication studies, followed by the universities of Ghent (U. Gent), Brussels (VUB) and Antwerp (U. of Antwerp). Now there are four medium-sized departments of communication studies in Flanders, all operating in a social-science context, apart from the one in Brussels, which is part of a humanities faculty. This institutional context explains the strength of social science, often quantitative research on media uses and effects, particularly at the university of Leuven. In Brussels, a more qualitative and critical approach was developed, while Ghent and Antwerp foster a mixture of both.

While the roots of Flemish communication research can be situated in journalism studies, with a strong German influence, this international orientation was further elaborated to also include American 'administrative' communications research as well as British cultural studies, to name but two main influences. Flemish communications research is also closely connected to and influenced by Dutch research, sharing a language, an annual conference (*Etmaal van de Communicatiewetenschap*) and a journal (*Tijdschrift voor Communicatiewetenschap*). For a more elaborate overview of Flemish communication studies, see Pauwels and Burgelman (2007) and Puustinen and Agdogan (2008).

Mirroring their generalist educational degrees in communication studies, the Flemish departments of communication studies host a wide variety of researchers covering the breadth of the communication and media studies field. Diverse media and fields of research such as film, journalism, television, advertisement and ICTs are all covered at all universities. Audience research is seldom a specialisation in its own right, but at each university it is one of the approaches, beside analysis of media structures, technologies, genres and texts. Historically, the focus in communication research has always been more on media structures and institutions than on media messages or audiences. From the late 1990s, as the amount of communications PhD's rapidly increased, more and more people started to specialise in a subfield of empirical audience studies, such as Jan Van den Bulck (KULeuven) on cultivation analysis, Philippe Meers (U. Antwerp) on film audiences and Jo Bauwens (VUB) on television audiences, to name but a few. It is mostly from the 2000s, with the rise of ICTs, that audience research has boomed, strongly supported by the IBBT (Institute for Broadband Technology). This institute has channelled a lot of government funding to research institutes in Brussels (SMIT), Ghent (MICT) and Leuven (CUO), stimulating interdisciplinary projects with a strong orientation on industry needs. Nowadays, audience research on ICTs is one of the prime fields of Flemish communications research.

Another emerging field in Flemish communications research deals with representations of and media uses by ethnic minorities, again strongly echoing Dutch research in this field. Until recently, cultural identity was a more pressing issue in Flanders than in the Netherlands, as it

has always been a contentious issue within the Belgian (now federalised) context. For instance, public broadcasting has always been strongly linked to the cultural emancipation of Flanders (Van den Bulck, 2001; Dhoest, 2004), while audiences research has disclosed a strong attachment to domestic programming (Biltereyst, 1991; Dhoest, 2009a). Over the past decades, however, cultural identity has become problematic in novel ways, both in Flanders and in the Netherlands. Post 9/11, the former model of the Netherlands as an open, tolerant multicultural society was questioned while Flanders, which had mostly been reticent on issues of cultural diversity, was equally forced to face the ethnic tensions it harboured.

The Netherlands taking the lead, research on media (mostly television) and ethnicity boomed over the past decade. For instance, using a quantitative survey d'Haenens, van Summeren, Saeys and Koeman (2004) found differences between Dutch and Flemish youngsters of Turkish and Moroccan descent, distinguishing between 'homelanders', 'adapters' and 'omnivores', depending on the preference for Turkish/Moroccan media, Dutch-language media, or both. For television viewing, they found that a majority (61%) of Turkish youngsters living in the Netherlands are omnivores, whereas Moroccans are often adapters (47%). Similarly, Peeters & d'Haenens (2005) distinguish between media uses aimed at 'bridging' the distance between Dutch culture and the culture of origin (and thus leading to integration) as opposed to 'bonding' around the culture of origin. In Flanders, Devroe, Driesen and Saeys (2005) quantitatively studied media ownership and use among youngsters of Moroccan and Turkish descent, the largest non-European ethnic groups in Belgium. They concluded that these have equal access to television as Flemish youth, so media ownership is not a factor of social inequality between ethnic majority and minorities. Devroe et al. did note differences between both ethnic minority groups, the Turkish more often preferring their 'own' (Turkish) media, but overall other socio-demographic variables such as gender and level of education have more impact than cultural differences. Similarly, Sinardet and Mortelmans (2006) conducted a large-scale survey on the media use of ethnic minority (Turkish and Moroccan) youth in Flanders, concluding that the level and type of education was more influential for channel preference than ethnicity. Overall, they found little interest in 'ethnic' media, with the exception – again – of Turkish viewers.

There is also a more qualitative thread of research on ethnic minority media uses. In the Netherlands, Ogan (2001) used in-depth interviews to study the media use of the Turkish diaspora in Amsterdam. Like the studies mentioned before, she remarks their strong bond with the home culture, which she partly links to a strong discontent with their representation in mainstream media. Ultimately, however, Ogan stresses the diversity and variations within this group, cautioning against essentialism. de Bruin (2005) studied the role of popular television drama in identity formation among ethnic minority teenagers, using individual and focus group interviews. He stresses the active engagement with TV drama in the negotiation of multiple (ethnic and other) identities. Using focus groups with Dutch ethnic minority youth, de Leeuw (2005) found a strong discontent with the representation of non-white ethnic groups in Dutch drama. In Flanders, Dhoest (2009b) found a similar discontent and lack of identification with Flemish soaps among ethnic minority emerging adults, while Devroe et al. (2010) also found discontent with news representations.

While this and similar research is definitely of great social relevance, it faces particular conceptual problems. In Dutch, the current word used to designate ethnic minorities is 'allochtoon', referring to people born in another country, as opposed to 'autochtoon', people born 'here'. This term was introduced to replace the former 'immigrant' and initially had more positive connotations. However, over the years it has become problematic, as subsequent generations of ethnic minorities are now born in Belgium and the Netherlands and have the Belgian or Dutch nationality. Moreover, the term 'allochtoon' is often restricted to ethnic groups with non-European roots. Most fundamentally, the terms 'autochtoon' and 'allochtoon' install and confirm a strong binary division and opposition in society.

These conceptual struggles are not unique and they illustrate a problem inherent in the very definition of ethnicity. Defining ethnic groups implies creating borders between groups, assuming homogeneity within and differences with the outside. As social, discursive constructions, ethnicities are temporary and changeable but they are seen as natural, fixed and

eternal and they are, indeed, very real in their consequences. In this way, definitions of ethnicity as they are used in everyday life carry echoes of racism, replacing the idea of biologically fixed differences by the idea of culturally determined borders.

These conceptual problems have methodological ramifications. Quantitative survey research needs clear categories, often using a working definition of 'allochtoon' as having at least one (grand)parent born outside Europe. The Flemish research mentioned above focuses mostly on Turkish and Moroccan youth, which is problematic as very diverse groups are lumped together under the label 'allochtoon' and even when they're not, there is an assumption of cultural homogeneity within these groups. There is a degree of essentialism involved in the use of ethnicity as an independent variable, which is supposed to determine behaviour. Of course, this is not exceptional in survey research, where other categories such as gender, nationality, etc. are used in the same way. Also, one could say that such research doesn't assume similarity within ethnic groups but actually investigates it. Still, there is an underlying assumption that ethnicity is a primary source of differences, although actual research often has to conclude that (at least for younger respondents) other socio-demographic variables such as gender and level of education better explain differences in media use.

Because of its smaller scale and in-depth approach, qualitative research seems to be better suited to take into account individual differences in contemporary identities. It is more in tune with recent thinking about identities as hybrid and changeable, multi-dimensional, layered, multiple and intersectional. Qualitative research on ethnic minority media use mostly relies on in-depth interviews or focus groups. Despite the advantages of such approaches, essentialism is also looming here, as there is always a need to categorise. For instance, when researching a specific ethnic (minority) group, the starting assumption is often that ethnicity is a crucial independent variable. Usually, the focus is on similarities, looking for shared patterns of behaviour and opinion, which are then linked to ethnicity. The risk, then, is that 'ethnic groups' are too easily seen as interpretive communities with shared codes.

Similarly, when research compares ethnic groups (be it two minorities, or majority and minority groups), the underlying assumption is that ethnicity is a basic factor in variations between these groups. The tendency will then be to focus not on similarities between the groups but on differences, which are linked to ethnicity (Bauwens, 1996). Of course, again, the aim is generally to research whether ethnicity does play a role, but by framing respondents and observations in a particular way, ethnicity is brought to the fore so the answer will most probably be that, yes, ethnicity does strongly matter. In this way, this research may be partly constructing the phenomena it is researching: by bringing it to attention and stressing it, such research may overestimate the importance of ethnicity, adding to its 'salience' in the research context while it may be less dominant in everyday media use. Again, as with survey research, this problem is not specific to this field, but it does clearly illustrate the danger of circularity of qualitative research.

Thinking about possible solutions to these problems, one approach is to closely or ethnographically study small groups or individuals. This allows for analyses of the concrete intersection and layering of identities, doing justice to the complexity of actual identities and avoiding a reduction of respondents to ethnicity. While this allows the researcher to get close to the complexity of reality, the limited possibility for generalisation and insights in broader social patterns may be a high price to pay. One may end up with a view of reality as all contextualised and complex differences and no broader insights. This is reminiscent of a problem often associated with cultural studies/reception research which potentially leads to a view of reality as an 'endless realm of contextual specificity' (Schröder, 1999).

To conclude, I would argue that we do need such concepts and categories to research ethnicity in media use. Some degree of simplification is the price to be paid to gain broader insights and to see relevant patterns. We do need to be able to talk about ethnic/diasporic groups and categories, but we need to stay aware of their limitations, permeable borders and provisional nature. Ethnic labels are heuristic devices rather than actual 'hard' categories and we should remember their constructed and changeable nature. In our research, we should keep an eye open for differentiation between and variation within ethnic (and other) groups, not one-

sidedly focusing on similarities within and variations between them. While accepting the actual importance – in economic and social terms, in cultural and discursive terms – of ethnic differences, we should avoid considering them as fixed and determining.

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AUDIENCE RESEARCH IN FRANCOPHONE BELGIUM

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Introduction

The academic research on media audiences in Francophone Belgium cuts across the main teaching and research areas in communication science in this part of Belgium: media and journalism, organisational communication, cinema and performing arts, mediation of knowledge, and information and communication sciences and technologies¹⁴. Audience research is also funded or carried out by non-academic bodies. Within the industry, the Centre d'Information sur les Médias/CIM coordinates the audience measurement surveys and the RTBF (public service television) has its own research department. Other stakeholders include media education associations (e.g. Média Animation, Action Ciné Médias Jeunes) and the Conseil Supérieur de l'Audiovisuel/CSA, which is responsible for the regulation of Francophone broadcasting services.

Major research trends

Reviewing the state of the art in audience research necessarily raises the problematic issue of defining the scope of the field. This paper will focus on the major academic research trends during the last five years in Francophone Belgium¹⁵. Each trend is briefly presented below. We end up with a conclusion.

1. Reception theory

A group of researchers at the Université de Liège/ULg is working on media and cultural reception using an aesthetic approach. Among them, Servais is drawing on contemporary philosophy (Derrida, Vattimo, Lyotard, Habermas, Arendt, etc.) to articulate media and cultural reception both as a unique experience and as a socio-political phenomenon – she raises questions about, for instance, community membership and participation in the public sphere –, which brings her to develop a theory of *mediation* and *destination* (e.g. Servais, 2004). A project scheduled for 2011-2012 will focus on the development of new methods to study reception from an aesthetic point of view.

2. New media and imagined audiences

Several works examine how the designers of communication systems and digital documents (should) imagine their audience. At the Université Catholique de Louvain/UCL, Collard has studied how the designers of technical documents imagine the tasks of aeronautical maintenance technicians (project carried out in 2009 in partnership with Airbus). Currently she is working on modelling the semio-cognitive processes at play when imagining the audience of communication systems. Fastrez, Campion et Collard (2009) have worked on the card sorting method as a means of access to the user's mental categories in a given field of knowledge. The card sorting method can help the designers to adapt the information architecture to the user's representations. From a different perspective, the Facultés Universitaires Notre-Dame de la Paix/FUNDP have contributed to the FP6 project *Multi-modal Interactions Analysis and exploration of Users within a Controlled Environment* (MIAUCE) through an analysis of the ethical, legal and sociological aspects of information systems design and European technological policies (e.g. Cornélis *et al.*, 2008).

¹⁴ For a detailed overview of communication research in Belgium, see Puustinen & Akdogan (2008).

¹⁵ Due to the limited space available, the research within the industry and certain isolated works (sometimes located outside the media and communication departments or research centres) are not presented here.

3. Young people and new media

In 2005-2006, UCL and Média Animation were involved in the project *Appropriation of new media by youth* (Mediappro) funded by the European Commission (Safer Internet Action Plan). This study¹⁶ analysed the access to and the use of new media by European young people aged between 12 and 18 years, with a focus on risk perception, learning processes (e.g. media literacy development), parental regulation and social relationships (De Smedt *et al.*, 2006). In 2009, UCL was also a member of the European project *Study on Assessment Criteria for Media Literacy Levels*, which intended to review media literacy concepts, to integrate them in a unified theoretical framework, and to provide the European Commission with a list of indicators to measure media literacy levels across Europe (Celot, Pérez Tornero, 2009).

In 2005-2007, FUNDP, in partnership with some Flemish universities, were involved in the project *Teens and ICT: Risks and Opportunities* (TIRO) funded by the Belgian Federal Science Policy. Within the perspective offered by the sociology of appropriation, the FUNDP researchers have built up a typology of young users (12-18 years) (e.g. Lobet-Maris, Gallez, 2009) and contributed to COST Action 298 *Participation in the broadband society* through a study of the generational divide in relation to new media use (Gallez *et al.*, 2010). FUNDP have also conducted interdisciplinary research on the uses of blogs in a variety of contexts such as journalism, political communication and – more topically – juvenile sociability (Klein, 2007).

4. Mobile audiences

Two complementary research projects at the Facultés Universitaires Saint-Louis/FUSL focus on mobile audiences. On the one hand, Patriarche *et al.* (2009) have conducted an exploratory study of the uses of media and ICTs on the move by young adults (25-35 years) who travel to, from, and within Brussels. From a sociological perspective, the authors have pointed out a series of research avenues on the role of daily mobility *situations* in shaping media and ICT use on the move. On the other hand, some FUSL researchers are contributing to the project *Belgians' Daily Mobility* (BELDAM), a public funded national survey that follows up the first one of this kind in 1999 (MOBEL) and aims at providing a vast range of representative statistical data concerning mobility in Belgium¹⁷. During the data analysis phase, which is scheduled for 2011, FUSL will focus on the activities carried out during travel times between home and the workplace (or school), as well as on the use of information sources to plan and organise the travels.

5. Cognitive effects of new media

A couple of works mainly based at UCL concern the effects of new media on knowledge acquisition. Fastrez (2005) has investigated the effects of the structure of educational hypermedia systems on knowledge comprehension and organisation. In the same way, Collard (2009) has investigated how metaphors used in the design of educational hypermedia systems influence browsing as well as content comprehension. Campion (e.g. 2006, 2009) is focusing on the cognitive effects of non-linearity in educational hypermedia systems. He is drawing on the theory of *possible narratives* (Bremond) to study the influence of *shadow narratives* (i.e. the stories that do not occur, or could have occurred differently) on mental models or *storyworlds* (Herman) underlying comprehension processes. These experimental studies combine semiotics, pragmatics, narratology and cognitive science.

6. The user as information manager

At ULg, Lejeune (2008) has conducted some ethnographic research on the human voluntary indexes of *Open Directory Project*. The objective was to shed light on ordinary assessment and indexation practices while taking into account their dynamic and socially negotiated character. At the Université Libre de Bruxelles/ULB, Durieux is comparing two methods of information management in the medical domain, the first one consisting in descriptors assigned by professionals in specialised databases, the other being based on tags ascribed by the users of social bookmarking websites such as *Delicious* (*collaborative tagging*)

¹⁶ Mediappro was a follow-up of Eucaunet 2: A European campaign to raise awareness and implement media education to promote a safer use of the Internet (2002-2004) in which UCL and Média Animation were already involved and which was itself a follow-up of Eucaunet 1: Critical education to Internet-related risk management in Europe.

¹⁷ The research team is coordinated by the Groupe de Recherche sur les Transports/GRT of the FUNDP.

(e.g. Durieux, Kerdelhue, 2009). Depauw (2009, ULB) was interested in the assessment of information quality by information management professionals, asking whether Web 2.0 genres put into question the criteria they use to evaluate the quality of online information sources. This study was grounded on a socio-psychological approach with key concepts such as *organisational learning* and *sensemaking* (Weick).

7. E-government and e-democracy

Lobet-Maris and her colleagues (FUNDP) have been working on the e-government ideology and the effects of ICTs on the relations between administrations and citizens, bringing into light the increasing power of the consumerist paradigm (e.g. Lobet-Maris, Terwangne, 2007). At ULB, Breindl and Francq (2008) have questioned the democratic potential of Web 2.0 applications for searching political information and discussing political subjects. Some other works focus more specifically on (online) citizen participation in European public policies. Breindl (ULB) is analysing the use of the Internet by activists struggling to influence European policies in the area of digital rights (freedom of speech, privacy protection and so forth, in digital environments). Dufrasne (FUSL) is interested in the information and communication policies implemented by the European Union, with particular attention to participatory methods intended to reconcile citizens with European issues and institutions (e.g. the online forum *Debate Europe*; see the research note *Online participation of the citizens at the European level* submitted to Working Group 2). Dufrasne and Patriarche (FUSL) are also building up a theoretical framework for the study of public participation based on genre theory, using the online consultation on the European Citizens' Initiative as a case study (see the research note *Applying genre theory to (online) public participation* submitted to Working Group 2).

Conclusion

On the rather small scale of Francophone Belgium, audience research appears to be scattered: there is a huge diversity of topics, theories and methods – this diversity is in no way limited to the main trends presented in this essay – and little collaboration between universities. The majority of audience studies falls within the category of basic research and there are few externally funded research projects.

Francophone Belgium (especially UCL and ULg) has a strong tradition of scholarly analysis of discourses, narratives and media representations (news, political programmes, literature, cinema, etc.) within a semiotic, pragmatic, aesthetic or narratological perspective. There is no true tradition of empirical reception research as it exists in the Anglophone community. Francophone Belgium is rather interested in the uses and effects of new media (Web 2.0, educational hypermedia, etc.), drawing upon and combining very diverse perspectives (on the convergences between Anglo-Saxon reception research and the French sociology of ICT uses, see Patriarche, 2008). This is to say that studies of audiences and users in Francophone Belgium indeed put into question the very identity of audience research.

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DISTINGUISHING BETWEEN ACCESS, INTERACTION AND PARTICIPATION

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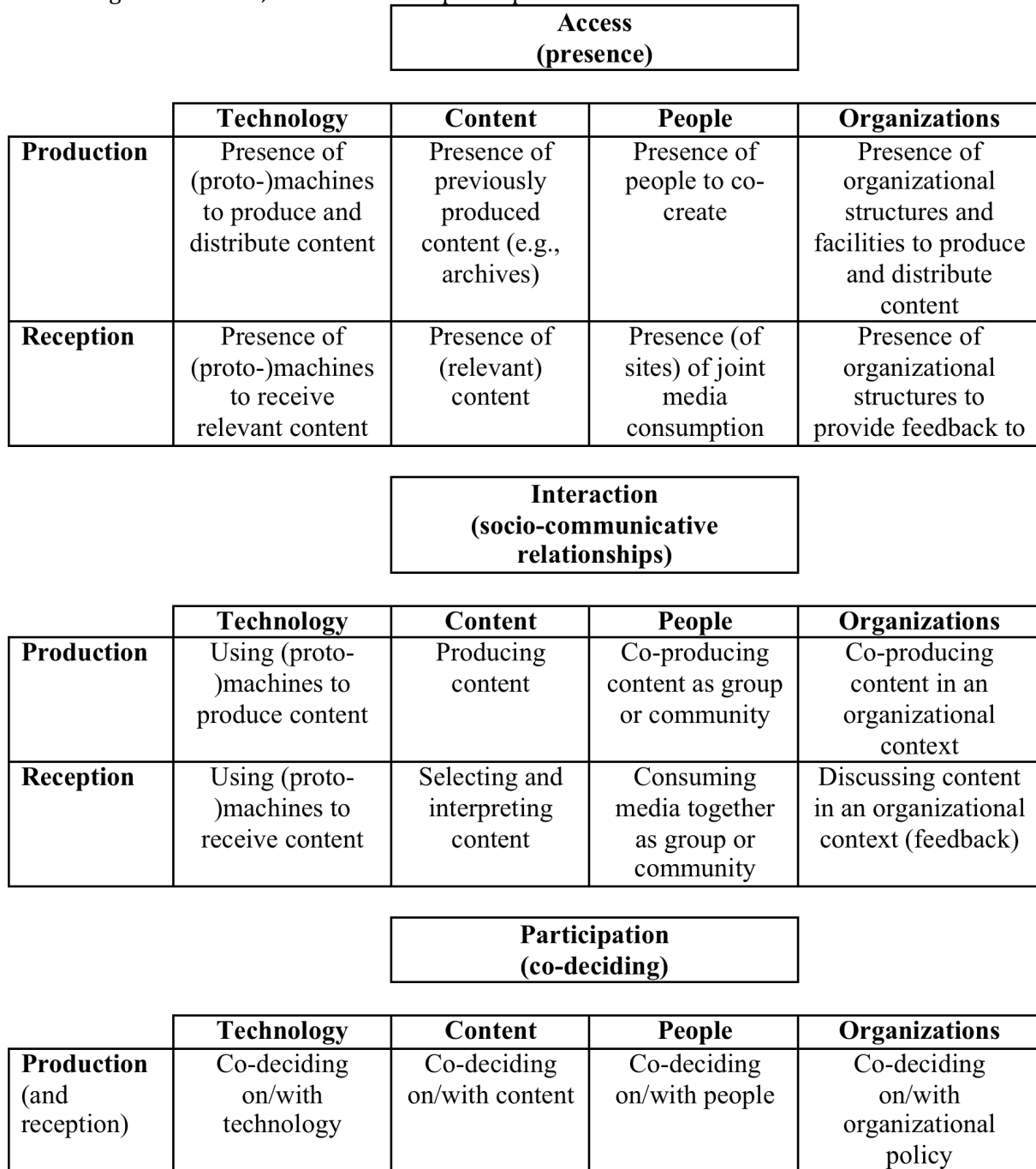
The concept of participation has proven to be a floating signifier, and should be analyzed as such, but some form of discursive fixity is required in order to allow for this concept to be used and analyzed at all. This analytical problem can be (at least partially) remedied by investigating the differences between three different concepts: participation, interaction and access. Arguably, these notions are still very different – in their theoretical origins and in their respective meanings. But they are often integrated (or conflated) into definitions of participation. One example here is Melucci's (1989: 174) definition, when he says that participation has a double meaning: *"It means both taking part, that is, acting so as to promote the interests and the needs of an actor as well as belonging to a system, identifying with the 'general interests' of the community."* However valuable these approaches are, I would like to argue that participation is structurally different from access and interaction, and that a negative-relationist strategy – distinguishing between these three concepts – helps to clarify the meaning(s) of participation and to avoid that the link with the main defining component of participation, namely power, is obscured. Moreover, conflating these concepts often causes the more maximalist meanings of participation to remain hidden, which I also want to avoid. From this perspective, the conflation of access, interaction and participation is actually part of the struggle between the minimalist and maximalist articulations of participation.

If we study the theoretical discussions on participation, we can find numerous layers of meanings that can be attributed to the three concepts. This diversity of meanings can be used to relate the three concepts to each other; this strategy allows some fleshing out of the distinctions between them. All three concepts can then be situated in a model, which is termed the AIP-model (see Figure 1). First, through this negative-relationist strategy, access becomes articulated as presence, in a variety of ways. For instance, in the case of digital divide discourse, the focus is placed on the access to media technologies (and more specifically ICTs), which in turn allows people to access media content. In both cases, access implies achieving presence (to technology or media content). Access also features in the more traditional media feedback discussions, where it has yet another meaning. Here, access implies gaining a presence within media organizations, which generates the opportunity for people to have their voices heard (in providing feedback). From a broader perspective, this meaning of access can also be used to refer to achieving a presence within media organizations (or communities) to have one's content published.

The second concept, interaction, has a long history in sociological theory, where it often refers to the establishment of socio-communicative relationships. Subjectivist sociologies, such as symbolic interactionism and phenomenological sociology, highlight the importance of social interaction in the construction of meaning through lived and intersubjective experiences embodied in language. In these sociologies the social is shaped by actors interacting on the basis of shared interests, purposes and values, or common knowledge¹⁸. Although interaction is often equated with participation, I here want to distinguish between these two concepts, as this distinction allows increasing the focus on power and (formal or informal) decision-making in the definition of participation, and – as mentioned before – to protect the more maximalist approaches of participation.

¹⁸ I do not want to claim that power plays no role in interactionist theory, but power and especially decision-making processes do not feature as prominently as they do in the democratic-participatory theories that provide the basis for this book.

Figure 1: Access, interaction and participation – The AIP model



If interaction is seen as the establishment of socio-communicative relationships within the media sphere, there are again a variety of ways that these relationships can be established. First, in the categorizations that some authors (Hoffman & Novak, 1996; Lee, 2000) have developed in order to deal with the different components of HCI, different types of interaction have been distinguished. Through these categorizations the audience-to-audience interaction component (strengthened later by analyses of co-creation) has been developed, in combination with the audience-to-(media) technology component. A set of other components can be found within the 'old' media studies approaches. The traditional active audience models have contributed to this debate through their focus on the interaction between audience and content, while the communication feedback models have articulated another form of interaction, namely

the interaction between audiences and media organizations. As the open source and free software movements show, these interactions can also concern (media) technology producing organizations, which is the reason why they are also mentioned in the AIP model.

This then brings me to the concept of participation. Arguably, the difference between participation on the one hand, and access and interaction on the other is located within the key role that is attributed to power, and to equal power relations in decision-making processes. The distinction between content-related participation and structural participation (which deals with co-decision processes in media organizations or communities) can then be used to single out two components: participation in content production, and participation in media organizations and communities. Again, technology producing organizations are added in this model, allowing for the inclusion of practices that can be found in for instance the free software and open source movement(s). My argument here is that, through this juxtaposition to access and interaction, participation becomes defined as a political – in the broad meaning of the concept of the political – process where the actors involved in decision-making processes are positioned toward each other through power relationships that are (to an extent) egalitarian. The qualification ‘to an extent’ reintroduces the notion of struggle because the political struggle over participation is focused precisely on the equality and balanced nature of these power relationships. Participation is defined through these negative logics – distinguishing it from access and interaction – which demarcates the discursive field of action, where the struggle for different participatory intensities is being waged. This is also where the distinction between minimalist and maximalist forms of participation emerges (see Figure 2): While minimalist participation is characterized by the existence of strong power imbalances between the actors (without participation being completely annihilated or reduced to interaction or access), maximalist participation is characterized by the equalization of power relations, approximating Pateman’s (1970) concept of full participation.

Figure 2: A simplified version of the AIP model



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PUBLIC SERVICE MEDIA AND ACADEMIC RESEARCH IN FRENCH-SPEAKING BELGIUM:

A CHANGING CONNECTION

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After World War II, radio and later television, still a public service monopoly, was in a fascinating pioneering age. The new media of the time called for constant innovation while so much had to be invented to deal with the development of radio and television. In French-speaking Belgium, like in most European countries, questions related to the audience led to various initiatives, all of which were rather experimental and required important efforts to be set up and adjusted. Belgium's French-speaking public service broadcaster (RTB) was late

starting its television audience measurement in 1965¹⁹, using diaries, the standard of the time. And back then, the ties between RTB and universities were dense and multiple, most notably with the "Centre d'étude des techniques de diffusion collective" at Université Libre de Bruxelles. Gabriel Thoveron was working both at the "service de l'enquête permanente" of RTB and at the ULB's "Institut de sociologie". He even completed his PhD largely on the basis of the work done at RTB studying audiences and setting the scene for audience research.

This pioneering period was followed by an era of rather intense activity within RTB, still marked by a strong academic culture. The "Bureau d'études de la radio-télévision belge" functioned to a large extent very much like a regular academic research centre. It had its own library and it even started publishing, in 1963, *Études de radio-télévision*, a quarterly journal which was truly academic by its standards and its ambitions. The first issue announced that the journal meant to contribute to a better understanding of conceptual frameworks still to be developed to understand the methods and results of empirical research conducted around the world. The articles published were diverse and included contributions from major international authors (the first issue featured Bernard Berelson and George Gerbner).

But the golden age of synergies between the public broadcaster and universities did not last forever. In the 1980s, the public broadcaster came under increased budgetary pressure, in a context where competition became fierce and the market shares of public radio and television stations were declining. Moreover, advertising was introduced in both radio and television programmes (non-commercial in 1983, commercial in 1989), bringing its string of tools and indicators aimed at monitoring audiences with a view to manage media planning and advertising prices. The efforts of audience studies shifted towards this more market-oriented approach, and the "Bureau d'études" in its initial configuration was simply shut down. The in-house diary-based audience measurement was discontinued in 1989, shortly after RTBF joined the people-meter based audience measurement set-up by its main competitor RTL in 1985. As a final blow, the last issue of *Études de radio-télévision* was published in 1992, and an offer to keep it going with the help of the university was declined.

All efforts to study audiences were then undertaken within a strict market oriented approach. All studies were designed to guide programme makers in adapting their offer to the demand (and in compliance with the assigned public service missions), but also to guide advertisers in their media plans. Practically, a lot of the analysis was conducted outside of RTBF and within its advertising-space selling subsidiary RMB. Over the years, RTBF developed a set of studies which met international standards in market research and were very similar to what most operators were doing elsewhere, in a purely structural approach to audience (to put it in McQuail's terms), but without the broader perspective that had prevailed in the golden age.

Just as most of us thought that public service broadcasting's audience research efforts had gone astray towards marketing, a redefinition of the role and obligations of RTBF was enacted by public authorities²⁰, which in article 67, makes provision for a "qualitative evaluation" performed by an independent structure, allowing to evaluate appreciation and legitimacy in the eyes of the public. Moreover, the decree requires that the operation be "supervised by recognised experts", thus forcing in a way the return of the academic community within the audience studies of the public broadcaster. By setting up a new set of studies, RTBF was joining a long list of public broadcasters around Europe who see fit to approach audience in a way that challenges the undisputed currency of success as defined by commercial broadcasters, that of *ratings* and other quantitative indicators often showing public service media as less popular and therefore implicitly less legitimate. The qualitative indicators provide an alternative view of audiences perception of the offer of public media and allow to break the simplistic logic of equating consumption with approval, and non-consumption with disapproval. British, French and Dutch public broadcasters, to name a few, have developed very complex systems of quality assessment by their respective audiences.

¹⁹ France started in 1957 and the BBC in 1938.

²⁰ Contrat de gestion, Decree of the government of French-Speaking community of Belgium in 2006.

This anedoctical return of the academics into the public broadcaster's audience research is only one of many signs that operational audience research, now completely in the hands for market-oriented actors, is faced with new challenges that are not merely technical, but call for extensive soul searching as to what it means to study audiences today, what audiences *are*, how users behave and what their expectations are. And this is typically where one would expect academic research to gain back more attention from the media institutions faced with a media-audience configuration changing so fast that they have obvious difficulties understanding their market and anticipating the trends to come.

Key market indicators are very traditional and quite crude as compared to the complexity of media-related practices. Television audience measurement mixes in the same "audience" a variety of uses, while the measure of audience of most other media relies on classic sample-survey research. Even the good old paper diaries are back with a vengeance if only because they provide good value for money. Meanwhile, a lot of research is invested into individual, passive and multimedia audience measurement devices. All of that constitutes the basis for establishing the currency of media audiences, based exclusively on quantitative indicators of exposure to media content (with particular attention to advertising obviously), all of which are completely inappropriate to even approach the complexity of media consumption. In addition to these continuous indicators, most media mobilise periodically more nuanced market research techniques such as focus-groups or in-depth interviews in an attempt to try to decypher current audience's reactions and aspirations, and to prepare the most fitting offer in the future. Yet, all this relies on very old, linear models of audiences in an offer-and-demand perspective. The very notion of audience is now mutating into any number of much more complex and more powerful concepts. Researchers are exploring uses of media and communication technologies in ways likely to reshape the very notions of audience and associated terms.

Because the public media have historically been more inclined to collaborate closely with academic research, there is a chance that by restoring some of the collaborative spirit of the pioneering age, public broadcasters might gain a decisive asset in preparing their future by being at the leading edge of grasping the emerging configuration of the transforming audiences in our transforming societies.

BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

AUDIENCE RESEARCH IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

| | |
|-----------------|---|
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Government institutions in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) invest very little in research. In the period of post-war consolidation, there were only a few research projects (state level or entity). They were based on *face-to-face* methodology, which greatly increased their cost. However, research of media perception was conducted only commercially, based on different market needs. Due to a lack of funds, scientific approach was limited to smaller, indicative samples.

The most interesting media research in Bosnia and Herzegovina was conducted with the assistance of international organizations. Network of Media from South East Europe (SEENPM), Open Society Fund Bosnia and Herzegovina, USAID, Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, UNICEF and UNDP have been the most active organizations in the past ten years.

The same is true for research that focused on media literacy. It was conducted with the assistance of one of these organizations and realized within the academic community or within other institutions or organizations. However, this area remains poorly researched.

Due to a lack of government support for research projects, the existing interactive database that includes researchers, research organizations, projects and infrastructure investments (<http://registar.nub.ba>) gives very little information. Networking is taking place

through interpersonal contacts, which represent the key (and therefore, most probably incomplete) source of information for this review of research concerning the themes of WG1.

Research in the academic community

University of Tuzla

Dr.sc. Vedada Brankovic, assistant professor at the Department of Journalism, Faculty of Philosophy, collected information, which was used as the bases for her research on media literacy in BiH, during lectures at the part time course for class teachers from May 2009 to June 2010.

Three hundred students attending the course Media Culture, who were engaged in the teaching process in the Tuzla Canton, through presented term papers and graduation thesis, have identified key problems and issues that could represent the basis for structuring the research of this topic in BiH. The research has shown that neither the students nor teachers fully understand the essence of media literacy. In most cases, they connected media literacy to the use of computers and Internet during their teaching courses, while their evaluation of competencies was based on technical skills.

Research of views of teachers from the Tuzla Canton about the importance of media literacy in the educational process could be the basis for the research of this topic in the entire BiH. The educational authorities and institutions, as well as other participants in the education process, should utilize the research to expand the curriculum, and create programs to educate teachers and parents about media literacy.

University of Sarajevo

Adla Isanovic, assistant at the Academy of Performing Arts, conducted research under the title "What is Happening with the Users?" trying to find out how the challenges of digital age impact Bosnian public, which, according to the results of this research, is increasingly using the advantages of the new media environment. This effort was part of a broader research "PBS Corporation and its Future in BiH," presented in Neum, Bosnia and Herzegovina, July 8 to 10, 2010.

Personal research

Role of Media in Social Change: Liberation the Public or Return of Representative Public Sphere, presented at the scientific conference Regional Research Promotion Program, Ohrid, Macedonia, June 2009. The organizer of the conference was RRPP Consortium, lead by University of Fribourg, Switzerland.

Internet and BiH System – New Media Literacy of Parliamentarians, lecture at the conference on Role of New Technology in Political Life organized by British Council in Sarajevo in July 2008.

The target group of the lecture was Parliamentarians at the state and federal level.

Presentation: *Media Education and Media Literacy*, School of Adult Education, organized by IIZ DVV, April 2006, Bjelasnica, Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Mentorships

Mr.sc. Radenko Udovicic is finalizing his doctorate thesis *The Influence of Credibility on Realization of Information, Public Opinion and Educational Functions of Mass Media in Bosnia and Herzegovina*. The paper includes two types of research – content analysis of media and research of public opinion through surveys. The main purpose of this research is to determine the ratio and forms of strategic use of journalistic techniques and forms in targeted Bosnian media in the function of influencing public opinion, and to evaluate ethical implications of convergence of journalistic messages, as well as to determine how citizens comprehend media messages.

Dr.sc. Enes Osmanovic: *Web Information and Democratic Communication in Bosnia and Herzegovina* (doctorate thesis defended at the Faculty of Political Sciences on September 16, 2009). As a part of an effort to research how the World Wide Web influences democratization of public communication in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the author researched media literacy, thematic and genre development of media, and the trust of the public in media in BiH. The results of this complex research of media and public in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the period

from 2007 to 2009 included media monitoring, analysis of on-line and traditional media content, research of preferences of different audiences, characteristics of public communication of political leaders, government institution, international organizations, political parties, universities and non-governmental organizations.

Graduation thesis (selection of some topics connected to WG1)

Suada Magrdjija: *Mobile Portal as Source of Information* (March 2010). The author analyses how on-line media in combination with mobile devices create new “information packages” for citizens and their reaction to the information from these sources.

Elmedina Gorbovic: *Internet Journalism in BiH* (April 2009). The paper devotes one chapter to the public, analyzing how the public comprehends topics presented through Internet portals and underscoring the importance of educating the public to better understand new media contents.

Dino Tandir: *Participatory Journalism and New Media* (June 2008). The author researches how the citizens themselves create news and to what extent the public trusts blogs and Facebook groups as a source of information. A survey with 50 respondents shows that citizens do not differentiate between this type of information and the classic information. Therefore, the author proposes media literacy as one of the solutions – to educate the citizens to distinguish reliable and objective information on the Web from the one that is, unintentionally or not, inaccurate and non-objective.

Most of the cited academic research was individual and used indicative samples. Since the research focused on specific regions and not the entire country, the presented sample can be a sufficient test of the views of the public. However, a broader research looking into how the citizens view credibility of media, finding out more about media and content preferences of citizens and their perception of received information would be of great importance for the academic community dealing with social studies, as well as for the media community. A specific sample for BiH should be between 1200 and 1600 respondents. It would enable stratification based on ethnic, regional and municipal, urban and rural characteristics of the entire country.

The continuity and the complexity of the phenomenon of communication and the abundance of sources on one side, and the time limitation of individual researches on the other, lead to the conclusion that team work is necessary for researching communication phenomena in BiH.

Research outside academic community

Media Plan Institute (first private, independent organization for media development in BiH, established in Sarajevo in 1995) deals with media research, education, on-line communication and other communication projects in all the countries of South East Europe, focusing on media transition, use of new communication technologies, development of media industry and media market.

The Research Center of Media Plan Institute works on a number of investigative projects, including media monitoring and research of public opinion. Some of the more important research projects conducted in the past year include *Media and Children* (analysis of media content from April 2009 to April 2010, with the support of UNICEF BiH), *Sensitivity of BiH Media toward Diversity* (media content analysis for the period of 12 months in 2009, with the support of UNDP BiH).

Mediacentar: (Established in 1995 in Sarajevo, the original founder is Open Society Fund BiH. In 2000, the center registered as an educational and research institution in the ownership of the Fund) deals with publishing, media research, video and audio production.

MC_ONLINE presents research that deals with different aspects of media literacy. Mediacentar is so far the only institution in BiH that has a “section” dealing with media literacy in continuity. It offers information about specific phenomena regarding media literacy. Therefore, the database includes titles such as: “Media Literacy is to be Lessoned from the Book Too” (Knjigu u odgoj za medije), Advertising and Youth in Context of Media Literacy, Parents as Media Educators – Parent and Children Communication about Media Content, etc.

However, regional authors and regional research are dominant, probably because they are supposed to be relevant for BiH.

The projects of both institutions (Media plan and Media Center) are financed and commissioned from outside BiH by those (institutions) interested in South East Europe as a whole. The government has to show more interest in more concrete research of BiH audience.

NEW MEDIA – OLD AUDIENCE: B&H AND THE INFLUENCE OF NEW TECHNOLOGIES

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|-----------------|--|
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Introduction: Specific scientific and research situation in post-war Bosnia-Herzegovina

In order to better understand the research in the communication and media field in Bosnia-Herzegovina, several *remarks on general scientific-research situation in the country* should be made. First of all, scientific research for a long time during the war (1992-1995) has been “put aside”, so there is a lack of data for that period of time. After the war, research has been done mainly through the joint projects of B&H universities and other universities from abroad (since that helped to provide international grants for research) or through the individual efforts of young researchers, mainly working on their Master or Doctoral thesis. Only 0.01% of GDP is annually available for research of all kinds (as a state support), so most of research is product of individual enthusiasm and efforts of low-paid researchers (who at the same time are doing other things, that is working on other projects and jobs in order to provide existence). Additional problem is that when one wants to get a valid data related to B&H, *several obstacles and problems occur: lack of reliable sources and up-to date data* (B&H had the last census in 1991; after that most of the demographics are estimates); *complicated state structure*, which makes it difficult to conduct the research throughout the country (in that case data needs to be collected on state level, entity level (two entities- Federation of B&H and Republic of Srpska plus District of Brčko) as well as cantonal level (ten cantons in the Federation of B&H)); *lack of willingness of individuals and institutions to cooperate in the research* (awareness of the importance of research is still very low).

All these are reasons why scientific research in Bosnia-Herzegovina is still quite limited, as well as reasons why research efforts of any kind should be appreciated even more and supported strongly.

New media and audience research efforts

When it comes to research in the field of communication science, media, new media and audience, we could say that there is a *decade-long tradition of individual and joint efforts of several institutions in Bosnia-Herzegovina to provide data on trends in communication and media practice in the country after “the new media revolution”*. Departments of Journalism at public universities in Sarajevo²¹, Tuzla²², Mostar²³ and at private university in Banja Luka²⁴ have been doing researches on media situation in B&H, together with Media Center Sarajevo²⁵ and Media Plan Institute Sarajevo²⁶ (as privately-owned research institutions). For a long period of time new media have been out of such researches, so we may say that B&H is “one step behind” other countries when it comes to new media research. The main reason for this is that *new media for quite some time were really new (in the full meaning of that term)*, because, due to the war situation, the first Internet usage in B&H has been introduced in February 1996. (although there

²¹ <http://www.unsa.ba>

²² <http://www.untz.ba>

²³ <http://www.unmo.ba>

²⁴ <http://www.kfbl.edu.ba>

²⁵ <http://www.mediacentar.ba>

²⁶ <http://www.mediaplan.ba>

were some connections in 1995. as well). Afterwards, due to bad financial situation and low awareness of general public, the Internet penetration was low for quite some time (in 2005. 2.49%, in 2006. 3.7%; bigger penetration happened when the Internet became available through the cable systems and wireless connections, so in 2008. it was 15%, in 2009. 29% and in 2010. 37%²⁷).

The first scientific conference related to the Internet, under the title: *New Media Theory and Practice – Implications for a Changing World*, with participants from Bosnia-Herzegovina (from universities from Sarajevo, Tuzla, Mostar and Banja Luka) and USA (from Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey) was held in June 2003. at the Faculty of Political Sciences University of Sarajevo²⁸. That was also the very first year in which New Media course was introduced to curricula of the Journalism Department in Sarajevo²⁹. First lecturers in this course for two years have been professors from the Rutgers University, since B&H universities did not have lecturers educated in this field.

But, when new media topic became part of higher education, young researchers became more interested in the topic as well. Several individual researches were conducted, as part of Master and Doctoral thesis, with aim to provide data on how the B&H public responds to new technologies and how they are being used by political organizations, businesses, media, NGO and public in the country. Several books have been published as a result of these researches, written by mainly young scholars (Enes Osmančević³⁰ from the University of Tuzla, Lejla Turčilo³¹ from the University of Sarajevo, Jelenka Vočkić Avdagić³² from the University of Sarajevo). Media Center Sarajevo established two web sites for young journalists with content related to new media and web-based technologies: Media Online³³ and Net novinar³⁴. The most prominent authors on these websites who wrote about their experiences with new media were Nevena Ršumović and Tarik Jusić.

All of these authors mainly were gaining *basic data on how many people use the Internet in B&H* (results shown that there is a digital divide in B&H, between urban and rural population, between certain groups in society and between certain regions in the country); for what purposes the audience is using the Internet (most of results shown that the audience is using the Internet in two ways: as additional “tool” or alternative source for getting information which they cannot find in mainstream media, and as a “virtual Agora” for expressing their views and ideas, and to send messages which they cannot send in mainstream media) and *how the audience responds to the opportunities that are offered by new media* (most of results shown that the audience accepted the Internet well, but sometimes without any critical perspective and/or reflection on it; especially young people embraced this opportunity for interaction and activism on the web, which is for them “a medium which will set us free”; new media literacy, as a form of critical thinking about the Internet is still missing).

One of the newest research related to the Internet as a tool for audience interactivity and participation was done by students of the BA and Master studies at the Department of Journalism University of Sarajevo, who were observing the Internet usage by the minority groups in Bosnia-Herzegovina (from ethnic minorities to different sexual orientations, alternative groups etc.) and compared it with the way these groups were treated in mainstream

²⁷ According to data by the Communication Regulatory Agency of B&H: <http://www.rak.ba>

²⁸ <http://www.fpn.unsa.ba>

²⁹ The result of the conference was a Publication „Novi mediji, teorija i praksa – implikacije u svijetu koji se mijenja”/“New Media, Theory and Practice – Implications for a Changing World” by Jelenka Vočkić Avdagić and John Pavlik (as editors), published by the Faculty of Political Sciences in 2003.

³⁰ „Internet – tradicionalna i virtualna javnost” /“The Internet – Traditional and Virtual Public”, Magistrat Sarajevo, 2003. and „Demokracija www-komuniciranja”/“Democracy of the www Communication”, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung Sarajevo, 2009.

³¹ „O-line komunikacija i off-line politika u BiH”/“On-line Communication and Off-line Politics in B&H”, Internews, Sarajevo, 2006.

³² „Globalne komunikacije – ne/sigurna igra svijeta”/“Global Communication – Un/Safe Game of the World”, FPN Sarajevo, 2002.

³³ <http://www.mediaonline.ba>

³⁴ <http://www.netnovinar.ba>

media³⁵. Their main conclusion is that the Internet became one of the important tools for giving the voice to those who do not have that voice in an off-line world, but the way they use this new voice is still quite shy and insufficient.

Conclusion: What needs to be researched more in the future?

In general, we could say that for quite some time the question in Bosnia-Herzegovina was not: *How is the Internet used by the audience?* but: *Is the Internet used by the audience at all?* With growth of Internet users in the country and with development of Web 2.0, B&H audience became more pro-active on-line and started using the Internet as a media for their activism and participation. The question remains: if the Internet is understood by B&H audience as “virtual Agora” (a place where they can promote their ideas), what kind of ideas are promoted on “B&H part of the web” and are they transferred to off-line life of B&H society afterwards or do they stay in “digital ghetto”? And also, if the Internet is used by audience as an alternative channel to mainstream media, how those individuals and groups who are alternative in any possible way use the Internet for their information, organization, mobilization and activism³⁶? These questions should be in the focus of future audience research in B&H. Comparison with data gathered by research five years ago (2005-2006) could give some answers to these questions.

In general, we could say that there were some researches about the use of the Internet in Bosnia-Herzegovina, but much more needs to be done in order to have the full picture and reliable data about ways in which the B&H audience is using new media.

BULGARIA

RESEARCH OF THE MEDIA AUDIENCES IN BULGARIA: CONCISE OVERVIEW

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|-----------------|--|
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Researchers into the media environment in the countries of Central and Southeast Europe invariably link the processes of transformation to the collapse of political and economic system in these countries. The last decade of the 20th century, however, will remain emblematic not only with the fulfillment of the idea for a new, united Europe, but also with the emergence of many new information sources and speedup of communications. Thus, besides with the toppling of the Berlin Wall, 1989 is important with the adoption of the first pan-European documents for regulation of the rapidly developing radio and TV environment. These are the *European Convention on Transfrontier Television* issued by the Council of Europe and the *Television without Frontiers Directive* of the European Community. These documents have been amended in line with the development of globalization processes, Internet, digitalization, and broadband technologies.

The major trends in the development of contemporary communication processes have stood out for more than two decades now: technological convergence; media and communication transnationalization; obscuring of demarcation lines between the commercial and public territories; commodity approaches leading to manipulation of audiences; fragmentation and specialization of the media content users; genre hybridization, etc. Media transformation is catalyzed now by the opportunities presented by the blogosphere and social networks; by the mobile information and communication technologies, with all this leading to basic changes in the media paradigm – from means for mass information to means for individual media services. Thus in the age of hyper modernity and multiplication of information sources,

³⁵ More about this research can be found in publication „Manjinske skupine i mediji u Bosni i Hercegovini”/“Minority Groups and Media in B&H”, by Jelenka Vočkić Avdagić, Lejla Turčilo, Asad Nuhanović and Valida Repovac Pašić (as editors), published by the Faculty of Political Sciences in 2010.

³⁶ Big, dominant groups and individuals use the Internet in the very similar manner as they use the mainstream media, but alternative groups and movements could (and should) benefit from this new media in a totally different way in comparison to mainstream media, which are usually not open to them.

the public discourse is medialized and leads to significant structural transformations in the public sphere. The media and their audiences are subject to broad diversification under the growing importance of the public opinion and of the development of consumer culture.

Prior to the political changes in 1989, the Bulgarian mass media system was centralized, state-owned and subordinated to the priorities of the Party-State system. Of all institutions in the country, the mass media helped transformation of democracy in the fastest and most profound way. It turned out that the media were fulfilling the dual function of transmitters of protest and accelerators of political change.

Data provided by the National Statistical Institute vividly show the trends in the development of the printed media within two decades of the transition period. Thus 301 newspapers (17 dailies) with annual circulation of 895 265 000 were issued in 1989, as compared to 436 newspapers (64 dailies) with an annual circulation of 355 600 000 twenty years later, in 2009. The corresponding figures for magazines and bulletins were 827, with annual circulation of 57 849 000 in 1989 vs. 745 with annual circulation of 11 401 000 in 2009 (NSI, 2009a). There was a notable trend for preserving and even increasing diversification of supply and, along with this, for considerably reducing circulation.

In contrast to the turbulent, wrenching transformations in the printed media, the changes in the electronic media were slower, incomplete and generally inconsistent. After several unsuccessful attempts, the first law on radio and television in Bulgaria saw light only in 1998. For twenty years now a highly oversupplied radio and TV landscape has formed in the country. Bulgarian radio and television stations now operate on two economic levels: Government-funded and private. Presently, a total of 465 program services (317 radio and 148 TV) are disseminated terrestrially, via cable or satellite on the territory of the country (CEM, 2010). Of all institutions, the public service broadcasters took lead in public confidence. The *Bulgarian National Television* boasts approval of 69.5 percent of the population and the *Bulgarian National Radio* of 64.9 percent (NCSP0, 2009).

Since the end of the 1990s, users have been able to choose between a variety of off-line and online news services of diverse quality and content. Close to forty percent of the population are regular Internet users (NSI, 2009b).

Although the public is offered a highly varied media menu, expectations that the media would aid the processes of democratization in a purposeful and effective manner have proved unrealistically high. Change of property and departure from a single-party control were insufficient to render them professional. Strengthening of the market outlined the start of their consolidation. The processes of media concentration in Bulgaria were characteristic with the inflow of foreign capital and players, especially after the country's accession to the European Union in 2007. The leading media now are owned by foreign holders.

Public interest was replaced by what was interesting to the public. Although the Guild has adopted its ethical code in 2004 (National Council, 2004), the journalists failed to create mechanisms for sustaining it and in many cases still show inadequate reaction to some important and publicly significant issues, as well as to a number of professional problems.

The transformation processes in the media sphere in Bulgaria after 1989 are remarkable for their transition from ideologized to individualized consciousness and stratification of audiences. In the last twenty years research interest has been fragmented in the country. Researches into the media environment are assigned by sundry entities: economic subjects, political parties, non-governmental organizations, regulatory authorities, academic institutions. A wide range of quantitative and qualitative methods have been used in these researches for registration and processing of empirical information and its analysis: standard interview, diary observation, people metrics, experiments and testing, in-depth interview, focus-group discussion, content analysis, discourse analysis, case-study.

Researches into the media audiences are focused along several lines: structure, acceptance habits, interests, attitudes, preferences, confidence. The effect of the electronic and printed media and the mechanisms of media impact are also studied.

Researches into the audiences of the printed media take under consideration their type (dailies, weeklies, monthly magazines, life-style magazines); of the radio audiences – the

concrete radio format (public-commercial; monothematic-polythematic; specificity of thematic purpose; national-regional-local); of the TV audiences – the type of the TV media (public-commercial; aerial, cable, satellite distribution; specificity of thematic purpose; national-regional-local); and of the on-line media – the linear-nonlinear service, interactivity, social networks, blogosphere.

In Bulgaria, two people metric agencies carry out the daily surveys of the media, and of the TV audience in particular: TNS/TV Plan <http://www.tns-tvplan.bg/> and GARB (GfK Audience Research Bulgaria) <http://www.garb.bg>.

Academic researchers are united into the Bulgarian Sociological Association <http://www.bsa-bg.org/>.

Established by decision of the National Assembly of the Republic of Bulgaria immediately after of the political changes in 1989, the National Centre for the Study of Public Opinion (NCSPPO) is the Bulgarian Government authority in charge of national and regional representative surveys for political, social, and economic and media researches. NCSPPO activities are aimed at Bulgarian decision-makers, both in the legislative and in the Government management sphere, as well as at entrepreneurs and economically active groups in Bulgarian society in general.

Many sociological agencies are engaged in intermittent media research. Twelve of these agencies are members of ESOMAR (European Society for Opinion and Market Research): <http://directory.esomar.org/results.php?countries=31>:

- Alpha Research Ltd (Agency for market and social research): <http://www.aresearch.org/en.html>;
- Estat Ltd. (Agency for collection, processing and analysis of research data and consultancy services in the field of marketing): <http://www.estatbg.com/>;
- GfK Bulgaria EOOD (Market Research Institute): <http://www.gfk.bg/index.en.html>;
- MAP Marketing Research Ltd. (Market Research Outsourcing and Online Panel-Supply Services): <http://www.map-mr.com/>;
- Market LINKS (a full-service market research company): <http://www.mmlinks.net>
- Market Test (r) Ltd. (Marketing Research Company): <http://www.mtest.bg/>
- MBMD Consulting (Market and Social Research Institute): <http://www.mbmd.net/>
- SEERC (South East Europe Research Corp.) (Market research provider in Southeast Europe based in Sofia, Bulgaria): <http://www.seerc.bg/en/about/7a4640>
- Synovate (Sociological & marketing research & analysis): <http://www.synovate.com/contact/europe/bulgaria.html>
- (<http://directory.esomar.org/Bulgaria/r708-Taylor-Nelson-Sofres-BBSS-Plc.php>)
- The Nielsen Company: <http://en-bg.nielsen.com/>
- Vitosha Research (market, social, political, advertising and media research): <http://www.vitosha-research.com/#>

Professional associations and non-government organizations also engage in the research of audiences, content-analysis and media monitoring on topical issues. All researches are made public by conference presentations, scientific papers and media publications.

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THE STATE OF AUDIENCE RESEARCH IN BULGARIA

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What's happening with media audience/s in the contemporary digital communication environment is one of the core research questions in front of the media sociologists to day. Alongside with it, the sociologists in general are facing the questions: what's happening with people, families, and social structure in the new network or information European society; how the new digital stratification of the broadband society at both European and national level looks like; what are the parameters of the social inclusion and exclusion in the new societies.

On the other hand we are witnessing the so-called "third mediamorphoses" and as a researchers we need the proper methodological tools to research, understand and explain the ongoing processes of media transformations, the evolving new media forms as well as their impact on people, families and societies. The digital media environment is consisted of traditional mass media and new social media; traditional and new media audiences as well as traditional and alternative approaches to media regulation. We should try to predict the best possible balance between traditional and new in order to strengthen the positive effects of media and new technologies on children, families, social structures and to limit the negative one.

On this base and in the context of WG 4, the following processes could be of interest:

- Micro level – Transformation of the family by the different models of media use
- Macro level – Digital divide in the contemporary society, based on the different media use by the families

What is the state of research in Bulgaria?

Media Sociology is a relatively new scientific field in Bulgaria, developed in the last 30 years. Some of the names, which have established the research tradition, are Hristo Bonev, Elit Nikolov, Todor Petev and others. The focus is mainly on the media as social institutions. There have been established some trends in research such as: Press Studies (Vladimir Simeonov); Radio Studies (Snejana Popova); Television studies (Lilia Raycheva) and New media studies (Orlin Spasov). Also, there is a tradition in research of history and functions of the Public Service Broadcasters in society. The questions in general are: how can the PSB serve the public interest in the traditional and in the new media environment; do we need PSB at all.

Media audience, particularly children and families as audiences, has been researched mainly in the frame of Sociology of Youth and Family (Mihail Mirchev), Media Psychology (Tolia Stitsova), and Pedagogy (Bojidar Angelov). A number of audience marketing researches have been done regularly in the last 20 years (Alpha Research, Market Links, ASSA-M, TNS and others).

In the recent years (2005-2010) some new research of children and families as media audience appeared (Bojidar Angelov, Katia Mihailova). The new media environment and the transformations of audience in it are also a challenging topic (Maria Popova, Stela Konstantinova).

A very concise summary of the transformations of the family in the last years is presented here. The digital divide in the contemporary society starts from the different models of media use within the family.

More and more young families or couples living in so-called "free unions" postpone childbirth for reasons connected to their professional careers. The two-children family model prevailing in the near past is replaced now by the contemporary idea of a one-child model. The three widespread models of the contemporary Bulgarian family are well presented in the first three editions of the Bulgarian version of the reality show "Vip Brother" ("Big Brother" with celebrities). In the first edition (2007) it was the *model of a single parent family* - about 21% of all children in Bulgaria are raised in single-parent families. In the second (2008) – *traditional*

two parents family – mother and father and a small child. In the third (2009) – *divorced parents who both are sharing the responsibilities* of their child rising.

Today's children are the so-called Bulgarian "Digital Natives". As "Digital Natives" or the Web Generation, most of the contemporary children remain immersed in information and communication technologies for all their lives. They were born in the digital world and are growing up with the new technologies such as computer, internet, mobile phones, Mp3, i- pod and so on. Most importantly, they have sophisticated technical skills, but due to their immaturity they are not able to grasp the meanings in the surrounding digital world. This contradiction together with the fact of their loneliness raises their vulnerability in the cyber world.

The internal relations of the family are still dominated by the patriarchal traditions. They are mixed today with the values of the new individualistic culture. Intensive living and stress, accompanied by a poor financial status, regretfully, do not encourage the establishment of harmonic family relations. In this situation, children tend to build their own patterns of social, consumer and communication behaviour, which are completely different from those of their parents and even of their elder siblings. This is also in force for the different models of media use and the different level of media literacy between children and parents. These differences are the starting point of the digital divide on a micro level, within the families.

CROATIA

JOURNALISM - OPEN PROFESSION: THE IGNORING OF THE CROATIAN CITIZENS DEMANDS FOR PROFESSIONALIZATION

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In Croatia there is no representative public research on how journalists rate their profession, what their expectations and attitudes towards key problems are and the prospects of development of the profession. The number of media has increased significantly in the past years and nonetheless in the last 18 years there hasn't been published a single scientific study dealing with credibility of media, that is, the condition, the prospects and the problems of the profession. On the other hand, in the last several years there have been efforts to determine what the citizens of Croatia think of journalism as a profession and how they rate journalists' work, which can be seen through private agencies' efforts to find out the citizens opinion of journalists through public opinion polls. Still, none of the researches include the key dimensions of the profession and of what the role of journalists is today. That is why we initiated an extensive research at the Faculty of Political Science on the citizens understanding and expectations of journalism.

Although it is the umbrella organization for journalists and it has more than three thousand members, Croatian Journalists' Association hasn't conducted a single research on journalist profession since 1992. 60 percent of the members have a college degree but there is no regulation stating that the members have to have a degree in journalism or communication science, and most of the new members have no college education.³⁷ In Croatia it is not obligatory for journalists who want to become members of CJA to have a degree in journalism, which is similar to the situation in other countries in the region.³⁸ However, the CJA Statute on membership has a regulation which says that membership candidates do not have to have a college degree of any kind, provided they have at least three years of continuous professional

³⁷ According to CJA data. Internal report for CJA's 49th annual assembly, December 2008

³⁸ College degree or higher education qualification is not a membership requirement for neither The „BH Journalists“ Association (www.bhnovinari.ba), nor Slovene Association of Journalists (www.novinar.com).

experience in the field of journalism.³⁹ This type of regulation cannot be compared to any other professional vocational association. Most professional journalist associations as the key precondition for the membership require a proof of employment in a news room for a period of time, and possibly a letter of confirmation from an editor, as it is the case at the Slovene Association of Journalists, and this should at least to a point be a guarantee that the data are accurate. The fact remains that, regardless of what has been said, you don't need to have a college degree or comply with the code of ethics in order to obtain a Croatian Journalists' Association membership card.

The situation in Croatia is the same as in other countries in the region which do not encourage researches on how journalism as a profession is seen, and that should be an important support tool for the institutional bodies in making media laws. At the same time, representative research centers such as the Pew Project for Excellence in Journalism in the US still haven't found their place in Croatia. *The State of News Media* annual report presents a basic document for the profession, which enables a year- to- year monitoring of the opinion of the American public of journalism. This type of long-term approach in Croatia still remains a fantasy because none of the authorized institutions show interest, apart from the Faculty of Political Science and Croatian Studies.

There are few countries, such as Germany, in which it is possible to establish and explore both levels: journalists' understanding of their profession and citizens expectations of it. German researchers revealed some interesting data. Donsbach et al. (2009) remind us that in Germany two out of three journalists have a high school education. 17 percent of them have a college degree in similar studies such as communication science and 14 percent of German journalists have a college degree in journalism (Weischenberg et al., 2006: 67). For Donsbach et al., education is the foundation of professionalization and he says that for him the key characteristic of a profession is a formal education based on science (Donsbach et al 2009: 122). Nine out of ten adult German citizens want obligatory education for journalists. This is the opinion of as such as 96 percent of those over 60 years of age, but what is surprising is the 80 percent of the people aged 18- 24 who also want obligatory education for journalists. The total of 89 percent of the citizens over the age of 18 supports obligatory education for journalists (*ibid*).

In Croatia there is a really small number of reliable and representative researches on how citizens see journalism as a profession, and how they rate journalists' work. According to a research conducted by GFK, published on 3 December 2008 in which the citizens rated professions in Croatia, a large number of citizens (63 percent) think that journalist profession is partly and extremely respectable, but 36 percent of the citizens say that the profession is partly or mostly not respectable. At the same time, only 29 percent of these citizens think that the profession is not corrupted, 71 percent think it is partly and very corrupted. What is surprising is the data according to which 3 percent of the Croatian citizens, when asked which profession they would choose; say it would be that of a journalist. Another extensive research, published a week later, on 11 December 2008, showed that 54 percent of the citizens think that journalism in Croatia is influenced by certain interest groups and/or politics. Only 19 percent of participants think that journalism is independent and free, and 77 percent say there is very little freedom and independence or none.

A complete picture of the citizens' attitudes was given to us in a research conducted in 2009 by the Faculty of Political Science, University of Zagreb. Among 10 key characteristics of journalists, the citizens ranked journalist literacy and majority comprehension first, than second tendency towards manipulation, tendentious writing, tendency to stressing out bad news, sensationalism. This is the most detailed overview of the Croatian citizens perception of journalist profession published so far. As much as 85 percent of the Croatian citizens want journalists to have the necessary professional qualifications, which is not the case today. Also, 79 percent of the participants think that media, which publish lies, should be banned. 69 percent think that the media in Croatia favor pessimistic issues exclusively. The research done by the

³⁹ CJA Statute on membership, www.hnd.hr, accessed on 27 August 2009

Faculty of Political Science led to new findings, which will enable us, a year- to- year monitoring of the changes in perception of journalism as profession, which the citizens have.

A direct contribution to the development of the study of journalist profession was made by organizing international scientific meeting *Credibility of the media* held in June 2010 at the Faculty of Political Science. The scientists gave their own contribution by establishing that journalism in Croatia today is going through its hardest times and what is expected now is a response from the ministries in charge and vocational associations. There are solid proofs that it is an autonomous profession, which does not meet all the criteria of the profession, it has undefined regulations regarding education and often avoids journalist responsibility for the published information. The great freedom enjoyed by journalists in this way, with no clearly defined rules and sanctions for those who break the rules creates preconditions for individuals to manipulate the strength of the profession and to wave their pens without wanting to hear the voice of the public and the call for journalism to finally become the profession in the true sense of the word, as, defined years ago by Wilensky (1964), and recently by McQuail (2005).

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RESEARCHING MEDIA AUDIENCE IN CROATIA: AN UNCHARTED TERRITORY, OR JUST UNDER-THEORIZED?

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Audience as market and commodity

Audience research in Croatia in the past two decades can best be described (with few exceptions) as preoccupied with the size and demographics of the audiences of particular media or media programs. Ratings and circulation figures of audience exposure collected by market research agencies (among the largest are GfK, AGB Nielsen, Puls Media) are hard to come by on a regular basis, as they are not published or otherwise put in the public domain. Only television audiences are continuously monitored with a consistent methodology (the Nielsen's people-meter started in 2003). Continuous monitoring exists for the popularity of Internet sites and these data are publicly available (Čuvalo in print). In the advertising perspective, the "audience as commodity" is the principal frame. For the Croatian audiences, television is the choice media for political information, followed by the printed press and Internet (GfK 2008). Internet is used by 53% of the population over 15; among Internet users, the same number would drop television as Internet if they had to choose, showing the growing importance of the Internet (GfK 2010).

Audience research in socialist Croatia pre-1990 (when she was part of the former SFR Yugoslavia) was mainly performed by media companies Audience research units (Vjesnik, the largest print media production company, and Television Zagreb, today Croatian Radio and Television HRT, had the largest outfits), aiming to better understand the likes, dislikes, and needs of their audiences. Even though it failed to develop culturally specific media studies or media theory, the research between 1960 and the end of the 1980's included the analysis of

popular culture and its audiences (teen magazines, romance novels, etc.) (Senjković 2008). Senjković further reminds us, while marvelously resurrecting the debates and research about popular culture and mass media in the socialist period, that, contrary to popular belief (at least at the international level) the print media in socialist Croatia and Yugoslavia functioned according to market constraints, competed for mass audiences, and were closed down if they failed to produce the expected profit. The “dumbing down” of content of popular magazines was already in the 1960s quoted as the unfortunate result of commercialization and the competition for the attention of audiences (advertising came later).

Media use as dependent variable (the incidental audience)

Academic research has predominantly been of the social scientific character, and has investigated the media audience in terms of public opinion surveys, thus constructing the “audience” from a sample of individual citizens, and not in terms of audience as a culturally defined collective (Livingstone 1989). The main questions were related to trends of media use, in relation to different variables of personal characteristics and social or political attitudes. One such research project at the end of the 1990s (the audience was surveyed as part of the European Value Survey for transition countries, and the data fed into the Norris & Inglehart 2009 analysis of cosmopolitanism) aimed at showing the influence of social status and political attitudes on trust in media and media use, and showed that older men use the media for information purposes more often than women or young people (Mataušić and Rimac 2000). The relationship of the trust in the media and the frequency of media use shows that the heaviest media users (every day) have less trust in the media than those who use it only “several times a week”, while the trust in the Parliament is (while very low) still a bit higher for the regular media user, as is approval of democracy as the best political system. This seems to support the “virtuous circle” theory of Norris and Inglehart (2009) on the positive impact of media use on social trust. Several findings in this study point to the conservative character of the Croatian heavy information media user in the 1990s: he is more likely than the light user to regularly participate in church, have negative attitudes to homosexuals and youth sex, and more support for “the way the country is governed” than the light information media users. No theoretical framework is offered by the authors for the interpretation of the empirical research, while brief mention exists of the S-R theory and uses and gratifications (the second, the authors think, would be a more likely explanation, but they don’t say what of (Mataušić and Rimac 2000). We might add, however, that it would be interesting to expand the approach of Norris & Inglehart (2009) in authoritarian and other non-democratic regimes to see if the non-media use in a media environment with heavy political/government control (until 2000 the Tuđman government was distinctly anti-liberal with authoritarian tendencies also in the mediascape)⁴⁰ is a regular way of a social practice of dissonance (and that it is indeed the social trust that defines the media use, and not vice versa).

Lazma Posavec & Rihtar (2003) report on a panel study performed in 1998 and 2002 where the readers of leading political dailies and weeklies were compared, in a national representative probabilistic sample, according to their demographic characteristics and in relation to political attitudes. The audience behavior is framed by the uses and gratifications approach (without operationalization), and the data were collected as part of the large election related research – the media audience was not the primary research goal. The findings describe the Croatian reader of political dailies and weeklies as a younger male, with above average education, social and economic status, and with urban residence, employed or student. The study found that the readers mainly defined themselves as irregular, showing that audience loyalties to specific titles were no longer in place. Some 70 % of these readers also regularly use

⁴⁰ For the development of the Croatian media system and policy in the 90’s see Peruško Čulek, Zrinjka (1999) *Demokracija i mediji*, Barbat: Zagreb, and Peruško, Z. 2003. “Croatia: The first ten years. In Paletz & Jakubowitz, eds., *Business as Usual*, Hampton Press, p. 111-145. For a detailed account of the television policy and sector in contemporary Croatia see Peruško, Z. 2005. “Croatia”. In *Television Across Europe: Regulation, policy and independence*. EUMAP & NMP: Budapest, and in relation to market developments in CEE see Peruško, Z., Popović, H. «Media Concentration Trends in Central and Eastern Europe». *Finding the Right Place on the Map: Central and Eastern European Media Change in Global Perspective*, Edited by Karol Jakubowicz and Miklos Sukosd, ECREA Book Series, Intellect Books, 2009.

the public service television HRT for news and political information. The study showed a marked political division between the readers of political weeklies (*Globus*, *Nacional*, *Feral*) and one daily (*Jutarnji list*), who showed higher political participation (election) and “left” - social democrat to liberal progressive - political attitudes, from the readers with more conservative political attitudes, lower education, and rural backgrounds (*Večernji list*). The most recent study of citizens’ trust in the media (performed again on a national representative sample by Media Metar for the Faculty of political science, University of Zagreb, 2009) confirms the main media choices and audience characteristics found by Lamza Posavec and Rihtar (2003). The overall audience trusts most in the radio, then TV, and then the printed press (Čuvalo 2010)

The issue of trust and opinions about the desired and acquired openness of the Croatian media system was analyzed in 2005 and 2006 within the “Index of openness of Society, where the expert survey on the state of the democratic development of the media system was complemented with a public opinion survey (Peruško 2005, Peruško 2006). The results show that about 30% of the population still do not accept democratic debate and freedom of the media as the norm, and would support the closure of some media. The interpretation questions the possible influence of the low quality of the media (this was not tested in the population survey, but the expert survey declared a decline in the objectivity and reliability of the information media (Peruško 2006). Younger respondents however differ and in a much higher per cent accept the democratic media framework.

Special/sub-cultural audiences: children and media

How children use the media was examined in several studies over the years. Only one study used a sample which enables generalization to the whole children population - quota national sample of school children (Ilišin et al 2001, Ilišin 2003). The framework for analysis included media use in leisure time (Mikić & Rukavina 2006) in the context of the socialization effects of the media (Ilišin 2003,), reading habits (Jelušić 2005). Children (10 – 14) spend on average around 3 hours a day watching television, mainly films and series and quiz and game shows (only 7,5 % watch the educational program); choice of media is gender related (boys prefer television and computers, girls radio and magazines); content choice is predominantly entertainment, both in traditional and new media. Ilišin (2003) also examined the role of media content in communication with friends and parents, and found that media content is the largest conversation topic with friends, but much less so with parents. The frequency of peer communication about media content topics increases with school success, as does the conversation about the same topic with the father; in case of the mother, the self perceived competence of the child is not a factor, as is age (Ilišin et al. 2001, Ilišin 2003). Media treatment of children has been recognized as a sore point in the Croatian media practice, as the Ombudsman for Children showed in a recent conference presentation (Jelavić 2010). In relation to children audiences the issue of media literacy has also been highlighted (Zgrabljic Rotar 2005), but no empirical research has been published so far, to my knowledge.

The implied audience

Media policy and political economy of the media are research approaches that often imply the audience (either as the “beneficiary”, or victim), but without seriously considering it (Livingstone 1998). Recent investigation of the public interest concept in Croatian television policy and its translation into diversity and pluralism in programming and socially useful programming, and audience use or benefit (in terms of the new communication policy paradigm of public liking over the public interest) attempts to transcend this omission (Peruško 2009). The results show, on the basis of interfacing the broadcast genres/program categories and their audience ratings, that the audiences lack information programs, are given too much fiction, and that the public interest is not fulfilled by commercial televisions. Similar approach was used in testing TV news for bias in the parliamentary election campaign, when the parties’ “audience ratings” i.e. share of actual votes received in election were compared to the share they received in the news coverage (Peruško 2008b).

The audience is also theorized in terms of the civil society theory, where the audience/public as the active participant shares in the creation of the civil society, defined by communication practice in terms of deliberative democracy (Peruško 2008a).

In terms of Alasuutari's depiction of three generations of media audience research in cultural studies – reception/coding-decoding, audience ethnography, and audience as a construction “entailing a broader frame within which one conceives of the media and media use” (1999:6), Croatia is a virgin territory (of course, ethnography is a common method in ethnological research, but the media has only recently been noticed as their field of potential interest, Senjković 2008).

The main common characteristic of the empirical research on media audiences undertaken in Croatia is its lack of theoretical development, especially in terms of media studies/mass communication theory. Clearly future audience research should attempt to correct this by posing theoretical questions for empirical research. For instance: how does the two-step flow of media influence work in the digital media environment?

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CYPRUS

AUDIENCE RESEARCH IN CYPRUS

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This article first briefly reviews the historical developments of the electronic media in Cyprus and then discusses audience research intertwined with these advancements.

Electronic media in Cyprus

The year 2010 marks nearly six decades of broadcasting in Cyprus: 57 years of radio and 54 of television programming. October 4, 1953, was the day the first official broadcasting station started operating on the island – with the Cyprus Broadcasting Service transmitting on 692 Kc/s, or 434 metres. This frequency is still in use today by its successor, the Cyprus Broadcasting Corporation. The new radio station transmitted seven days a week in three languages – with Greek broadcasts every Monday, Wednesday, Saturday and Sunday, Turkish broadcasts on Tuesdays and Fridays, and English every Thursday and Sunday. News from the BBC was relayed every day at 7 pm.

In 1955 a second channel was added, for Turkish programming, on 606 Kc/c, and new relay station at Paphos and at Limassol on the south coast boosted the station's power and enabled it to cover the entire island. A year later morning broadcasts began for the first time. On April 1, 1955, nearly four years after the official launch of the Cyprus Broadcasting Service, the first local television transmission was made. Two two-hour broadcasts a week marked the introduction of this new broadcasting medium to Cyprus.

The local media greeted this development in the history of broadcasting on the island by largely ignoring it. None of the newspapers, except those in English, wrote anything at all about either its establishment or its operation. The credibility hurdle was quickly cleared after independence, as the Cyprus Broadcasting Corporation set about its task of providing information to the public. Today, CyBC takes many of the major news agencies, including The Associated Press, Reuters, AFP, Tass, Xinhua, Tanjug and the Athens News Agency. It is also a member of the European Broadcasting Union (EBU) and Eurovision.

Regular news bulletins are now broadcast in five languages on Cyprus radio, with Armenian and Arabic added to the original Greek, Turkish and English. During the summer months, there are also broadcasts in other European languages for tourists. On television, the main Greek news bulletin is broadcast at 8:30 pm every day, lasting approximately half an hour. Educational and entertainment output has increased on both radio and television.

CyBC, with a staff of around 450, has constant two-way links with Eurovision, and it is one of the 20 broadcasters that have undertaken to produce Euronews, the first European TV channel transmitting news bulletins and other programming to Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean. Following an agreement between Cyprus and Greece, viewers in each country can now receive each others' television programs despite of the occasional foray by pirate broadcasters – whose equipment was invariably seized by police enforcing existing law – the Cyprus Broadcasting Corporation sailed serenely onwards until 1990 as the only legal user of the air waves.

In mid-1990, with the continued pressure from pirate broadcasters, the government and political leaders were forced to proceed with plans aimed at abolishing the state monopoly of radio and television. First on the air was 'Radio Super', followed by 'Radio Proto'. Until the advent of the new independent broadcasters, such access was a door that remained firmly closed to listeners of the state-run radio station. Thirty-eight years after the birth of radio in the country, it has been reborn. There are even some who say that the history of radio in Cyprus began in 1990 – not in 1953. This determined assault by the independent broadcasters put the Cyprus Broadcasting Corporation in the position of having to pull itself together. And react it did, launching a third channel modeled very much along the lines of programming produced by the independent stations. Not only has independent radio given rise to enhanced coverage of sporting, cultural, artistic and other events, it has also spawned a new phenomenon in Cypriot journalism – investigative reporting. The radio revolution has well and truly arrived in Cyprus. And television is not lagging far behind.

Following the introduction of independent radio to the country, and the resulting liberalisation of the air waves, the House of Representatives turned its attention to television – although its initial attempt at enacting legislation to govern the medium was abandoned in the light of the experiences of the first private radio stations. The house finally approved a law on the operation of independent television channels in 1992. The law lays down a maximum limit for advertising – no more than ten per cent of total daily broadcasting time, and no more than ten minutes per hour of programming. This legislation was later changed and completed to meet the EU requirements and regulations.⁴¹

The year 2004 witnessed Cyprus's entrance into the digital era of the mass media, especially the electronic ones. Ever since, the digital technology in TV broadcasting has been available on the island via all its major channels and platforms, i.e. satellite TV, Internet protocol TV, cable TV, terrestrial TV and even mobile TV. Currently (2010) three DVB-Satellite platforms are operating in Cyprus, those being the Middle East Television (also known as METV), Nova Cyprus and the Cyprus Travel Guide TV (in short: CTGtv), two Internet Protocol TV (IP-TV) platforms, those being Cytavision (originally MiVision) and Primetel-Primehome, one DVB-Cable platform, that of Cablenet and one DVB-Terrestrial platform on experimental basis, called RIKHD, which is operated by the public Cyprus Broadcasting Corporation. Velister Ltd, the cooperative consortium of the Cypriot FTA and pay-TV private channels, which won the public auction competition in August 2010, will soon operate a hybrid commercial DVB-T platform, since the deadline for the digital switch off for the Republic of Cyprus is the 1st of July, 2011.⁴²

Audience research in Cyprus

Research on audience began rather late in Cyprus coupled with the state monopoly of radio and television for nearly four decades since their inception. Some early studies in the late 1970s documented radio and television program contents and speculated their possible influence and listener/viewer satisfaction or dissatisfaction. The number of these studies was small and they were dispersed in Cypriot newspapers and self-published volumes of essays, usually in the form of commentary. These early studies, therefore, indicated more of an interest and a cry for rigorous audience research. They actually showed how little was known about Cypriot audience. An exception was the study on "Television and violence: The reaction of children to aggression in TV cartoons" (Roussou, 1979) which had clearly defined variables and employed proper research methodology.

However, with private radio and television stations opening up in the 90s and offering more diverse entertainment and educational programs, many of which were imported from America, the U.K. and Greece, Cypriot audience research started to form focus in two general areas. The first one includes media effect and reception analysis. For example, Nayia Roussou (2001, 2005) has analyzed in her books the effects of TV programs on young viewers,

⁴¹ Andreas Cl. Sophocleous [professor of Communications, director of the Mass Media & Communications Institute, University of Nicosia], *Mass Media in Cyprus*, (Nicosia: Nicocles Publishing House, 2008).

⁴² Damian Lambidonitis [research fellow of the Mass Media & Communication Institute, University of Nicosia], "A concise history of the digital mass media in Cyprus", (unpublished text 20 December, 2010).

particularly the influence of Cypriot and American TV programs on the cultural identity of Cypriot youth. Some Cypriot media critics have debated on the success of some locally produced TV soap operas and their cultural significance. Other researchers have incorporated into media effect studies other social and cultural research such as voter behavior in elections, nationalism, racial stereotypes in Cypriot media and inter-ethnic relations. For example, Christophoros Christophorou has been analyzing media's coverage of elections in Cyprus for the past two decades. He wrote critical analyses, in several books (1992, 1996, 2003, 2010), of the media coverage of the 1991 Nicosia mayoral election, parliamentary elections and Euro-elections in Cyprus. In his latest book "Media narratives, politics and the Cyprus problem" published in 2010, he discussed audience attitude and behavior towards the Cyprus problem and the portrayal of the Cyprus problem in the media. In an edited book entitled "Divided Cyprus: Modernity, history and an island in conflict", Spyros Spyrou (2006) examines how Greek Cypriot children constructing ethnic identities in a divided Cyprus where identities are highly politicized. Spyrou addresses the processes of ethnic socialization and cultural production and re-production as they take place in contexts which do not determine, yet largely constrain, children's political being.

Motivated mainly by the interests of private television stations and later cable-TV and satellite service providers, the second type of TV audience research has exclusively focused on program rating. As it seems that few academic researchers in Cyprus are interested in conducting rating studies (they tend to incorporate results of rating studies in their research looking at other communication processes), rating studies are typically either commissioned by TV stations or conducted by professional agencies such as Nielsen Audience Measurement (AGB Cyprus). AGB Cyprus covers all TV stations in Cyprus and all major agencies and firms in the marketing, public relations and advertising industry in Cyprus. It provides the TV and advertising industry with daily viewership data and expenditure figures. In addition, descriptive research about audience/user consumption of media is also carried out through the Statistical Service of the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Education and Culture with the latter one emphasizing on school children. For example, the Ministry of Finance routinely conducts surveys on the use of the Internet and other information technologies by individuals, households as well as businesses. The research results are usually disseminated nationally and also made available on websites such as Eurostat.

With the wide adoption and use of Internet-based communication technologies in Cyprus since 2000, a growing number of researchers have begun to pay close attention to audience/user behavior and the new media. These researchers are mainly from the University of Nicosia, the Cyprus University of Technology and the Cyprus Neuroscience and Technology Institute.

In a series of three studies using a triangulation of survey data and transcripts of focus group discussions and in-depth individual interviews with university students, Tao Papaioannou and Nayia Roussou (2006, 2009, 2010) from the University of Nicosia have investigated the possible effects of Internet use and cross-media consumption on young people's sociability, their cognitive and affective development and the formation of Cypriot and global identity. For example, in their 2006 study, the two authors argue that research on social interaction and the use of new media by young people tends to be contradictory. On the one hand, widespread adoption of internet-based new technologies by young people is evident, and it is considered by some researchers as having the potential to create new social relations and behavioral norms. On the other hand, there are studies suggesting that online connectivity actually contributes to social isolation and depression as virtual relations are not complemented, or followed, by physical contact and neither is internet use normally part of family life as television viewing is. The two authors suggest that the Internet is a complex technology; examinations of different uses of the Internet for different relationships are more likely to discover how the Internet affects social interaction. Furthermore, as young people are at a critical stage of self-development, the impact of their media consumption needs to be assessed beyond the scope of social interaction. Adopting a differentiated view of media use, their study compares and contrasts TV viewing and different kinds of Internet use by young people and the effects of such

cross-media consumption on the cognitive and affective development of young people. Michael Hadjimichael (2010), also from the University of Nicosia, has been exploring the possibility of using online communication to deconstruct popular memory of the invasion of Cyprus in 1974 and build political and cultural tolerance among users.

In the Department of Communications and Internet Studies at the Cyprus University of Technology, a group of faculty of diverse academic backgrounds have brought together some audience research in the areas of mediatized and non-mediatized communication, elaboration and negotiation of ideology and social meaning in relation to the broader dimensions of race, ethnicity and national identity; social media as social text using the example of Facebook; new and alternative media and online communities; identity on the Internet (mechanisms of identity performance, experimentation and self-presentation online, “presence” in virtual environments, roles and avatars); social relations on the Internet (computer-mediate interpersonal relationships, groups and communities, social networking communication environments) and the role of computer-mediated-communication for shaping social and political behavior. A list of these researchers and their selected publications and research projects are available at the department’s webpage (<http://www.cut.ac.cy/cis/research>).

Finally, through national and international projects such as CyberEthics and EU Kids Online (Phase I and II), the research team at the Cyprus Neuroscience and Technology Institute analyzes new technologies, especially the Internet, cell phones and video games, as well as their risks for the young and old. “CyberEthics” concerns the safe use of Internet in Cyprus, and serves the needs of all people that live on the island (i.e., Greek Cypriots, Turkish Cypriots and other minorities). It addresses not only issues of pornography, but also racism (currently on the rise in Cyprus), gender discrimination and inappropriate use of peoples’ images. Children’s use of the Internet and new media is central to the project EU Kids Online. Specifically, its goal is to chart and understand online opportunities and risks for children and their families. EU Kids Online II is the continuation of EU Kids Online I – a research project funded by the EC Safer Internet Program, which examined available findings on cultural, contextual and risk issues in children’s safe use of the Internet and new media across 21 countries. The specific findings of these two projects as well as other projects that slightly touch on new media and user/audience behavior can be accessed from the institute’s webpage at <http://www.cnti.org.cy>

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CZECH REPUBLIC

ACADEMIC STUDY OF MEDIA AUDIENCES IN CZECH REPUBLIC

| | |
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Czech Republic qualifies as one of the countries where the audience research is "fragmented" or "just emerging" – as the Memorandum of Understanding has it (COST Action IS090 MoU, p. 4). Both are true about the Czech audience research. This state of affairs may seem like a coincidence of idiosyncratic factors but it has an institutional background which is a result of more profound structural conditions and bound to historical and political development.⁴³

Socialist legacy and the audiences

One of the main reasons why the academic audience research lags behind the international average in Czech Republic is the "genetic" foundation of what is today known as media studies. Unlike fully specialized journalism programs, the study of media did not exist in the communist Czechoslovakia (in present sociological or cultural sense). The first departments of mass communication (later media studies) were founded only after 1989. Current Media Studies Department at Charles University was founded on the institutional ground of the former (prior to 1989) Faculty of Journalism. The curriculum was completely transformed and majority of the loyal professors who were associated with a heyday of the party-conducted journalism had to leave the academia. Legacy of non-sociological and anti-methodological approach was however conserved and survived until nowadays. It was exactly this lack of tradition in the empirical research that has made Media Studies Department in Prague to refrain from audience studies, which is perhaps more than any other strand in communication science dependent on methods of sociological research. The actual Media Studies Department was founded as an institutional (not disciplinary!) continuity to the former journalism school. In spite of the massive intellectual transformation, the anti-methodological spirit prioritizing humanities like linguistics and history survived.

⁴³ In this essay I will focus on the developments of the audience research after 1989, i.e. after general transformation of the social and political system which brought about a turn from authoritarian communist rule to market-based democracy. The local media system was adjusted to the main principles which are usual in media systems in Western Europe and introduced public and private media ownership/logics. It also severely impacted on the ways of defining and understanding audiences and introduced the divide between academic research focused on audiences' qualities and the rating analysis facilitating the private media which are – as Ien Ang famously put it – "desperately seeking the audience" (Ang 1991). However, it does not mean that the communist media monitoring before 1989 did not have any methodology for scrutinizing the audiences. Both, the state television and radio organizations had their research departments and used ratings as the evidence that communist media programming is successful in meeting people's needs. Czechoslovak television commenced occasional (questionnaires-based) rating surveys in half of 1960 and switched to continual daily (diaries-based) research in 1972 (See DigiZone). However, Czechoslovak television had only one channel CT1 from 1953 to 1970 and two channels in the consecutive period until the beginning of 1990s. It was not exceptional for an average television show to reach ratings around 80 or 90 percent under these circumstances. With one or two television channels there was no market with multiple broadcasters' shares and the surveys thus measured mainly decisions about watching or not watching television in general, not about watching particular show or broadcaster. The history of measuring audiences in the Czechoslovak Radio is even longer and dates back to the interbellum years (Hankusová 2006).

There are two categories of historical reasons why the audience research was left behind in Czech academia. The institutional reason (described above) is that the discipline of media studies at Charles University is administratively related with former Faculty of Journalism. But there is even deeper layer of causality behind the apparent institutional level and it is the structural level of political circumstances before 1989. It was not a chance that the study of media had mainly the journalistic tradition available as its starting point shortly after the social change in 1989. The communist ideologues put a lot of emphasis on training journalists in fully fledged university journalism programs. Faculty of Journalism was founded in 1972 (in the process of so-called normalization, i.e. elimination of the Prague Spring mentality and legacy) and it replaced much more progressive Faculty of Journalism and Social Sciences (which was brought into being for a limited period of time in 1968).⁴⁴ Faculty of Journalism with highly specialized profile was an important pillar of the communist ideological state apparatus. Transparency of the school that focused solely on journalism as a self-standing curriculum made processes of party supervision and surveillance much easier. Many other social sciences were “cancelled” after 1968 and labeled as pseudo-sciences whereas journalism was singled out and promoted to the position of an autonomous, self-standing academic discipline. Lenin’s exceptional and pointed interest in the press (as “not only a collective propagandist and “collective agitator” but also “collective organizer”) was used to underpin this approach which put journalism on the prominent place, out of the interdisciplinary context of the surrounding social sciences (McNair 1991:18).

Post-socialist presence and the audiences

Focus on legacy of the state socialism and aftermath of its priorities is not the only way how to explain why audience research is underestimated in Czech Republic. Another explanation should be sought for in the type of prevailing intellectual operations of post-socialist period itself. In 1990’s the ultimate keywords of all kinds of social and political analysis were transformation and transition. Modern, post-socialist media studies in Central and East Europe was simply formed as a study of transformation of media systems on the way from authoritarian socialism to the market-based economy (Splichal 1995, Sparks 1998; Gross 2004; Jakubowicz 2006; Jakubowicz, Sukosd 2008, Jiráková-Kopřivová 2008, Klimkiewicz 2008). The “transformation frenzy” steered the new discipline directly towards the interest in media system as one of the social subsystems.⁴⁵ Consequently it was a structuralist perspective that was given a preferential treatment. In the cultural sense, media audiences are understood as people and their media consumption-related agency in the process of struggle with structures of hegemony. In this sense, media audiences and the way they act seemed to be too volatile, random and microscopic to add any substantial knowledge to the fascination with the robust social changes. The cultural study of audiences was not conforming to the dominant structuralist point of view.

Media studies in Central and East Europe was clearly founded as an analysis of macro-media structures in the realms of politics, economy and law. The strongest focus was on the processes of privatization, creation of both legal and informal regulation of media performance, media management in new commercial market conditions or – in the contrary – on the profile and protection of the public service media... This perspective did not generate much space (or need) for the complex study of recipients who nevertheless exist together with media and represent an indispensable element of media culture as the whole.

Czech Republic (and the countries from CEE region in general) can therefore benefit from participation in COST Action IS0906 by taking up the chance to challenge the local dominant paradigm. Engagement in the action could (and should) bring more balance and widening of the research scope of media studies so that it does not cover only structures but also

⁴⁴ More details on <http://fsv.cuni.cz/FSV-413.html#4>

⁴⁵ This approach – which was at the first perhaps more intuitive then connected to the trends of international media studies scene – got further galvanized when Hallin and Mancini published their work *Comparing media systems* (2004) and when it was translated into the Czech (2008). Hallin and Mancini mention the three media systems but they designed them for the world in which post-Soviet block is „hic sunt leones” type of territory. In other words, they do not cover this region with their typology. It opened up the gap that had to be filled and brought about a further reinforcement of the structuralist focus on media system (Dobek-Ostrowska, Glowacki 2008; Dobek-Ostrowska, Glowacki, Jakubowicz, Sukosd 2009).

actors who act within the structures and the ways in which they legitimize or contest their limits. After twenty years of a prolific study of media systems in Central and East Europe the time has come to animate and populate the thoroughly described structures with the people who carry them into practice. This move – or rather enlargement – can be generally understood as a shift from the study of media systems to the enquiry into media cultures and it is still awaiting its full implementation into the discipline of media studies in CEE region.⁴⁶

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⁴⁶ Fragmented and emerging character of the audience research in Czech Republic can be illustrated by an overview of the major publications in the field of audience studies since 1989. In the end of 1990s Jaromír Volek from Masaryk University Brno published two fresh and eye-opening (regarding the particular time and place) articles about everyday uses of television which were rehearsing his PhD. dissertation. These works were inspired mainly by Roger Silverstone and focused on television as an extension of home and domesticity (Volek 1998, 1999). In 2008 the same author published a sharp theoretical essay introducing the post-critical perspective on media audiences, owing mainly to Scott Lash's critique of information (Volek 2008). In the second half of noughties examination of audiences was also applied in the field of literary studies and literary reception theory. Jiří Trávníček from Charles University organized representative survey of book reading and readers which resulted in a quantitative monograph about genres, intensity or selectivity in book reading in Czech Republic (Trávníček 2008). In the same year Irena Prázová finished her (unpublished) dissertation about reading behavior of the users of the academic information institutions (Prázová 2008). In 2010 Tereza Pavličková (Charles University graduate) published the chapter based on her MRes. dissertation (supervised by David Morley at Goldsmiths College) focused on Sonia Livingstone inspired question of "newness of new media audiences" (Pavličková 2010). Irena Reifová started to incorporate the audiences among her research objectives in the second half of noughties as well. She published two theoretical article devoted to understanding post-socialist audiences (Reifová 2009, 2010) and the chapter on the ways in which the retrospective television serial is used as a mnemonic which re-connects the audiences with the socialist past is forthcoming.

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DENMARK

AUDIENCE RESEARCH IN DENMARK

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During the early days of academic media and communication research in Denmark in the late 1960s and early 1970s, there was practically no empirical interest in the media audience. Lacking a social science tradition in communication studies (unlike the situation in neighboring Sweden), all academic research took place within the humanities – in disciplines like linguistics, literary studies and history – and was often heavily influenced by the ‘critical theory’ perspective of the Frankfurt School (Jensen & Rosengren 1990). Often expounding an ideological critique of the culture industries based on qualitative textual analysis, the detrimental effects of ‘bourgeois media’ on audiences was deduced from semiotic and early discourse analysis.

The 1980s witnessed a distinctive turn toward the ‘new reception studies,’ which were seen by its practitioners as a necessary corrective to the conclusions drawn by the textual analyses. Such a corrective was first provided through historical reception studies by Kirsten Drotner in her doctoral dissertation *English Children and their Magazines 1751-1945* (Drotner 1985), and in 1986, Klaus Bruhn Jensen presented his doctoral dissertation, *Making sense of the news*, the first full-scale reception publication in the Nordic countries inspired by the Hall/Morley approach to audience decoding processes. During the same period, pioneering studies were done by Kim Christian Schrøder and Tove Arendt Rasmussen in the area of American serial TV fiction, and by Kirsten Drotner in the area of youth media. Framed within the theoretical framework of British and to some extent German cultural studies, this research was normatively qualitative, following the paths of reception research and audience ethnography. In the period 1988-2002, Klaus Bruhn Jensen founded and directed the section on Audience Research in the International Association for Media and Communication Research.

During the 1990s, a wide variety of reception studies were undertaken, especially about different television genres, not least news and fiction series. In addition, one area of specialization was the media use of children and young people. The following list is not exhaustive, but highlights some important researchers and areas of study:

- At the University of Copenhagen, Anne Jerslev and Christa Lykke Christensen, have examined the reception of TV and TV programs aimed at young people, often in a gender perspective. While adopting a critical stance towards the viewing practices of young audiences, they have emphasized the media literacy and discriminating capabilities of

young audiences. Thomas Tufte has explored the potential and real role played by TV fiction in processes of social change (e.g. in the area of HIV/Aids prevention) in the developing world.

- Birgitte Tufte and Birgitte Holm Sørensen from the Royal School of Education (later: the Pedagogical University of Denmark) have done research on TV viewing and other media use among children and young people in various national research projects. In recent years their research –and that of young scholars in these institutions (e.g. Carsten Jessen) - has explored the media sense-making processes of young media consumers, and the digital literacies of emerging generations of digital natives, as it appears in computer-mediated communication and games.
- Kim Christian Schrøder, Roskilde University has explored the sense-making processes applied by consumer-citizens to different forms of corporate advertising. In recent years he has explored how people in Denmark navigate in the cornucopia of news media around them, how they select, from the vast news supply spanning traditional and digital media, personalized packages, or constellations, of news media. His research follows in the footsteps of previous work by Jørgen Poulsen on newspaper readers and Ib Poulsen on radio news listeners. Kim Schrøder is a co-director of the DREAM Centre (see below).
- Nete Nørgaard Kristensen, University of Copenhagen and Unni From, Aarhus University are currently doing audience research on the reception of newspaper journalism, not least cultural journalism.
- Hanne Bruun and Kirsten Frandsen from the University of Aarhus are currently in charge of a national project on TV entertainment in the 21st century, focusing on the role of TV entertainment in the daily life of the respondents. Karen Klitgaard Poulsen, University of Aarhus, has studied young people and their reception of popular American TV shows like Beverly Hills 90210. She has also for years explored the audiences of printed magazines and the impact of magazines in the wider media matrix.

Commercial audience research

Through the 1990s and 2000s, a wide variety of quantitative as well as qualitative studies have been done in the context of the commercial media sector and public broadcasting, as well, from television meters to readership surveys to product development through focus groups. In recent years commercial research has increasingly had the ambition of mapping people's consumption of cross-media. This research gathers information about the factual aspects of people's cross-media reachability and vulnerability to strategic media campaigns, trying to find their weak spots.

'Audiences of digital media'

Among the first to engage in audience analysis related to digital media, including computer games have been:

- *University of Copenhagen:* Klaus Bruhn Jensen, Rasmus Helles, Anne Mette Thorhauge, Kristine Jørgensen. Since 2002, a research group on Digital Communication and Aesthetics has examined digital media and genres, including quantitative as well as qualitative studies of audiences and users, some of them in collaboration with commercial and other external partners. Among the topics addressed have been mobile media in everyday life; computer games, including the role of sound in player action; and new configurations of one-to-one, one-to-many, and many-to-many communication across media types.
- *University of Aarhus:* Since 2000, the Center for Internet Studies based at the Department of Media Studies, University of Aarhus, has focused on the political and social consequences of the Internet. Empirical studies have addressed online political participation (Jakob Linaa Jensen, Niels Ole Finnemann), the history and development of websites and the Internet (Niels Brügger), the Internet in organizational contexts (Jesper Tække) and the Internet as a center of cross media dynamics through user-generated content (Anja Bechmann Petersen), all fully or partly based on audience analysis approaches. Further, Jakob Linaa Jensen and Anne Marit Waade have done research on the impact of old and new media for tourism practices. Per Jauert has conducted research on radio listening and use of digital audio media.

- *University of Southern Denmark*: Kirsten Drotner at the University of Southern Denmark has undertaken a range of national and international studies of media and youth. Since 2004 she has directed the Danish Research Centre on Education and Advanced Media Materials (DREAM), a joint research center between the University of Southern Denmark and Roskilde University which explores through a multitude of empirical 'audience' and user research projects how digital technologies and applications may serve as facilitators of learning for young people in informal and semiformal contexts. Since 2009 DREAM's focus is on participants' digital content creation and social network communication in museums and science centres, through projects which cross-fertilize museum visitor studies, media audience research, design research and digital literacy research.
- *IT University*: Rich Ling, Gitte Stald, Lisbeth Klasturp. Since its founding in 1999, the IT University of Copenhagen has contributed to audience and user studies of a variety of digital media genres and publics. Among special focus areas have been computer games and mobile media; other topics of research have included media use among children and youth, and social network sites.
- *University of Aalborg*: Malene Charlotte Larsen has investigated young people's uses of social media, for instance the very popular ARTO network for the 10-15 year-olds.

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ESTONIA

CURRENT SITUATION IN AUDIENCE RESEARCH IN ESTONIA

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Keywords media use patterns, audience fragmentation, ethnic minorities, gender, age groups

Transformation of audiences is special research interest in the Tartu University already since 1967. Media researchers have recently indicated to the tendency of audience fragmentation in Estonia – many competing channels and print-media products get attention of few viewers, listeners and readers. Vihailemm (2008) talks about the "process of rapid

fragmentation and social divergence among the audience into 'information poor' and 'information rich'."

In the field of social integration the researchers are interested in particular groups – Russian-speaking population, female actors, and younger generations. There the media research covers mainly two sides of communication process, that of media content and reception as well. As the next I will highlight some results in those research areas.

1) Integration of Russian-speaking population into Estonian society

In the topic of integration of Russian-speaking population we have ongoing research process started already in 1998. Research has been supported by the Integration Foundation.

We can distinguish interests of empirical research in three directions. In the first group of researchers the role of the media is being assessed in constructing national identities and in creating a common public sphere for different ethnic communities. The media monitoring on integration cover all newspapers in Estonian and in Russian languages and selected radio and television programs to show differences and similarities between constructions of social reality in different languages (see Kõuts, Tammpuu 2002 'Changing Media Discourse on Minority Issues in Lauristin and Heidmets (eds.) *The Challenge of the Russian Minority*. Tartu: Tartu University Press, pp 305-316). The specific functions of minority media were conceptualised, but due of the weakness of Russian-language media in Estonia the researchers saw problems with fulfilling those functions (e.g. Jakobson 2002 'The Role of the Minority Press in the Process of Integration' in Lauristin/Heidmets).

In the other group of researchers the media use patterns of Estonians and Russians in Estonia were compared. Analysis indicated to the two separated media spaces among population – Estonians living in Estonian-language media space and Russians living in the media space of Russian Federation (Vihalemm 2006 'Media Use in Estonia' *Nordicom Review* 27 (1), pp 17-29). This is still the case and the state programs "Integration of Russian-speaking population into Estonian society 2000-2007" or "Integration program 2008-2013" have had not much influence.

In the third group of researchers the habits and attitudes of Estonians and Russians to each other were analysed and growing tolerance was conceptualised (Lauristin/Vetik (eds.) 2002 *Integration of Estonian Society*, Tallinn: Integration Foundation)

2) Gender studies

Gender studies in the field of media research concentrate to the content of mass media and highlight the gender stereotypes (re)presented in the mass media.

In the field of media use we do not have specific gendered use patterns – female and male groups both read newspapers and magazines, view television programs, are listening radio channels, and use internet in similar amount. We cannot talk about gendered media use in Estonia.

3) Media use of children and younger generation

Various programs (e.g. Tiger Leap) and initiatives that have been instituted to bring Internet connections to every school in Estonia have led to remarkably high Internet penetration among Estonian youth, reaching 99.9 percent of 11 to 18-year-old pupils (Kalmus et al 2009). Compared to the girls, boys are generally more actively engaged in new media usage (33% of the boys and 24% of the girls spend more than 3 hours a day in the Internet). The self-assessment of girls indicates that they tend to spend their free time more often on additional activities e.g. reading newspapers and journals, listening to the radio, doing homework, etc. than the boys.

Veronika Kalmus's (2008) analysis shows that active Internet use among young people has been accompanied by a decline in the consumption of traditional electronic media channels – television and radio – among schoolchildren.

Future perspectives

Audience research is a part of broader sociological research at the University of Tartu and needs specialized researcher's interests to be sustainable in the future. At the present moment it will be covered by the target financed projects "Estonia as an Emerging Information and Consumer Society: Social Sustainability and Quality of Life"; „Actual complexity of cultural

communication and methodological challenges of cultural research“, and research grants, e.g. “Social and Cultural Practices of the Emerging Information Society in Estonia”, “Children and Young People in the Emerging Information and Consumer Society”.

Publications about Estonian media research

We have few overviews about Estonian media research published in English. Prof. Peeter Vihalemm from University of Tartu has published some pieces about history and trends of media research (in 2002 Vihalemm and Lauristin *Estonian Media and Media Research in 1991-2001*. ENTIRE: Working Papers in International Journalism; and in 2008 an article “Development of Media Research in Estonia”, in web http://www.ssoar.info/ssoar/files/2008/482/17_063-076.pdf). The most comprehensive is still the overview compiled by Salovaara-Moring and Kallas (University of Helsinki) in 2008: <http://www.valt.helsinki.fi/blogs/crc/ReportEstonia.pdf>

Other papers are available mainly in Estonian.

Academic media research in Estonia is concentrated to the University of Tartu; TNS Emor makes commercial analyses.

OVERVIEW OF AUDIENCE PARTICIPATION AND INTERACTIVITY RESEARCH IN ESTONIA

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Institutional overview

In Estonia, the relevant research institutions in the area of audience research are Institute of Journalism and Communication in the faculty of Social and Educational Sciences in University of Tartu. Here the research is coming from two distinct traditions - on the one hand perspective of media histories which was in the soviet time considered appropriate research area and on the other hand from a very strong sociological background with long traditions of making nationally representative surveys - last of which have been in 2003, 2005, 2008 and one upcoming in 2011. In the University of Tartu, audience research has been established already since 1967.

Other research institutions looking at the issues of media and audiences are Baltic Film and Media School, in Tallinn University - with focus on film production and also PR, also in the area of creative industries in general. Also Tallinn University has just opened Institute of Communication, which is still positioning itself in the field.

In relation to WG2, research done in Estonian National Museum researching everyday life and media within this context and research done in E-Governance Academy in the area of participatory potentials of the new media are also relevant.

Existing research in the field.

Much of the earlier research in the area of audiences is mostly published in Estonian. Most comprehensive overview of Estonian media audiences and also media system is published in 2004, in book edited by Peeter Vihalemm: *Meediasüsteem ja meediakasutus Eestis 1965-2004* (Estonian media system and media usage 1965-2004). This book also gives an overview of the media research in Estonia. Another more comprehensive overview of the audiences and participants of media system in Estonia is *Eesti elavik 21. sajandi algul : ülevaade uurimuse Mina. Maailm. Meedia tulemustest* (Estonian Life-world in the beginning of the 21st century: Overview of the results of study Me. The World. The Media) edited by M. Lauristin, V. Kalmus and P. Pruulmann-Vengerfeldt, 2004 where mostly survey results are reported.

As there are altogether just very few researchers in total, in Estonia, working in the area of media and communication. Estonia has a longstanding experience in sociological media research and although much work is also done qualitatively, the core understanding of Estonian

media audiences comes from the surveys of which there is Institute of Journalism and Communication survey Me. The World. The Media (nation-wide population surveys in 2002, 2005, 2008) and there are concrete plans to have next round of survey in 2011. Estonia has good overview of the research done in the area of Children and the Internet as due to participation in EUKidsOnline project, the information is publicly available.

The opportunities provided by the new media in general and social media in particular have been studied in the context of target financed projects “Estonia as an Emerging Information and Consumer Society: Social Sustainability and Quality of Life”; „Actual complexity of cultural communication and methodological challenges of cultural research” and research grants, e.g. “Social and Cultural Practices of the Emerging Information Society in Estonia”, “Children and Young People in the Emerging Information and Consumer Society” and “Museum communication in the 21st century”. The members of our staff and students have been analysing a variety of topics concerning the use of ICT and its possible impact on participation and online opportunities, e.g. several studies have been carried out about online content creation practices of Estonian youth (Kalmus et al 2009a, 2009b, Runnel, 2009 and Siibak, 2009).

Needs and interests of non-academic groups

Although strictly speaking, Estonian National Museum, Estonian Literary Museum and University of Tartu Library are all academic institutions as all of them have defined research as a vital part of their activities, then in the context of COST cooperation, they are non-university partners who have definite interests in the results of the project. Cooperation projects with these institutions indicate that increasing digitalisation also raises awareness of the audiences and users of the online databases. There is increasing demand for interdisciplinary research and activating audiences for heritage institutions.

Similarly, research on participation and on the related issues is of interest for many institutions who feel that citizen engagement, participation in political sphere and seeking opinions of as many groups as possible is important part of policy making, administration or business purposes. Understanding interactive audiences and engaged audiences gives important insights to these groups.

Identify avenues of research

Web 2.0 has brought hype and expectations about active audiences, increasing interactivity and user involvement. However, in the context of hype, many of the ideas of interactivity and participation are used vaguely or left completely undefined. That is especially true in the public and political uses of the issues. One of the important questions is whether the expectations created with the new phase of Internet content creation opportunities are realistic and if there are ways and need to increase participation.

Researching participation and audience interactivity gives many opportunities for action research, where communities of interests are included in the research. In ideal, action research could also yield to some practical identification of the best practices that could be used both in the academic understanding of interactivity and participation, but also in the context of the non-university target groups. For instance above-mentioned heritage institutions are very interested in academic research that in the area of participation and would like to use the knowledge and implement the research in their everyday work.

Opportunities for cross-disciplinary developments

Interactivity and participation ideas are becoming increasingly important in the section of usability studies and cooperation with IT specialists is becoming vital for many projects, especially those where are interactive components.

Participatory practices are also important to people working in the area of museology and cultural heritage and the more common understanding of participation in the context of political communication, policy studies and public administration.

Cooperation with other networks

Research done in the context of this project is closely connected to international EUKidsOnline network. HUWY.eu - Hub Websites for Youth Participation is international project joining Ireland, UK, Germany and Estonia and the project ends February 2011. Project focuses on youth participation in distributed policy discussion and analysis of that.

At the same time local Estonian networks that are important in the context of this project are: "Estonia as an Emerging Information and Consumer Society: Social Sustainability and Quality of Life" which joins most of the researchers at University of Tartu who work on the sociological media research perspective.

Cooperation networks also include smaller projects with museums, libraries and heritage institutions and public institutions that are interested in their users and audiences and these corporations are not always formalised.

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RESEARCH ON NEW MEDIA AND SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS IN ESTONIA

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Background

In discussions of the emerging information society, Estonia has often served as an example of a success story (cf. Krull 2003). According to the Global Information Technology Report, compiled by the World Economic Forum (2008), Estonia, with its 5.12 points, is ranked 20th among 127 rated countries in the Networked Readiness Index. The Lisbon Review (Blanke 2006) compiled a few years earlier, indicated that Estonia ranked as high as 5th among European countries in information society development. Estonia's high position in different rankings and its reputation as an information society has mainly been associated with the ICT usage and readiness of the government sector (Vengerfeldt & Reinsalu 2009).

Various programs (e.g. Tiger Leap) and initiatives have been instituted to bring Internet connections to every school in Estonia. These various programs have also led to remarkably high Internet penetration among Estonians (70 percent; see Runnel, Pruulmann-Vengerfeldt, & Reinsalu, 2009). Internet usage is especially high among youth, reaching 99.9 percent of 11 to 18-year-old pupils (see Kalmus et al 2009b). Based on the report by the EU Kids Online network, Estonia is considered a high-use country, ranking 4th, after Finland, with 93 per cent of 6-17-year-old children using the Internet (Hasebrink et al 2008).

Main areas of interest

The role of media but especially ICT use in the context of social relationships has been studied mainly in the Institute of Journalism and Communication, at the University of Tartu. The opportunities provided by the new media in general and social media in particular have been studied in the context of target financed projects “Estonia as an Emerging Information and Consumer Society: Social Sustainability and Quality of Life”; „Actual complexity of cultural communication and methodological challenges of cultural research“ and research grants, e.g. “Children and Young People in the Emerging Information and Consumer Society”. The members of our staff and students have been analysing a variety of topics concerning the use of ICT and its possible impact on relationships, e.g. several studies have been carried out about online content creation practices of Estonian youth (Kalmus et al 2009a, 2009b), in particular about the reasons for being engaged in social networking websites (Siibak 2009, Tamme 2010, Mangus 2010, Aug 2010), different aspects for keeping a personal blog (Tammert 2008, Blinka 2009, Schank Tammkivi 2009) or a company blog (Kirst 2007, Visnapuu 2008,), online counselling forums (Männiste 2010, Oolo 2010), posting memorial videos to YouTube (Külv 2010), etc. In the majority of the works named, the emphasis has been laid on analysing the user practices and motives of social media usage among lay people or different institutions; however some studies have been focusing on studying special target groups (e.g. uses of SNS among supporters of extremist right wing politics (Pruul 2007), or reasons for blogging for handicraftsmen (Teppor 2008).

Presently our research team is aiming to start a new project which would analyse the experiences different age groups have in their daily encounters with and usage practices of traditional and new media and to explore interaction between generations in the process of socialisation into the emerging information society. Foremost we are interested in the mediation strategies of parents, siblings, teachers and peers in shaping media literacy of children and guiding their media use. We expect to find significant differences between age groups in their use and perception of media, allowing us to outline different media generations.

Main findings

Young people in particular have been really active in making use of a variety of online opportunities new media and digital technologies offer. For example, according to our research findings the most popular online activity among 11-18 year old's [N=713] is chatting via instant messenger, as 96.8% is engaged in this activity. Having a profile in a social networking website is also immensely popular. Although the number of users of the most popular national SNS is gradually dropping, more and more Estonians have started to own a profile in international SNS Facebook (number of Estonian users in August 2010 – more than 250 000). Previous studies (Kalmus et al 2009b) report that the motives that have a distinctly social focus prevail among the reasons for creating a profile in the SNS (67% of the profile owners were influenced by their friends' already having the profiles and 55% wanted to find new friends and acquaintances). Qualitative studies among SNS users have indicated the same trend – the main reasons and purposes for using SNS were communication, gathering information, entertainment and creativity and self-expression opportunities (Mangus 2010). According to (Mangus 2010) the users valued SNS mainly because of providing the opportunity to maintain connections as well as facilitating communication with existing or former schoolmates, classmates, fellows from university, colleagues, friends, members of family, acquaintances and relatives. Hence, the findings showed that SNS use was associated with formation and maintenance of bridging and maintained social capital (Mangus 2010). Furthermore, users were also found to use different self-presentation strategies in order to increase their social capital as well as to present oneself by the means of their network of connections (Mangus 2010).

The findings of several other studies (Siibak 2007, 2009, 2010; Siibak & Ugur 2010) indicate that online environments have become spaces for the self-socialization for the young as they have started to make use of online environments in order to play various identity games and creatively appropriate the knowledge gained from the adult world into producing a peer culture of their own. Impression management strategies of the young are built upon the

collective schemas of the online community, hence norms of the peer culture also help to shape the visual and textual self-presentation strategies and techniques (see Siibak 2010).

Compared to the motives for using social networking websites, news portals and forums for which are clearly socially oriented; the motives for keeping a blog or having a personal website are more self-centred and derive from the need to be original and distinct from others (82% of the bloggers keep a blog in order to express their opinion, 73% want to offer their readers something original, 70% love writing, and only 26% follow the example of other bloggers) (Kalmus et al 2009a). Nevertheless, even the young self-publishers take their audience into account: 74% agree that they have to bear in mind the fact that many other people may read their blog, 68% reply to the comments on their postings, and 36% consider a great number of readers important when blogging (Kalmus et al 2009a).

Furthermore, previous research has suggested that Estonian youth have been found to consider the information found from the Internet to be more trustworthy compared for example to the more traditional media channels (Kalmus 2008). According to the results of some previous studies (Kalmus et al 2009; Männiste 2010; Oolo 2010) online forums and counselling environments have in many respects taken the role of a counsellor and advisor among the young as they offer a variety of opportunities to ask for advice, discuss upon private issues and search for information on sensitive topics.

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FINLAND

AUDIENCE INTERACTIVITY AND PARTICIPATION: A REVIEW OF RECENT AUDIENCE RESEARCH IN FINLAND

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| Keywords | audience research, journalism audiences, social media, citizen participation |

Introduction

In Finnish universities audience research has not enjoyed a strong independent tradition, as the emphasis in media and communication studies has long been mainly on textual analysis. Individual researchers with an interest in radio or television audiences, however, were able to find opportunities for funding and research collaboration at the corporate research organization at Yleisradio, or YLE as the Finnish public service broadcaster is now known. This organization, officially renamed “Audience Research” in 1995, was mainly responsible for radio- and TV-audience measurement (ratings), but since the early 1990s it also independently carried out research on audience participation and involvement. The studies ranged from qualitative experiments with focus groups and panel studies for developing new programs and improving old ones (including testing interactive elements) to conducting nation-wide surveys searching how to involve the audience in taking public service to the 21st century. Such research endeavors came to an end in 2005, when the department was closed down as a part of YLE’s organizational downsizing. Audience research at YLE became a strictly in-house activity serving program planning and corporate strategy.

Recently academic audience studies have experienced a revival, largely due to a new emphasis on the new digitalized media environment. This paper presents main tendencies and observations of the recent Finnish audience research. The studies can be crudely divided into four main research areas: journalism and its audiences, social media and citizen participation, consumer behavior and organizational communication.⁴⁷

Journalism and its audiences

The “Helsinki research group” is a member of a longitudinal, multi-methodological research project Towards Engaging Journalism. The project taps into question: What is “engaging” journalism made of? The three-year project (2009-2011) aims to analyze journalism and its relevance for the audience from the perspective of social networks. The study attempts to shed light on people’s social networks: How and where people discuss public affairs and what is the role of journalism and newspapers in and for these discussions? The project is funded by Helsingin Sanomat Foundation.

At the core of the project is a 1.5 years long audience research. The empirical study focuses on nine existing social networks from four different regions in Finland. All 78 participants of networks were theme interviewed individually. After that each group gathered approximately once a month during the semester of 2009–2010 to discuss how public affairs and participants’ lifeworlds intersect and whether or not news prove to be useful in their social networks. The groups also evaluated news stories, expressed criticism or suggested improvements for news organizations.

⁴⁷ Most project titles below are originally in Finnish and translated for this review by the authors. The original titles can be found in the list of literature.

The project co-operates with five newspapers that joined the project in order to get informed about the audience research. These newspapers are Aamulehti (Tampere), Helsingin Sanomat (Helsinki), Kaleva (Oulu), Keskiuomalainen (Jyväskylä) and Tyrvään Sanomat (Sastamala). The researchers have organized joint meetings for journalists and the focus groups in order to encourage interaction between news professionals and readers. The newspapers have also provided material for group discussions and the focus groups have given feedback to the journalists.

Additionally, there are several other projects dealing with journalism and audiences. In her project "Civic Journalism in Finnish Editorial Practice" (2004-2009), Laura Ruusunoksa examines the change in Finnish journalism that involves the rapprochement of journalism and ordinary citizens in editorial work. According to Ruusunoksa, the change has brought about a new emphasis allowing the readers to be included more closely in the journalistic working process concerning the search for topics, as sources and public conversation partners. Theoretically and conceptually the project is linked to civic journalism (public journalism) theory, conceptualizing journalistic professionalism, publicity and citizenship, and finding interrelations among these concepts. The data of the research consists not only of interviews with journalists in three newspapers (the national *Helsingin Sanomat*, the regional *Aamulehti* and the local *Itä-Häme*) but also of articles and stories where the idea of civic journalism has been applied.

In their project "How does recession affect journalism?" (2009-2011) Kaarina Nikunen and Susanna Vehmas aim to elucidate what kinds of journalistic processes, practices and actors gain strength or weaken during an economic recession. The aim is also to outline practices and solutions that would strengthen the possibilities of quality journalism in the future. The study concentrates especially on the following three themes: changes in journalistic source practices, news saturation of the society, and the effects of the economic recession on the status and working capacity of different types of media actors. The data consists both of quantitative information about concrete changes and of interviews with journalists and lobbyists.

Ari Heinonen's "Letting the audience have a say in newspapers" (University of Tampere, 2008) opens up a view to the traditions and practices through which readers get to have a say in the making of newspaper journalism. The research was conducted by interviewing editors-in-chief and analyzing the content of 54 Finnish newspapers. According to the results, newspapers have encountered significant new opportunities to include the audience more in the making of the newspaper. It also emerged that journalism is quite open to the audience, especially in the initial and final stages of the journalistic process. It would appear, however, that experiments in letting the audience have a say are driven more by incidental factors than by strategic thinking.

Petri Kaukiainen's master's thesis "Your opinion, max. 160 characters – text messages as part of newspaper contents" (University of Helsinki, 2009) examines text messages as a part of newspaper content. He considers them as part of the public discussion, as public journalism and citizen journalism. The study states that the readers' text messages bring new topics, feelings and points of view to the news reporting and thus make it more diverse.

Social media and citizen participation

Minna Aslama's postdoctoral project "Digital Living!" (University of Helsinki/Fordham University, New York, June 2010-Dec 2012) examines digital media, participation and everyday life in 3 countries (Finland, India and the US). This project aims at examining existing claims and uncovering less-researched areas about digital media in people's everyday lives in different geographic and demographic contexts, through micro-level, descriptive and inductive ethnographic analyses. The study will research – through participatory observation and theme interviews, as well as online-diaries – how people experience the idea of participation and different communities they affiliate themselves with (whether virtual, and/or imagined, or in their immediate physical surroundings). The micro-level material will be contextualised by macro-level analyses of respective national media landscapes (how structural considerations may or may not influence people's everyday 'digital living'). Aslama is collaborating with cultural anthropologist Amelia Bryne who is making a documentary on the theme.

The JRDC's project "Social Media in the Co-operation between Citizens and Public Administration", led by Risto Kunelius (2011-2012) engages in the development, testing and evaluation of new media applications with which the information created by the public sector, of the media contents of different types, and the information created by the citizens themselves, can be gathered, augmented and further disseminated.

Janne Matikainen (Communication Research Centre CRC, University of Helsinki) has studied the societal and social perspectives of new technologies. His project "In the Borderline of the Traditional and Social Media" (2008-2009) studies the views of the public towards the web contents and services created in the social and the traditional media. It focuses on trust and the motives of media use, and tries to elucidate the relationship between the future of mass media and the model of social media. According to the analysis, the main three motives to produce content on the web are: the development of web-ideology and self; self-expression and social interaction; and content sharing. The study highlights that trust towards traditional media is very strong. It also points out that traditional and social media operate on separate levels and have different functions in the users' lives.

Aleksi Kolehmainen's master's thesis "The potentialities of the social media to promote democracy" (University of Helsinki, 2009) examines the possibilities of social media in promoting digital democracy. According to Kolehmainen, the main challenge of digital democracy has to do with activating the passive citizens.

In his article "Internet becoming a public space of action - participative use of the Internet in a local environmental dispute" Jaakko Bamberg (University of Tampere, 2005) discusses the use of the information and communication technologies in a local environmental dispute. The theoretical viewpoint lies in the notions of publicity, participation and space. The results of the analysis show that Internet as a space of public action has risen to challenge the mainstream media and other more conventional spaces of public action, which in turn helps to open up the traditionally closed Finnish municipal governance.

Sirkku Kotilainen and Leena Rantala (University of Tampere) have investigated the civic participation of young people in the Internet. Their article "Young people as local actors in online environment" (2005) states that although almost all of the young people are familiar with digital communication technologies, their online activities differ. Civic youth websites have in recent years been established in various parts of the world, but the body of empirical work on young people's online participation is still small. One key observation of the study is that pedagogic support is needed in the empowerment processes of the youth.

Sanna Valtonen, Sanna Ojajärvi and Ilkka Uronen conducted a study "Is community television becoming a reality? Opportunities for regional and community television in Finland" (2008). The study was based on 42 interviews with people in the television industry and other experts, who were asked to consider the funding models, technological solutions, distribution platforms, the cultural environment and other social conditions for regional and community television.

Especially the questions concerning the cultural dimension raised up the interviewees ideas of potential audiences as well as with the audiences' ways of using media. From this point of view, regional television was seen to play an important role in promoting regional culture. Community television, however, with its emphasis on citizen participation as well as other forms of creating and using social media, was situated as still trying to establish its position in Finnish media. In order to gain a steady status and to promote citizen participation, community media would require operations relying on legislation.

Consumer behavior

The JRDC's project "User Involvement in Service Innovations" (2009-2010) aims to increase understanding of user involvement in the service innovation process and thus advance Finnish organizations' abilities to create user-oriented service innovations by multidisciplinary approach. The project examines for example the forms, environments and motivation factors of user participation, participation experience, user communities as sources of innovations and developer perspectives in human-centered design processes.

In her project “Virtual communities in the Media Industry” Hanna-Kaisa Ellonen (Lappeenranta University of Technology, 2008- 2009) investigates how and why consumers engage in communal services and how the use of communal services affects their attitudes and behavior towards the media brand offering the services. The results of the research will guide media companies to plan their communal services in such way that they will support the magazine, the brand and the competitiveness of the media company.

“Social media – Introduction to the tools and processes of participatory economy” (2008) by Katri Lietsala and Esa Sirkkunen (University of Tampere) handles the social media from the point of view of participatory economy. They state that the main motivation for participants was self-expression, but there may be differences in expectations on what is going to happen in the long run.

Professor Liisa Uusitalo (Aalto University School of Economics) is in charge of a project called “Consumer Behavior in Information Economy” (2009-2011). The aim of the project is to study how changes in the market, especially due to digitalization and globalization, influence consumer and citizen behavior. Important areas of research are consumer behavior in networks and virtual markets, changes in marketing and marketing communication that take advantage of the new technology and market changes due to new virtual technology.

Organizational communication

The main idea behind Olli Kariniemi's doctoral dissertation “Audience Survey of an Organizational Journal as an Instrument to Develop the Community” (University of Tampere, 2010) is that communities cannot exist without communication. The aim of his study is to find out with the help of audience survey how organizational journals can be seen as instruments in order to develop an ideal community.

Maarit Mäkinen's doctoral dissertation “Digital Empowerment in Community Development” (University of Tampere, 2009) concerns digital empowerment as a process to improve participatory citizenship in information society. The aim of the research is to analyze the processes of promoting more competent and active citizens; how it happens and how it can be supported. The dissertation suggests that the new communication technology projects in communities represent types of working methods, which can be used to enhance the participatory roles of residents and communities in the information society.

Concluding remarks

Based on this review the main emphasizes in the Finnish audience research concern, on one hand the future of journalism, and on the other, civic participation and social media. Much of research is conducted from the viewpoint of civic or public journalism: how to make journalism more receptive to the needs and expectations of the audiences. Additionally, the social media approach stresses the more general framework of public sphere theories. Qualitative research methods are prevailing, and interviews and focus group discussions form the main means in data gathering. Quantitative methods are used mostly as additional tools. Most research projects are sponsored by one major institution, Helsingin Sanomat Foundation; also the Academy of Finland has funded some projects. As to the character of the research, there is a clear orientation towards applied research and industrial interests. The main venue for audience research is traditionally the University of Tampere and its Journalism Research and Development Centre, but in the recent years the Communication Research Centre CRC, University of Helsinki, has increased its activities in this area, too.

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AUDIENCE RESEARCH IN FINLAND

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After the quite vigorous start of academic audience research in the 1960s and its continued efforts in the 1970s, the questions of audiencehood, compared to many other sub-fields of mass communication and media studies, occupied a marginal position in Finland with rather sporadic research efforts in the 1980s and 1990s. In recent years, however, the

digitalization of technology, the globally pervasive spread of the internet and, concomitantly, the development of new forms and practices of web-based communication, among other things, have prompted an unprecedented upsurge of both scholarly and industrial interest in people's relations with the media. Noteworthy enough, one cannot find much research that identifies itself outspokenly as audience research but issues that pertain to it – such as fandom, public or civic journalism, media literacy, consuming of media contents and formats, web-based social media, user interfaces, or digital and pervasive gaming, to name but a few – are studied currently with great enthusiasm in many Finnish universities and research institutes.

There are both fascinating parallels and differences between the mid-1960s situation and today, one of them being the close collaboration of university researchers with institutionalised non-academic stakeholders. It can even be said that the Finnish mass communication research “truly began” in 1965 – as formulated by the field's ‘grand old man to be’ Kaarle Nordenstreng in the *Preface* for the first anthology on Finnish audience research in 1969 – with the launch of a YLE-funded (Finnish Broadcasting Company) long term research programme with projects conducted in four different universities. Since the end of the 1990s onwards the partners of academic research have mainly come from commercial media houses and technology firms; YLE, state ministries, local governments and other public agencies playing a minor role as contracting parties. Noteworthy though, public funding continues to be crucial also for contemporary research. For example, a lion's share of the budget for one of the biggest national research programmes currently in progress, *NextMedia*, that focuses on people's uses of media from various industrially and commercially driven angles, comes from the taxpayers' pockets.

To sketch briefly and with broad strokes the time period from the beginning of Finnish audience research up till today, one notices that in the 1960s and early 1970s the empirical research was quantitative by nature, getting its inspiration mainly from the Anglo-American behaviourist media sociology and relying on large scale surveys and structured interviews, and using statistical methods in analysing the data. The impetus behind the individual studies was to find out “*how much* different segments of population use newspapers, radio, television, cinema and books and *what* themes from the offered input each of them chooses” (Nordenstreng 1969, 8). The purpose was thus to paint a picture of mass media use in the national scale and ask also *why* people use the media and *what effects* they have (ibid.). In other words, in the early YLE projects the research was done by and large in the spirit of Lasswell's famous formula ‘who says what in which channel to whom with what effect’, as was assessed later in a review article by key Finnish actors in the field (Pietilä et al., 1990, 169; see also Pietilä 2000). There was, however, as pointed out by Veikko Pietilä (1992), embryonic hints of more qualitative or ‘softer’ approaches to theorising and studying people's relations with mass media at that time. For example, the ritual view of communication figured in some of the research, and ethnographically inclined field work was occasionally tried out – both of these ended up gaining a prominent position internationally somewhat later as a part of the rise of cultural media studies (see Pietilä 1967; Peltola 1969; Nordenstreng 1972).

In the early 1970s, the major topics of research in the YLE projects included people's views of the functions and uses of different media, influence of the press on people's opinions, people's views of YLE and other media, the perceived effectiveness of YLE programmes, people's information needs and ‘how the message gets across’ (see articles in Littunen & Sinkko 1975). The two last mentioned research strands have been described as “purely Nordic and partly genuinely Finnish in origin” (Kivikuru 1995, 4). Especially the latter of the two set itself quite ambitious theoretical and methodological tasks, attempting to define exactly what ‘comprehension and effects of communication’ mean, and wishing to assess critically the existing audience research methodology (K. Pietilä & Kytömäki 1975, 141). The lack of sensitive methods in studying large quantitative data may have been one of the reasons that these research efforts, which took clear distance from the ‘Lasswellian’ mentality, did not continue into the 1980s; something that in itself signaled also the more general waning of interest in the study of mass media audiences in Finland.

The landing of British Cultural Studies influences in the early 1980s did not in any time soon prompt more systematic empirical research on people's media relations in the field of Finnish mass communication research. The inspiration was more theoretical in nature sparking a lively debate within the field and partaking in a more general paradigm shift (see, for example, the theme number 3/1985 of journal *Tiedotustutkimus* [Journal of Communication Studies]) that introduced the by now classical texts by Stuart Hall on encoding/decoding (1980) and David Morley on cultural transformations (1983) as translations to Finnish media scholars; see also Pietilä (1986).

Outside the field of mass communication research there emerged interest in media reception, for example, among sociologists around the middle of 1980s. Cultural studies influences were in the background, for example, in the sociological 'way of life studies' (Heikkinen 1986 and 1989); and they made themselves equally felt in the studies of everyday media reception (Alasuutari et al. 1991). At the turning of the decade there appeared also more methodologically tinged thinking on reception that produced some empirical research as well (see articles in, for example, Mäkelä 1990 and Kytömäki 1991).

Following the example set by CCCS in Britain, the Research Unit for Contemporary Culture was established at the University of Jyväskylä in 1986 on Katarina Eskola's initiative, starting its own publication series. Apart from studying the Finnish reading preferences and habits, the culturally oriented researchers analysed the reception of other cultural products and performances as well, from health posters, concert music, art exhibitions and theatre to fictional television programmes, to mention a few examples (see, for instance, Eskola & Linko 1986; Linko 1986; Jokinen & Linko 1987; Eskola & Vainikkala 1988; Eskola 1990; Vainikkala 1990). It is noteworthy that these culturally oriented research activities have continued into later decades and developed also more recent articulations, such as fandom studies.

Within the field of Finnish mass communication research, however, empirical studies were few and far between in the 1980s – a situation that continued the best part of the 1990s as well. The doctoral dissertations by Jorma Miettinen (1980) on newspaper reading and Juhani Wiio (1984) on the effects of mass mediated health education, were firmly anchored in the context and discussions of 1970s although the latter took distance from the earlier decade's thinking and included also cultural studies elements. Ullamaija Kivikuru (1995, 5), one of the prominent figures in Finnish mass communication research for decades, described the state of the art in the middle of the 1990s with the laconic remark that, as to studying the questions of audience, there reigned "a great silence" over the field.

In retrospect, the 1990s do not, in fact, appear at all so barren, since apart from the studies conducted in the Research Unit for Contemporary Culture, women's soap opera watching habits were being explored both theoretically and empirically from feminist starting points (e.g. Ahonen & Rajalahti 1990; Mero 1991; Ruoho 1992; Virta 1994) and there was some ethnographically oriented research being done by sociologists in collaboration with YLE, for example, on everyday radio listening (Alasuutari 1993). Within a broader frame, one can name also Juha Panula's doctoral dissertation (1993) on the orientations of television viewing in the changing media environment at Turku School of Economics (see also Panula 1997) as an example of the early 1990s Finnish audience research. At the end of 1990s, Maaria Linko's (1998) – a researcher closely associated with the Jyväskylä research unit – culturally oriented dissertation on audience members' experiences of visual art, fiction and museums was published at the University of Helsinki's Department of Sociology. Juha Kytömäki's (1999) – a long-time YLE researcher – contemporaneous doctoral dissertation in social psychology at the University of Helsinki, for its part, analysed young people's experiences on television viewing in a culturally oriented media educational framework, using qualitative interviews for producing the research material.

Towards the end of 1990s, the cultural studies influences started to bear empirical fruit also in Finnish mass communication research, when two doctoral dissertations on media reception were published at the University of Tampere. The other employed narratological tools in analysing the rhetoric of television news text and focus group discussions in exploring how the TV news are actually received by the viewers. The critical genre-theoretical framework that

was developed in the work rearticulated Hall's encoding/decoding model (Ridell 1998a; see also Ridell 1998b and 1998c). The other dissertation focused on the production, text and reception of a Japanese television drama likewise from genre-theoretical but equally feminist starting points, using group discussions and surveys for generating the reception data (Valaskivi 1999). Telling of the discontinuities in Finnish audience research, both studies positioned themselves in the international context of cultural studies without making connections to earlier national audience research.

A parallel development since the mid-1990s was the landing of American public (or civic) journalism movement in Finnish journalism studies (see Heikkilä & Kunelius 2003). Public journalism had a strong R&D inclination and the projects were executed in close collaboration with some Finnish newspapers. The aim was to engage the readers in a more active role in the journalistic production process. Even though newspaper readers were approached in their capacity as audience members the key concepts employed were not 'audience' or 'reception' but rather 'public' and 'participation' (see Heikkilä & Kunelius 1996). However, the notion of audience, as well as cultural studies influences in general, have made quite a forceful entry in some of the later public journalism projects conducted at the University of Tampere's Journalism Research and Development Centre.

Along with the beginning of the new millennium, a completely new page has turned in the history of Finnish audience research in the sense that now 'the audience' suddenly seems to be everywhere. Or, more precisely, issues that in one way or another relate to media audiencehood seem to be of acute interest for researchers in different university departments and research institutes, schools of economics and technical universities; both post graduate research projects and paid-in collaboration are blossoming. In the background (or perhaps rather in the foreground) is the digitalization of communication and media technology, the phenomenal spread of the internet and the explosion of forms of web-based social media, all of which have awakened traditional mass media industry to realise the new kind of risks and challenges to its existence, consequently sensitising all and each media, be it television, radio or newspaper, to 'audience preferences' and 'audience participation'. In fact, the scene is currently so manifold and vibrant that it is difficult to outline its contours in any coherent way. The difficulty is not lessened by the variegation of key concepts depending on the topic, institutional context and the chosen point of view. Even more intricate are situations – not so rarely met in large research projects with multiple academic and non-academic parties – where different concepts referring to people's media relations are used as if they were synonymous and interchangeable.

Amidst the diversity, one notices also a clear continuation from the end of the 1990s. Namely, during the first decade of the 2000s several doctoral dissertations in the field of mass communication and media studies or fields pertaining to it, have focused on some aspect of audience activities within a more or less explicitly cultural studies framework, combining it often with insights from feminist research. Such are Annikka Suoninen's (2003) study on youth's and children's media literacy, Kaarina Nikunen's (2005) study on television fandom, Hanna Rajalahti's (2006) study on viewers' conversations about television series, Virve Peteri's (2006) study on the domestication of media technologies, Liina Puustinen's (2008) study on the ways in which advertising professionals imagine and construct discursively the targeted audience groups as consumers, Tanja Sihvonen's (2009) study on the modding of digital games, Olli Sotamaa's (2009) study on the productive activities of players within computer game cultures, Irma Hirsjärvi's (2009) study on the networks of science fiction fandom, Heli Rantavuo's (2009) study on the meanings users give for cameraphone photos, Jari Luomanen's (2010) study on the moralities people attach to media technology and, more remotely, Olli Kariniemi's (2010) study on how audience research can be used for producing sense of community in the third sector organisations' online publications. Moreover, it seems that many of the doctoral dissertations presently in preparation in different universities have a bent towards cultural studies.

As regards other academic research with a focus on media audiencehood, there are some topical fields that appear especially prominent in Finnish university departments and research institutes at the moment. Among them one can mention the following that are currently studied

in several research projects: mainstream media's (the print media in particular) relation to their audiences; media use and literacy especially of young people and children; immigrants' use of Finnish mainstream media (see, for example, Nikunen 2008, Nikunen 2010; Maasilta et al. 2008); and practices of fandom. Pertaining to and partly overlapping with the borders of audience studies, there are research projects in progress – many of them being conducted in schools of economy and technical universities – on the uses of web-based social media, domestication of media technologies, human–computer interfaces, customisation of media formats according to targeted consumer preferences, and playing of digital and pervasive games.

Given the current diversity of both people's media relations and the ways of approaching them, one prime task that presents itself for audience researchers in Finland is to try and pin down what is the specificity of media audiencehood today. In other words, how acting as an audience relates to, is entangled with and differs from other, increasingly networked and mobile forms of living and doing things with the media in present-day thoroughly digitalized environments? This, then, calls for crystallizing the field of reference of the notion of audience itself as compared to certain other notions that refer to aspects of people's media relations such as user, consumer, customer, citizen, community member, participant, player, fan, producer or public. This is something that poses a real challenge also more generally as audience researchers have not been very keen on defining their concepts. The importance of theoretical (self-) reflection, however, lies in the fact that the way researchers understand and employ their concepts cannot be separated from the knowledge interests that underpin and direct the politics that their research carries out.

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PARTICIPATORY CULTURE IN MULTICULTURAL SOCIETIES: NEW CHALLENGES FOR AUDIENCE RESEARCH IN FINLAND

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In this essay I will explore the specific challenges in audience research in Finland concerning particularly the area of WG 4.

Over the past two decades Finland, like many other European societies, has become more multicultural due to increased immigration and growing mobility of people. It was only in the 1980s that the country shifted from emigration to immigration. Recent transformation into increasingly multicultural society has been challenging and intricate with growing hostility towards immigrants and debates over multiculturalism. The growing support of populist rightwing parties with immigrant hostile agendas in Finland and elsewhere is reshaping the political climate of Europe.

At the same time media and media audience structures are going through substantial transformations due to intensified economical and technological media convergence. The development of media technology then has resulted in emergence of new forms of audience practices and activities. These two simultaneous movements have reshaped the construction of media, politics and participation, which requires new research initiatives nationally and internationally.

Fans, participation and democracy

According to Henry Jenkins (2004) media convergence alters the relationship between existing technology, industry, markets, gender and audiences. Thus it is produced not only by the company strategies but also by the audiences themselves.

These new forms of audience practices have been explored particularly within fan studies and in the field of media culture research in Finland. Kaarina Nikunen has explored the formations of television fan communities (2005), while Mikko Hautakangas (2006) has researched the new forms of audience participation and so called 'activated audiences' with the case study of Big Brother. Irma Hirsjärvi's work on science fiction fandom (2009) explores fan identity and the meanings and formations of fan community.

Fan research in Finland follows more or less Henry Jenkins' view of audiences as active, socially connected and resistant. Fan research then demonstrates the new forms of audience activity, but at the same time also highlights the increased transnational and global nature of

audiencehood. Online communication allows fans to connect and share their views with other fans across the globe, beyond nationally bounded media sceneries.

This transnational sharing can be seen enhancing the sense of global citizenship. Research on participatory cultures and social media are, of course, not limited to fan studies. The Finnish research of the field explores participation and new media also in the context of democratization, locality and equality (Mäkinen 2009, Sirkkunen & Kotilainen 2004; Ridell 2002, Harju & Pöyhtäri 2010).

New challenges for PSB

The Finnish public service broadcasting company YLE is acquiring new role in this changing media environment. Growing visibility on the Internet with new kinds of audience services and platforms PSB has also received intensified criticism from commercial media questioning its tasks as public service broadcaster – similar debates seem to rise in other parts of Europe as well. However, from the perspective of the PSB, its role on the Internet provides new more democratic tools for citizen participation and dissemination of information and therefore helps to better realize its role of public service. The programming for minority groups, however, within the PSB seems to be decreasing and facing new ideals of marketization in Finland and Sweden explored by Horsti & Hultén (2010).

Migration and multiculturalism

New communication technologies are providing new means to connect, and create transnational spaces of bonding that are specifically relevant for people living in diaspora. Research on these new transnational spaces such as online forums have increased during past ten years demonstrating their impact in the migratory lives in different parts of the world. In Finland this research has landed fairly late, in the 2000s. Studies have focused on the use of media by migrant population (Maasilta et al. 2008; Nikunen 2008; 2010).

Much of the literature on diasporic use of online draws from discussions on hybridity and identity exploring the ways in which identities are negotiated and created within these transnational spaces. Such research is focusing on various diasporic online communities and use of the new media in everyday life.

However, international research on diaspora, Internet and identity is also increasingly under criticism over its claimed optimism, nostalgia, essentialism or celebratory approach (Robins & Aksoy 2005; Werbner 1996). British researcher Pnina Werbner (1996) states that attention to hybridity overrides issues of inequality and racism. This is illuminated in the way research celebrates the potentials of the hybrids and third space, and neglects to perceive the contested terrain of the online media, where various racist and antiimmigration forums exist aside diasporic and transnational forums. Indeed, the emergence of various racist and anti-democratic online communities fostering hate speech throughout Europe challenges the participatory research and poses new questions on the impact of online cultures in the political sphere of Europe.

These formations of virtual communities with immigrant hostile agendas are explored in my new research project **“Sensibilities of the Internet: mapping spaces of conflicts and sharing”** as part of larger project Structures of Compassion funded by the Academy of Finland (2011-13). This is also the research area I wish to work on during WG4.

Idea for consorted research within WG4

Thus one of the aims of WG4 could be in mapping out the various spaces of inclusion and exclusion on the European virtual sphere. This project would explore the various virtual communities and networks formed by different kinds of groups and publics and their transnational connection. How do these debates travel across national boundaries and become trans-territorial?

The project would ask what kind of spaces of conflicts, sharing and action Internet offers and what kind of implications does the participation on the Internet hold for the understanding of others' life situations and experiences.

Most importantly this project would map out the ways in which these various kinds of networks connect with and reshape the political activity and media, forms of political participation and thus the political sphere of European societies.

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FRANCE

20 YEARS OF THEORIES OF TELEVISION AUDIENCES IN FRANCE

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When we talk about media audiences, be it radio, newspapers, television or more recently the Internet, the first thing that comes to mind is audience measurement. The main purpose of a media is to attract as many people as they can in order to sell ad spaces to companies. In France, the institution in charge of this is called Mediametrie and was created in June 1985. The creation of Mediametrie came in a context of mutation of the French television landscape (launch of Canal +, the first French pay-per-view channel, the creation of the VCR to

record programs that allow TV viewers to create their own programming and their own temporalities). In this context, audiences are seen as a part of a market that producers have to reach and to seduce with their programs. Of course, there were many studies and researches on radio and newspapers (see for example Deleu C., *Les anonymes à la radio. Usages, fonctions et portée de leur parole*, 2006). But, as my main research interest is television and how new technologies change both the televisual landscape and TV viewers' cultural practices, I will focus this short overview on reception studies in France and television issues.

In the 90's, French theorists and media scholars began to take interests in the so-called activity of the audience and started analyzing how audiences perceived and interpreted media messages and how they dealt with it. In 1993, a special issue of the journal *Hermès*, published by the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (National center for the Scientific Research), focused on audiences and reception studies and entitled its special issue: "*à la recherche du public*" (researching the audience). The aim of this issue was to argue that any audience theory implies a television theory and therefore a representation of the society. Each contributor analyzed the social link that is visible between audiences. For example, in his article "*la télévision du pauvre : la participation du public*" (*poor man's television: audience participation*), Eric Macé wrote about game shows on television and popular audiences: "focusing on game show audiences, this paper shows that far from being imposed from 'on high', the format of these shows actually fulfils the participatory needs of popular audiences. That it does so raises however the question of whether television might not act as a substitute for other- social, political- forms of participation". Later, in her analyze of the teen soap opera *Hélène et les Garçons*, sociologist Dominique Pasquier chose to look at how teen girls watched the show and tried to understand the importance of the show in the socialization of these girls. She used a three-point methodology. First, she read the letters sent by fans to the production or the actors of the show. Then she gave an open questionnaire to these viewers. Finally she watched the show with them in their homes, sometimes with their parents. Thanks to this ethnographic methodology (a la David Morley), she managed to highlight the interactions between fans themselves and between fans and the show. Another sociologist, Dominique Mehl, defined the concept of 'télévision compassionnelle'. She argues that, in the 90's, a new genre appeared on TV, the reality-based shows. According to her, ordinary people used these shows as a catharsis for their passion or losses. Ordinary people participated in various shows live on stage or on the phone, as witness in police cases, or in family drama for example. Their voice was a form of audience participation as well as a form of catharsis for them. The apparition of *Loft Story* in 2000 marked the end of neo-television and we entered what Ignacio Ramonet calls the post-television era. For Dominique Mehl, a new contract is signed between shows and their audiences: a 'pacte relationnel'. The Post-television era is symbolized by the blurred borders between fiction and reality, between privacy and public life and by much greater audience participation via text messages for instance in order to vote.

Loft Story (*Big Brother*) introduced the use of new technologies (the Internet, mobile phones) and real-time audience participation, which lead to the implementation of interactivity in French programs. Following this new paradigm, media analyst Jean-Louis Missika predicted '*the end of television*'. For him, television would disappear in its current form and programs would be available on different media platforms such as laptops, mobile phones, Ipods, game devices. As we know now, television is still there with live broadcasts such as news reports and sports events that still attract mass audiences. But Television is also now a more and more participatory media, in which TV viewers can engage in the reception of their shows more widely and often. In fact, since the introduction of the use of the Internet in television broadcasts, TV viewers and particularly fans have developed new technological skills and new ways to consume their favourite TV shows. And reception is an endless circle in which fans discuss the latest episode of a show, ask questions to producers and casts, and elaborate theories with fellow members of the community.

Recently in France, Cultural studies theories and especially reception studies theories have entered academia in sociology and information and communication sciences. Two scholars, Eric Maigret and Eric Macé, have been promoting this field in order to analyze media texts and

media reception in different ways. They published a book, *Cultural Studies. Anthologie*, focused on reception studies in which they translated important classic texts from Henry Jenkins, John Fiske or Janice Radway for example. The main problem with the non-legitimization until now of Cultural Studies in France was first the frontier of the language (the main texts are in English) and second the fact that academics still think in terms of high culture vs. low culture. To cope with this view, Maigret and Macé created the concept of “médiacultures”. In their collaborative book “*Penser les Médiacultures : nouvelles pratiques et nouvelles approches de la representations du monde*”, they frame the concept : “what is at stakes here is the conflicts of definitions in the public sphere, the changing in the cultural practices, and the place of aesthetics in contemporary lives”. Thanks to the introduction of Cultural Studies, new perspectives of researches open up in France especially regarding fan studies, reception and audience studies.

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RESEARCH ON AUDIENCES IN FRANCE

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French research on audience started late and did not entirely follow the agenda of anglo-saxon research on the topic. This is a general consequence of a very small interest for mass media from the part of french sociologists until the 80’s (with the notable exceptions of Michel Souchon who was very isolated while publishing his first works in the 70’s and of Edgar Morin who wrote extensively about mass media in the late 60’s but was not especially concerned by questions about audiences).

In order to be clear, I shall distinguish researches about « audiences » and researches about « publics ». In French the two words exist and don’t refer to the same thing. Studies about “audiences” are more concerned with the consumers-industry side (how many, who, for what type of program, what to measure, how to measure and so on). Studies about “publics” are clearly more on the reception side and dealing with questions of social identity. Researches about audiences have been rather scattered, while those about publics were done by academics having intellectual links and organizing common seminars or publications. In a third part, we will consider works on Internet with a specific focus on the link between network, community and public (“Networked publics”).

Studies about audience

Question of elaboration and limits of audience indicators

- Interesting works about the first measure of audiences were done by historians, among them Jerome Bourdon and Cecile Meadel. It mainly shows how little was known about viewers in the 50's and even 60's and analyzes archives showing the very rudimentary methods used at that time (Meadel 1998, Bourdon 1998)

- Michel Souchon, from the mid 80s, published several articles and a book analysing audience research methods and indicators. He defends a critical point of view and shows how weak are the indicators used by the industry to understand the audience of television (Souchon 1992, 2003)

- Around Pierre Bourdieu, sociologists as Patrick Champagne wrote about the political censorship induced by the use of audience measures. (Champagne 2003)

Most of these authors participated in a special issue of *Quaderni* coordinated by Sabine Chalvon-Demersay (1998): "Les publics, généalogie de l'audience télévisuelle". Her introduction to the issue is useful to have a panorama of the french debates about television audience measures.

Another special issue, this time of *Hermès*, was coordinated by Régine Chaniac in 2003: "L'audience. Presse, Radio, Télévision, Internet". This issue is a mix of academics and professionals' articles about audience measure in different mass media, with a special attention to the issues raised by Internet measurement.

Question of audience segmentation

In 1990 Dominique Pasquier analysed the evolution of American television audience data production in a context of growing segmentation and the emerging problem of measuring small audiences. In 1990, D Wolton wrote an essay about the decline of social link with the decrease of generalist channels gathering large audiences.

More recently, two authors Hervé Glevarec and Michel Pinet have published several articles and a book about radio audiences in France. They propose an analysis of listeners' profiles in this very segmented area and a larger reflection on the paradoxes of audiences in the case of contemporary radio stations (Glevarec and Pinet 2010).

Studies about "publics"

The impulse in this field was clearly given by Daniel Dayan's writings, first in his book with Elihu Katz, *Media Events*, (1992) and then in a collection of articles or special issues of academic journals he wrote or coordinated (Dayan 1992, 2000). Relying on Anderson's concept of imagined communities, Dayan argues that the public is the "horizon of the audience": publics are performative (they show themselves as publics) and reflexive (they know they are the public of...). This problematic has much influenced the first reception studies done in France: Pasquier about teen TV series reception by young viewers (1999), Chalvon about series reception by "concerned" publics (2003), Cardon and al. about a charity show reception (1999), Maigret about comics readers (1995), Glevarec about radio young listeners (2005 a et b). None of those last researches used the text viewer model that was elaborated by anglo saxon first television reception studies but rather relied on problematics linked to social identity. They also stressed the importance of talk about television in the continuity of Dominique Boulliers' pioneer work (2004) and investigated the circulation of meanings through specific social networks. This might be a specificity of French research: it started to do reception studies later but did them by asking new questions compared to the decoding model.

Relevant publications

Dayan's special issue of *Hermès* in 1992: "A la recherche du public. Réception, télévision, media". Many authors have also published in a collective book issued from a conference on the notion of "public" organized by Daniel Cefaï and Dominique Pasquier (Cefaï and Pasquier 2003). A special issue of the journal *Réseaux* was coordinated later by D Mehl and D Pasquier on the question (2004). Last, Brigitte Le Grignou's book is an excellent discussion of works about the notion of public in many areas from culture to politics (Le Grignou 2003). Jean Pierre Esquenazi wrote a reader on the topic also (2003)

Fan studies

Fan studies exist but without being as developed as in the anglo saxon academic world. The major publication in this area is probably Philippe Le Guern 's collective book and his other articles, especially on the homosexual fans of the Eurovision contest (Le Guern 2002, 2007). Two other important studies: one by Gabriel Segré about Elvis Presley's fans (2003) and one by Christian Le Bart about Beatles' fans (2000). The interest for fan studies is nowadays reactivated by several researches about proactive audiences on the Internet and the contributive uses of internauts. Jean Samuel Beuscart about My Space (2008), Sébastien François on Harry potter fan fictions (2009), etc. New questions are raised, especially in the field of audience economy.

Studies about "networked publics"

The rising of Internet uses brought new issues in French survey on public and audience. Audience-building on Internet is more linked to interpersonal relationships and many worked have been done in France on the articulation of social networks and the shaping of a personal audience on Internet. Valérie Beaudouin and Christian Licoppe (2003) shows how participants must build their public on their personal pages in using different tools of interaction. Many works on the uses of electronic tools and blogs by young people underline the interaction between a close set of relationship and a larger public (Metton, 2009 ; Cardon, Delaunay-Teterel, 2006 ; Delaunay-Teterel, 2010). Those different works don't have a close look on reception, but they insist on the idea that participants have different way to build their visibility on internet (Cardon, 2008). Internet studies developed a more accurate articulation between content production, active participation and reception. Audience should be considered as an active production by users of a networked public (Rebillard, 2008).

Methology and measurement

An important set of works have been done on methodologies of audience measurement for Internet. Thomas Beauvisage has first described the various methodologies to record user activities with their computer (2007). He also made a review on the various strategies for audience measurement on Internet (site-centric or user-centric) and developed a panel study of Internet audience in France (Beauvisage, 2009).

Studies of online communities

French survey of online participation have sometimes been made with the idea of comparing different kind of involvement in the community in order to compare audience and various kind of active participation. Camille Roth and al. (2007) studied different wiki sites, Beuscart and al. (2008) have studied Flickr users in this perspective, and Auray and al. (2009) the French Wikipedia.

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GERMANY

RESEARCH ON SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS IN GERMANY

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This essays reviews existing lines of research about social relationships and media in Germany. We identified four research questions in this field that are intensively investigated in Germany: (1) Relationships with media characters, (2) Audience members connecting to each other, (3) Relationships with other people, supported by mobile and social media, and (4) Effects of mass media presentations on real life relationships. This order is thematic, but notably, the research traditions and paradigms are quite mixed within the topics.

1) Relationships with media characters

A strong line of research in Germany deals with the way in which people relate to media characters, for example, to newscasters, actors, but also avatars and robots. The first approach and prominent in Germany, is research on parasocial relationships. Uli Gleich first started this focus in the 1990ties, and recent models by Tilo Hartmann, Holger Schramm, and Christoph Klimmt specify and extend existing international research substantially. The gist of the latter model is that single instances of parasocial interaction may result in parasocial relationships (PSB) with media characters; cognitive schemata about the character, the relationship and different encounters are more and more refined over time. In this concept, PSB is a réception mode rather than a motive for media use. Audiences also may entertain relationships with avatars or machines. Friedrich Krotz extended the repertoire of traditional media studies to robots and presented a study that traces the appropriation of the Sony robot dog "AIBO", as well as Frauke Zeller who used a similar approach with a stronger focus on language and communicative interaction patterns between humans and robots as well as humans and avatars. Christoph Klimmt, Peter Vorderer, and Dorothee Hefner investigate how video game players relate to game characters; the most recent output is a theoretical model arguing that players take on the perspective and to some extent attributes of the game characters, which may result in more intensive enjoyment experiences. Back to traditional media again, Helena Bilandzic uses the concept of identification to explain why people like to engage with narratives. She argues that taking over the perspective of a character in a narrative is a precondition for understanding the plot, emotions and motivations.

2) Audience members connecting to each other

The second line of research, rather than looking at how audiences connect to media characters, investigates how audiences use mass media to connect to each other. As early as the 1990ties, Angela Keppler explored how people use media references in their everyday conversations, for example, to provide evidence for arguments, or share interesting anecdotes.

Volker Gehrau, Katrin Döveling and Denise Sommer recently continued this tradition and also looked at interpersonal communication among audience members. Finally, it is not only persons who are physically present that may be *psychologically* present in the reception situation. Tilo Hartmann and Marco Dohle investigated "imagined audiences" – expectations about other audience members, the size of the audience, as well as anticipated impacts of what is currently being used.

3) Relationships with other people, supported by mobile and social media

The third line of research deals with how media, especially interactive media and communication technologies, help people to entertain existing relationships and initiate new ones. Joachim Höflich, Julian Gebhardt and Iren Schulz explore how mobile phones serve in users' daily lives. Höflich also looks at changes in mobile communication patterns that are

shaped by the public space in which communication takes place; at the same time, he argues that the public space is also shaped by increasing levels of mobile communication.

Several scholars in Germany are dealing with social network sites and their supporting function for existing private relationships. Udo Thiedeke focuses in this respect on virtual groups whereas Nicolai Döring integrates aspects of gender in her approach to social networks and online communities. Frauke Zeller on the other hand takes up a broader concept of online communities and integrates studies on scientific or professional online communities, and how social media supports their collaboration. In a similar vein, there is a lively research focus on social media usage itself, such as Christian Pentzold's, Thomas Petzold's or Christian Stegbauer's works regarding the social media application Wikipedia or Jan Schmidt's analysis of blogging practices. There are also a range of projects funded by national research foundations that focus on the impact of social media on an individual and societal level. Examples are the large scale, long-term project on social media and political communication led by Jens Wolling and Martin Emmer, or the social media diffusion project led by Monika Taddicken and other researchers at the University of Hohenheim. A somewhat different albeit not the less important line of research focuses more on the role of social media in terms of Oliver Quiring's or Christoph Neuberger's studies in the field of interactivity.

Another line of research deals with local and translocal communities that are expressed and configured by media use and at the same time shape media use (e.g., Andreas Hepp). A whole research program on mediatization was proposed by Friedrich Krotz and was recently awarded a grant by the German Science Foundation, hosting 12 separate research projects.

The research program covers topics such as "Schools as mediatized social organisations and as translocal networks" (Andreas Breiter, Bremen), "Mediatized everyday worlds and translocal Vergemeinschaftung: The communicative networking and mediated community building of 'digital natives'" (Andreas Hepp, Bremen), or "Calculating Inclusion. Media, Measurements and Social Change" (Tilman Sutter, Jan Hendrick Passoth, Josef Wehner, Bielefeld).

Last but not least, a method oriented grand line of research integrates discussions and pragmatic solutions to current problems and challenges of Internet research. For example, the German Society for Online Research represents the online researchers in the German language area, including a strong focus on audience and reception studies, and is editing a series of handbooks on online research methods. Researchers in the field of online or Internet research methods are for example Martin Welker, Ansgar Zerfass, Klaus Beck, Ulf Dietrich Reips, or Frauke Zeller.

4) Effects of mass media presentations on real life relationships

With the fourth line of research, we are back to traditional media again, and entering the realm of media effects research. Representations of social relationships on the media are read, heard and viewed by an audience of millions. Specifically, fictional narratives in popular media exhibit a slice of social reality that shows which behaviors are appropriate or inappropriate, successful or a failure in a given society. Helena Bilandzic investigates moral implications of television series and films, and explores how audiences adopt norms and values regulating social relationships in real life.

HUNGARY

AUDIENCE RESEARCH TRENDS IN HUNGARY

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In Hungary the first communication, media and public opinion research centre (Tömegkommunikációs Kutatóközpont – Mass Communication Research Centre) was founded in 1969 and worked till the economic transition in 1991. This institute was a unique research place

at that time, as among the socialist countries only this institute in Hungary ensured the possibility of researching and examining the media system, media markets, media usage and consumption. This institute provided regular studies, research reports which are still available in Hungarian libraries.

Since the early '90-s we can say that the communication, media and audience research is extremely diverse, located in different institutes of higher education and drawing from different subdisciplines. Briefly we can say that there is no special academic institute, research centre or department dedicated to audience research, but this topic and research field appears under communication and media studies, marketing studies and humanities mainly. However the successor but not assign of the previously mentioned Mass Communication Research Centre is the MTA-ELTE Kommunikációelméleti Kutatócsoport (Hungarian Science Academy – Eötvös Loránd Science University Communication Theory Research Group, <http://www.ppk.elte.hu/mta%E2%80%9393elte-kommunikacioelmeleti-kutatocsoport/>).

The latest research areas related to media studies and information society at MTA-ELTE Communication Theory Research Group were:

- Longitudinal study of the program structure of national television channels,
- The audiences of the Hungarian media channels after the millenary,
- The Internet and the information society.

There are 18 higher education institution (university or college) providing communication and media studies at bachelor or master level, and 15 providing marketing studies usually including market and advertising oriented audience research studies. Actually there is no communication and studies specializes doctoral school in Hungary, however there are many Ph.D. dissertations focusing on media and communication research done within doctoral schools of other disciplines (eg. humanities, economics, social sciences, political science, IT etc.). We can highlight the sociology departments and doctoral schools (eg. Corvinus University of Budapest, Eötvös Loránd Science University) as strong at the communication and audience research oriented dissertations and researches.

There was a communication doctoral school working at the Science University of Pécs between 1991 – August 2009. Its accreditation has not been renewed till now. At Corvinus University of Budapest a communication and media studies doctoral school is under construction, it will be announced in 2011 if it can be launched or not depending on the final official administrative decisions.

We could identify only one subject named as Methodology of media and audience research, which is using the term audience research. It is an elective subject at Marketing master at Faculty of Business Administration at Corvinus University of Budapest, no other higher education institute has audience research subject.

Audience research is also carried out by non-academic bodies: helping the regulation bodies or the media and advertising industry. The Alkalmazott Kommunikációtudományi Intézet (Applied Communication Science Institute, <http://www.akti.hu/>) is supporting the Hungarian regulation body by research and analysis works. The Magyar Kommunikációtudományi Társaság (Hungarian Communication Science Association, <http://www.communicatio.hu/mktt/keret.htm>)

There are some Hungarian academic titles, journals where the communication and media researches are cumulating and where we can identify most of the audience research oriented publications in Hungarian:

- Médiakutató (Media Researcher): <http://www.mediakutato.hu/>
- JEL-KÉP: (Sign – Picture; academic journal of Hungarian Science Academy – Eötvös Loránd Science University Communication Theory Research Group): <http://www.c3.hu/~jelkep/>
- AKTI füzetek (Workbooks of Applied Communication Science Institute , http://wp.akti.hu/?page_id=349)
- Marketing & Management ([http://www.matarka.hu/szam_list.php?fsz=78](http://www.matarka.hu/szam_list.php?fsz=78;); media special issue 2010/1).

Regarding the commercial audience research as in other developed countries the media and audience research for the media market players, serving mainly the commercial needs appeared step by step in Hungary as well and now days we can talk about a well established, internationally comparable market audience research. Within the industry there are different market research companies providing the media and audience research data for the different areas:

- Television: Nielsen Television Audience Measurement, founded in 1992 as AGB Hungary, provides detailed ratings based on its people meter measurement system (panel based sample),
- Radio: Szonda Ipsos – GFK Hungary, since 1995, based on diary and telephone survey method between 1995-2009, since January 2010 online and telephone interviewing was introduced,
- Press: Szonda Ipsos between 1991-1995, Szonda Ipsos – GFK Hungary between 1995-2010, based on CAPI data collection, Millward Brown – TNS during 2011-2015,
- Internet: Different data sources and researches between 2000-2009, since 2010 GemiusIpsosAudiences (GIA) as accepted audience research information source for market players (panel based sample + pop up questionnaires),
- Outdoor: Szonda-Ipsos, CAPI data collection, since 1995.

In social and communication science studies these above mentioned market data are regularly used as reference, being longitudinal, representative (age, gender, education, settlement type) and quantitative research sources.

According the 138 § a. point of the new media and mass communication regulation in Hungary (became operative the 1st January, 2011) a new research body will be established under the new National Media and Infocommunication Authority.

ISRAEL

AUDIENCE RESEARCH IN ISRAEL

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Communication research in Israel, including audience research, emerged during nation-building processes beginning about half a century ago, as a result of both the development of high education and new media organizations – especially Israeli radio and television. Since that time, audience research had grown and undergone several changes as both high education and media organizations have undergone rapid expansion as well as increasing privatization and commercialization.

In 1964, Elihu Katz, a young American immigrant to Israel and a former student and collaborator of Paul Lazarsfeld was appointed as head of a committee to propose a framework for teaching and research of communication and eventually, in 1966, he established the Institute of Communication (CI) at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (HUJ) and become its Head (Livingstone, 1997). The CI was established according to Katz's conception of the empirical research paradigm, which was rooted in Lazarsfeld's vision. Hence, for at least twenty years the audience research in Israel was dominated by positivistic approach, which utilized surveys as a primary method for understanding social processes and the uses of different media in various audiences.

Katz sought to integrate academic and applied studies of communication, and in particular audience research, that were relevant to journalists, policymakers, and academic

researchers (Adoni & First, 2006). This direction was further enhanced by the CI's early formation of close, enduring ties with the Institute for Applied Social Research (IASR) headed by Louis Guttman. This independent, non-profit institute, located outside the HUJ campuses, was actively involved in administrative research and performed audience research for various governmental and public bodies since the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948. Collaboration between the two institutes began in the period leading up to the 1967 Six Day War and generated administrative studies of the highest quality on varied subjects (Gratch, 1973). These studies included: research on citizen requests to different bureaucratic agencies such as the ministries of immigration and absorption, health, and education (1966-69); a large research project on public opinion in anticipation of the launching of Israeli television (1967); the first ever comprehensive research project of diverse populations' media consumption and of cultural events in Israel 1970 (Katz & Gurevitch, 1976), including seminal "Uses and Gratifications" study (Katz, Gurevitch and Haas, 1973), and the repetition of the same project twenty years later in 1990 (Adoni, 1995; Katz et al., 2000); a "Yom Kippur War Study" on attitudes and patterns of media use in war situations (1973-74); and an especially ambitious, ongoing survey project measuring changes in both public opinion and patterns of media consumption (Gratch, 1973).

Katz's role as a founding father of the communication field in Israel enabled him to complete the process of transferring the functionalist-positivist approach from Chicago and Columbia and consolidating its theoretical hegemony in Jerusalem while tutoring a whole generation of young academics in empirical research of media audiences. The HUJ was founded as part of nation-building efforts even before the State of Israel's establishment in 1948 (Katz & Hed, 1997). Zionist ideology influenced the development of the social sciences in general (Ram, 1993) and of communication research in particular, regarding both the choice of topics investigated as well as the emphasis on applied social research. The subjects researched by the CI and the IASR varied according to the funding provided by the IDF (Israel Defense Forces), the Office of the Prime Minister, and government agencies, while conducting ongoing surveys of radio listening and television viewing for the IBA (Israel Broadcasting Authority). This resembled developments in the United States during World War II and the decade following it, when communication research was promoted largely via national projects, particularly military studies on both world wars and their consequences.

The symbiotic relations between the CI and the ISAR were seen by all parties as necessary given the recurrent national emergency mobilizations in the face of wars and their aftermath. These relations between the two institutes constituted the melting pot in which the functionalist approach and the empiricist methodology crystallized as the dominant orientation for social and communication research. Research mobilization for the Zionist project on the one hand, and scientific hegemony on the other, limited the researchers' openness to other scientific approaches and research methodologies, and as a result their work lacked a critical perspective. This situation may have contributed to the delay in the development of critical approaches to communication research such as the feminist, neo-Marxist, and postcolonial approaches, a delay whose effects are felt in Israel to this very day.

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, Israel's communication environment underwent far-reaching changes. Essentially, within a short period, Israel's electronic media rapidly developed from a system of one television channel and two government-controlled radio channels to a semiprivate, commercial, competitive multi-channel system. In this period there was a growing demand for audience studies on both the academic and professional levels at least partly resulted from these radical changes in the communication scene. The same period saw a gradual weakening of the positivist empirical research as the Department of Communication and Journalism at the HUJ (former Institute of Communication) accepted researchers interested in popular culture as well as linguistics, discourse and cultural studies and in using qualitative research methods (Liebes & Katz, 1990). These new approaches seeped into the system in parallel to the steady continuation of impressive research grounded in as functionalist approach and empirical quantitative methods. Although these new approaches espoused a change in research focus, they never really challenged the dominant paradigm. This period has also seen a weakening of the relationship between the department and IASR who eventually ceased to act as an active research Institute.

Later on, new departments of communication and media (or at least programs) were opened at all major universities and in as many as eight academic colleges that were established in the nineties. Initially, the new departments (all headed by former HUI scholars) were substantially influenced by the HUI Department in terms of organization, research, and teaching. Eventually, scholars affiliated with different universities and colleges developed their own audience research, some of them empirical research based on quantitative methods and some of them a variety of qualitative ethnographic studies (Katriel, 2004)

In recent years, a younger generation of scholars has adopted the phenomenological-interpretive epistemology combined with reception theory, mostly employing ethnographic methodologies. Many of them have paid particular attention to minority groups and their positions as excluded and disenfranchised audience members. For instance, Brandeis-Barak (2007) studied women's reception patterns. Nimrod (2007, 2010) studied older adults. Elias (2008) focused on new immigrants from the former USSR. Kama studied gay men (2003) and disabled persons (2004) and their negotiations with mediated texts. Other audience studies sustain a more traditionalist approach, for example: Adoni, Caspi, and Cohen (2006) researched hybrid identities of the two largest minorities (i.e., Israeli-Arabs and Russian new immigrants). Cohen (2002) looked at the deconstruction of a TV series. Another line of research focuses on various aspects of the third-person effect (e.g., Tsfatı & Cohen, 2003).

The privatization of applied social research in the communication field over the last two decade—such as public opinion studies or ratings of television viewing and radio listening conducted by commercial enterprises, including private research institutes or network research departments has influenced the applied social research in the field. Although government bodies continue to fund some communication research projects, most of the communication audiences and public opinion studies no longer serve as a quick and easily available means for gathering data considered important by policymakers. Furthermore, commercial research institutes see themselves as service providers, unlike the research community's self-conception as a partner in social policymaking, as was the case with the CI and the IASR.

In fact, the developments in Israel quite closely resembled the process documented in the 1993 *Journal of Communication* (Levy & Gurevitch, 1993), whereby stormy debates between paradigms finally resulted in a comfortable pluralistic compromise. The hegemony of the functional paradigm ended in the early 1990s, and the rapid development of various branches of cultural research opened the critical vistas of Israeli academics. In our opinion, however, the weakening of the positivist, empirical audience research extracted a heavy price in terms of interaction between the academic system and other social institutions, in particular the political institutions and the media organizations. The privatization of applied social research, coupled with the growing interest of media and advertising organizations in commercially oriented empirical studies that mostly lacked a critical perspective, significantly diminished academic involvement in applied social research. As a result, we are currently witnessing a constant decline in the influence of audience research on social and cultural policies. However, the Second Authority for Television and Radio (the statutory regulatory body in charge of commercial channels) has been advancing audience research by allocating grants to established as well as emerging scholars. Some of these empirical efforts have been manifested in regulating commercial television production and supply in order to remedy audience groups' exclusion from the mediascape.

The introduction of cable television in the early 1990s marked a multi-channel mediascape and consequently triggered a new phase of audience research and encouraged commercial and academic research on its effects on audiences. Studies have looked at various socio-demographic variables and ramifications on many social levels (e.g., family, ethno-cultural communities, national) and the openness to transnational and global channels (Lemish, 2002; Nossek & Tidhar, 1994; Nossek & Adoni, 1996; Tidhar & Nossek, 2002; Weiman, 1996). The introduction of commercial terrestrial channels in 1993 and 2000 as well as the Direct Broadcasting Satellite (DBS) system competing with cable and commercial regional radio stations and the quick penetration of the Internet have all also generated research on these media consumption (Adoni & Nossek, 2001, 2007). Exploring their implications on the changes

in audiences' time allocation and media uses is one of the main current challenges of communication research in Israel.

Note: This paper is partially based on an article by Anat First & Hanna Adoni (2007) "The Never-Ending Story: Structural Dilemmas and Changing Solutions in the Communication Field", Mass Communication and Society, 10/3:251-275.

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IRELAND

AUDIENCE STUDIES IN IRELAND

| | |
|----------------|--|
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Background and context

Audience studies are relatively under-represented within the output of media research in Ireland in comparison to institutional, textual and historical studies of media. In general, media and communications studies as a 'new' disciplinary area has sometimes struggled to gain recognition within the higher education system in Ireland. Historically, as an academic discipline, media and communications have either sought a niche within a parent humanities or social science discipline (sociology, politics, English etc.), or alternatively have developed in more applied and vocationally-oriented directions. The earliest examples of formal media education (and research) in the country were in new institutions rather than traditional universities. The slow pace of institutional support for communications as a discipline has hampered the growth of a research culture, making the development for more time-intensive audience research initiatives even more difficult and constrained.

That said, there are notable exceptions. An interest in consumption, media reception and audience engagement has underpinned media and communications research since its origins in the early 1980s. Beginning with the establishment of the first departments of communications studies, early research focused on the study of broadcasting and national culture, with particular attention to questions of text and history, institutional power, and relationships between the media, politics and the state. A number of noted publications and public events, supported by leading institutions such as the national broadcaster, Radio Telefis Éireann, and the Irish Film Institute, brought media culture to public attention, introducing relatively sophisticated readings of media texts (Farrell & Radio Telefis Eireann, 1984; Hederman & Kearney, 1984; McLoone, MacMahon, & Radio Telefis Eireann, 1984). A newly expanding media sector, new initiatives in media education and the development of a critical vocabulary influenced by the rise of cultural studies in the UK contributed to a fertile intellectual environment for critical and intellectual debate on the media. However, a general lack of empirical research was evident in the first decade and it was some years before a more sustained research endeavour was in place. Major international communications conferences in Dublin in the early 1990s (ICA, 1990;

IAMCR, 1993) signalled consolidation and a greater international support for communications scholars. Reflecting international developments in the field, research tended to fall into the twin camps of, on the one hand, critical and cultural studies perspectives, drawing on historiography, text and film studies, and more sociologically-oriented political economy perspective focused on institutional studies and relationships between media, power and society.

Critical audience studies

As in the UK, audience readings of popular television genres provided a catalyst for the development of a number of audience studies in the mid 1980s and early 1990s. Augmenting industry approaches to audience research, a joint university-broadcaster initiative, O'Connor and Fahy (1990), for instance, contributed Irish findings to an international study of the global phenomenon of *Dallas*. Using focus groups, the study examined gender and class dimensions of audience readings of indigenous and American soap operas, providing a context for more nuanced approaches to audiences and foregrounding the reader-text relationship as a critical object of study.

Kelly and O'Connor's *Media Audiences in Ireland* (1997) brought together the results of a diverse range of reception studies, offering one of the first collections of audience-focused studies of media, power, and cultural identity in Ireland. Reflecting on the relative absence to date of a tradition of audience research, Kelly and O'Connor argue that the institutional Catholic dominance within mainstream sociology militated against the interpretivist and qualitative approaches required for audience research. However, this situation had substantially changed by the early 1990s and a new generation of communication scholars brought a very different contemporary perspective, methodologically more sophisticated, and less committed to the philosophical and text-oriented preferences of earlier scholars.

Mirroring international interest in audience readings of popular genres, the principal theme of work in this period was audience resistance and power in mainstream media in which audiences were seen to 'struggle over meaning, identity and power' within the context of 'an unequally structured society' (Kelly & O'Connor, 1997: 1). Presenting critical readings within a sociological frame, the anthology introduced to an Irish context, empirical studies of social class and media consumption, the gendered audience, studies of ideology and audience participation in the public sphere, as well as approaches to sub cultures and distinct audience groupings such as children. Among the studies included, Gunning (1997) examines children's viewing of popular television fiction, focusing on questions of pleasure rather than effects. Audience pleasures in television drama were further examined in O'Connor (1997) looking at the intersection of class and gender in audience response to popular Irish fiction. Radio audience studies included O'Neill (1997), applying Bourdieu's model of cultural consumption to radio audiences for cultural programming, and O'Sullivan (1997) which examined audience participation and institutional mediation through talk radio.

A decade later Horgan et al (2007) observed that political economy and textual studies on Irish media still continued to dominate academic output while noting that studies of reception as communicative practice, albeit smaller in scale, maintained a central place in the research agenda. What was more noteworthy in this new compendium of audience research was the expansion of interest beyond the first generation of critical readings of audience-text relationships into studies of new modes of engagement, new genres and transcultural formations of reception and participation. The wider dispersion of cultural studies across the academy and a greatly expanded cultural sector had at least provided greater professional, public and academic interest in issues of consumption and reception to which a number of scholars have responded. In the most recent collection (Horgan, et al., 2007), studies included transnational flows in the context of media consumption (Kerr, 2007), changing masculinities (Ging, 2007) and reception of international formatted reality tv (O'Connor, 2007). Moving beyond a strictly reception-based approach, Grossman and O'Brien (2007) further developed ethnographic approaches to audiences through engaging with questions of mobility and displacement through the analytical prism of creative practice. Over the last years, the media experiences of migrants to Ireland, and the significance of types and scales of media in the

process of migration and settlement, have been investigated in a range of studies and publications (Titley 2008, Titley, Kerr & O'Riain 2010, Titley & Kerr 2011).

ICTs and new media in everyday life

A different tradition of qualitative audience research is represented in a strand of research dedicated to the study of media technologies and their adoption in everyday life. Given the political priority accorded to information technology investment in the Irish context, social science researchers have been afforded greater opportunities to explore the social dimensions of Information Society development and user adoption of ICTs. Beginning with the EC-funded project European Media, Technology and Everyday Life Network (Emtel) in the mid 1990s, a group of researchers have focused on the cultural and social dimensions of new media consumption using ethnographic approaches to the study of mediated online communication (Ward, 2003, 2005) and applying domestication theory to ICTs examining how audiences use the internet in the domestic setting along existing broadcast or 'old' media (Ward, 2006). While as a research trajectory, this had a strong policy orientation (Preston, 2005), valuable empirical work on changing socio-cultural contexts of consumption were a feature of this strand, examining active audience agency (Hynes, 2009), questions of audience pleasures and technological mediation (Brereton & O'Connor, 2007), and user creativity in new media contexts especially in online gaming (Kerr, Kucklich, & Brereton, 2006). Within the same broad framework of ICT adoption located within discourses of Information Society policy, Irish researchers have also contributed to the pan-European EU Kids Online project examining the questions of uses, activities and communicative practices of children online (McQuillan & O'Neill, 2009; O'Neill, Grehan, & Ólafsson, 2011).

Audiences, media literacy and communication policy

A further strand of audience research activity within the Irish context has been that associated with themes of media literacy, audience engagement, mobilising notions of communication rights and user-empowerment. The concept of media literacy was an early area of interest in the development of media studies in Ireland. The first professional media education programme in the country, established in 1978, had strong links to the media ecology movement based at the New School for Social Research in New York, and marshaled the idea that communications policy had major responsibilities to public engagement (Dowling, Doolan, & Quinn, 1969). A national campaign supporting integration of media education in the school curriculum was complemented by a variety of studies focusing on media education practice (Howley & O'Neill, 2002; Titley & P. Merry, 2002). The wider policy interest in the notion of media literacy as both citizen education and audience empowerment was the subject of a policy report (O'Neill & Barnes, 2008) and reflected in new broadcasting legislation in 2009. In parallel, a flourishing community media movement has received much research attention and studies have examined its ideological and historical basis (O'Siochru & Alegre, 2006) and practical forms in radio (Day, 2007, 2009) and in community media more generally (Byrne, 2010).

Future prospects and developments

Notwithstanding its dispersed nature in the Irish context, and the relatively small scale of the research community involved, audience research perspectives, particularly of a qualitative and ethnographic nature, remain a vital focus for media and communications research. New scholarly approaches and a growing community of early stage researchers from a variety of disciplinary backgrounds – anthropology, sociology, politics, creative arts in addition to media and communications specialists – have been much in evidence at graduate conferences and in recent publications.⁴⁸ A greater cross-disciplinarity and multiplicity of methods reflects international trends within the audience research paradigm and while there is some consequent fragmentation and less emphasis on the continuity of audience research tradition, this echoes

⁴⁸ The Irish Media Research Network hosts an annual conference for graduate scholarly work. The Irish Communications Review (www.icr.dit.ie) is the main journal for communications research.

equivalent debates elsewhere among audience researchers concerning future prospects and directions for the field.

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ITALY

A REVIEW OF ITALIAN RESEARCHES ON THE ROLE OF MEDIA AND ICT USE FOR EVOLVING SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

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| Keywords | ICT adoption, networked audience, social media, media experience, methodology |

This essay will present a review of Italian researches on the role of Media and ICT use for evolving social relationship. This essay will focus in particular on theoretical and empirical researches on ICTs. Furthermore the essay will focus on last decade of Italian studies.

Two relevant starting points opened up the Italian research on audiences and ICT.

The first one has been the book of Luciano Paccagnella on computer-mediated communication and sociology of telematic networks (Paccagnella, 2000).

Beside a review of the most important International researches and theories on Computer Mediated Communication, this book suggested the opportunity of an ethnographic research on those virtual environments. The ethnographic research suggested was characterized by taking in account both online and offline social relationships and an integration with quantitative studies.

The second starting point has been the first research on Chat lines in Italy published in 2001 (Roversi, 2001). This virtual ethnography, based on Hine's model (Hine, 2000) has shown, for the first time some cultural traits of Italians use of Chat lines. A strong connection between online and offline, regarding both social relationships and the construction of virtual identities.

The first Italian research path has been characterized, then, by the focus on different aspects of Italians use of computer-mediated communication: for example identity (Tosoni, 2004); blogs and identity narrations (Di Fraia, 2007).

Progressively the Italian research on ICT use and social relationships used also the domestication model (Silverstone & Hirsch, 1992) (Berker, Hartmann, Punie, & Ward, 2006) and focused on young people (adolescents; youngs, and young adults).

Topics of this researches have been: mobile cultures and the adoption of mobile phone among young people (Scifo, 2005) (Brancati, Ajello, & Rivoltella, 2009); appropriation, use and management of social media (mobile phone, instant messaging and social networks) in the complex digital media mix (Pasquali, Scifo, & Vittadini, 2010) .

This research path progressively pointed out the relevance of different kinds of variables affecting the adoption of digital devices mediating interpersonal communication. National cultural variables in ICT adoption (Italy vs others country) have been increasingly integrated by social variables as place of residence (rural vs urban areas) or, more relevant, different styles of social relationships. The interaction of socio-demographic variables (culture, income levels, place of residence) and of relational variables (hypersociability or hyposociability for example) in real life allowed to describe different adoption profiles inside the same country (Giaccardi, 2010).

On the theoretical side ICTs and social relationships have been studied, in Italy, starting from different points of view:

a) first of all the sociological debate about communities and their role in contemporary societies (referring to authors as Nancy Baym; Steven Jones; Craig Calhoun; Jan Fernback) (De Benedittis, 2003)

b) second wider theoretical frames about late modernity and network society (referring to authors as Antony Giddens; Zygmunt Bauman; Manuel Castells) (Giaccardi & Magatti, 2003)

c) third media and new media studies (referring to authors as Joshua Meyrowitz; John B. Thompson; Jay David Bolter and Paul Grusin) (Marinelli, 2004) (Boccia Artieri, 2009) (Sorice, 2009)

The more recent phase of Italian research on the role of ICT use for evolving social relationship is strictly linked to the third point of view previously quoted and is characterized by an analysis of relationships between recent audience models (diffused; networked or extended audiences) and digital media use (especially social media).

Next part of the essay will present this Italian research path that can be divided in three areas.

1. Media experience

The first area is more theoretical and crosses borders between sociology and semiotic of consumption. It is focused on the study of the media experience in late modernity (Casetti, 2005) and in the digital media landscape described as a “media cloud” dispersed and relocated in social space (Eugeni, 2010).

A relevant focus is grassroots processes, both of appropriation or use and of meaning construction, carried out by users. Consumption practices referred to this “media cloud” are described as linking discursive spaces (media) and social spaces (Eugeni, 2010, p. 310); pervasive of “every social facet” (Eugeni, 2010, p. 15) and characterized by a progressive naturalization of media experience.

Social relationships are a significant part of this experience (Eugeni, 2010, p. 16) as practices, meaning, and values of media experience are defined intersubjectively and through discourses mediated by digital tools (social networks, for example).

Emerges, then, the role of social relationships in defining identity; role and social influence of media in the new media landscape.

Starting from the concept of media experience digital media landscape seems also characterized by a new media function: the interconnection between knots of social networks. (Giaccardi & Magatti, 2003)

2. Media audiences

The second area is focused on the relationships among media audiences and “social media” use.

The starting point is Abercrombie and Longhurst definition of diffused audiences and the spectacle performance paradigm (Abercrombie & Longhurst, 1998).

A further definition used is “extended audience” (Couldry, 2005) (Sorice, 2006) describing the relationship between media and audiences as part of a media culture a, so called, “public networked culture” (Kazys, 2008).

Starting from those definitions of audiences the research question has been: “what happens when millions of people around the world ... are no more an anonymous and undifferentiated audience, but can produce “mass connections” among them with and through contents that they know how to use and publish?” (Boccia Artieri, 2009, p. 21). The point is if social networks are “personal mass connection systems” and “personal mass communication systems”, they are a fundamental tool to foster networked audiences (Ito, 2004) and to build connections among their members.

Web 2.0 revolution is interpreted by some Italian authors as an audience transformation (Boccia Artieri, 2009): audiences can “become media”; social networks increase the awareness to be part of “networked audiences”; digital technologies connect cultural activities and social relationships giving a new life to cultural forms as everyday conversations.

Those authors highlight also some effects on social relationships. The increase of the awareness of the performative nature of interpersonal relations and communications including the presence of a public that influence one’s self-representations and communications acts (Boccia Artieri, 2009)(Vittadini, 2010). The increase of the relevance of micro-personal-narratives (for example the social networks ones) in bottom up and top down cultural products (Boccia Artieri, 2009, p. 29). Blogs and auto-narrative spaces become new places where narrative models and relational models are produced and they are apt to shape and model social relations as traditional media. Exchanging practices of cultural products through social networks contribute in building a kind of cultural capital of the network (both the real and the virtual one). (Vittadini, 2010).

Empirical researches belonging to this area have been focused on the following topics. **Media and generations.** Assuming that generations can be defined as a collective subject sharing a “semantic” useful thematize and crystallize experience in a common *we-sense*, the research has studied (using qualitative methods) relationships between media consumption and this “semantic”. A focus has been how the use of digital and social technologies in Italy is changing the construction of a generational “we sense” at three levels: memories; typology of discursive spaces; and reflexivity. (Colombo & Fortunati, 2010). **Generational discourses online** The research has studied online discourses of the so called “Generation Y” (using quantitative and qualitative discourse analysis). The research focus has been the use of media products as discourse topic aimed at building a networked “we sense”. (Colombo & Fortunati, 2010). **Mobile audiences between access and participation.** The research has studied how extended audiences use mobile and interactive new media (using qualitative field research methods) to produce contents and to build a sense of membership in order to structure social practices. (Sorice, 2007)

3. Fandom

The third area is based on the concept of diffused fandom (Jenkins, 2006) where the role of media contents as a “product to share” in the social network overlap the boundaries of fandom practices to diffuse in social relations mediated by technologies. (Marinelli, 2004). This diffused fandom influences social relationship changing the role of the experience of media consumption. Empirical researches have studied in particular the role of Twitter in fandom communities. “To be a fan” emerged as a social feature, an identity trait that guarantees social belonging and social relationships. Social networks are “virtual spaces” where this social feature activate the so called “role to role” relationships. (Andò & Marinelli, 2010).

Empirical research arose, then, some methodological questions. Beside the wider debate on quantitative and qualitative methodologies and the trustability of quantitative methodologies

based on Internet statistics (es. twitter or google ones), some other questions are rising. First the ethnographic set. Families and households don't seem to be a self-sufficient ethnographic field to observe nomadic and cross-media communication practices digitally mediated. The development of a nomadic management of mediated relationships impose the adoption of multisituated ethnographies. Moreover the multilevel (real and virtual) nature of social relationships impose multilevel ethnographies integrating real and virtual observation settings and following users in their movements through spaces and devices.

Second digital communication practices, as already said, involve also users productivity and reflexivity. It is more and more relevant, then, the role of digital tools to collect products created by users also during the research processes (for example blogs on one's digital mediated communication practices or visual productions – photo or video- about them). Those methodologies can be useful to investigate not only communication practices, but also people reflexivity on them. (Monaci & Scifo, 2010)

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AUDIENCE RESEARCH IN ITALY

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Audience studies in Italy, as reported by Sorice and Colombo in their essay for COST Action IS0906, are now facing their fourth step, “started in the late 1990s, with many new studies about television audiences and – in the beginning of 2000s – about the form of access and participation in the web 2.0. Italian research has now harnessed a range of skills acquired in the ethnographic field investigation, qualitative methods and social semiotics, where new audiences are reached and explored through a variety of techniques from focus groups to in depth interview, from e-interviews to buzz monitoring”⁴⁹.

A deeper insight in this “fourth step” should analyse two different aspects of audience studies in Italy: (1) firstly, acknowledging the role played by the international debate about audience studies in the second half of the ‘90s, and by the Italian translation of some of the main contributions, to their theoretical dimension; (2) secondly, presenting some of the main topics faced by empirical research in the last ten years (2000-2010) by the points of view of (a) the various media and genres taken in account, (b) of the conceptual tools used in the research design, and -probably more relevant for the WG4 this paper is addressed to- (c) of the different social groups considered as audiences.

1. International debate and Italian reception

It could sound a little strange, but the main empirical researches on television audiences undertaken in Italy in the first ‘90s (Mancini, 1991; Casetti, ed., 1995) were really groundbreaker also because they were based on a theoretical and methodological frame (the so-called “ethnographic turning-point”) imported from British Audience studies *before* this frame was deeply and widely diffused in Italian Media studies and scholars; nevertheless, in the second half of the ‘90s, when this frame was both institutionalised by a sort of “canonical narrative” and somehow criticized (Livingstone, 1998a; Abercrombie - Longhurst, 1998; Alasuutari, 1999), the Italian academia left out empirical research to focusing on theoretical and methodological questions based on the Audience studies tradition. Just a look to the Italian translations and reception of this tradition could demonstrate a preference for a very “retrospective” approach: while, on the one hand, none of the main empirical researches included in the Audience studies “canon” (e.g. Morley, 1980; Hobson, 1982; Ang, 1985) was ever translated in Italian, on the other hand -also to respond to the need for handbooks on Media and Audience studies connected to the growing of Communications and media faculties and courses in Italian universities- main historical, theoretical and methodological contributions were translated with some years of

⁴⁹ See in this report the essay submitted by Fausto Colombo and Michele Sorice.

delay: e.g. Lull (1990) in 2003, Ang (1991) in 1998, Moores (1993) in 1998; Livingstone (1998a and 1998b) both in 2000, together with some very relevant readers (Marinelli - Fatelli, eds., 2000; Andò, ed., 2007), collected essays (Livingstone, 2006) and handbooks (Gillespie, 2005 in 2007). It seems noteworthy that other, following, contributions such as of Abercrombie and Longhurst (1998), Alasuutari (1999), Bird (2003), Ito (2008) entered the Italian debate without the mediation of the translation, even if with some delay.

Two consequences of such a “backwards” approach to Audience studies: first, the blank space for a theoretical, methodological and reflexive work on media audiences has been “filled” with a reconstruction and a popularization (Buonanno talks about a sort of “working through”: see Buonanno in Livingstone, 2000) of the Audience studies tradition, letting very little space both for new empirical researches and for an implementation of the debate about Audience studies themselves and their meaning in the Italian media context; it is noteworthy, by this point of view, that one of the few relevant efforts to draw a sort of holistic and original approach to the television spectatorship, addressed to media students, scholars and practitioners, came from some commercial television professionals (di Chio - Parenti, 2003). Second, we had to wait until the first year of the new millennium to meet a new wave of empirical researches on television audiences and (as a new topic) Internet users⁵⁰.

2. Main topics in Italian audience research

This “new wave” (2000 - 2010) is characterised for some methodological options: first of all, the adoption of the “everyday life” frame as the meaningful context in which media consumption is done; secondly, a preference for qualitative and ethnographic methodologies (focus groups, diaries, interviews, life histories, participant observation, visual ethnography etc.), alongside with an hybrid attempt to use quantitative, audiometric and administrative data from Auditel and Istat; and, thirdly, a gradual orientation towards cross-media / cross-platform audiences, led by the growing relevance of internet as a metamedium.

a) Media and genres audiences

Nonetheless, a few media (and genres) audiences continue to collect main interest, both from scholars and Institutions: television and Internet above all. Just to remind some of the main researches in each of these fields, we can mention -for television- the works of Capecchi (2000) and Giomi (2004) on soap-opera audiences, of Sfardini (2009) on reality show and of Martelli (2010) on sport programs, of Aroldi - Pasquali - Scifo - Vittadini (2008) on early DTT adopters; and -for internet- of Pasquali - Scifo (eds., 2004) on the web users, Tosoni (2004) on MUD users, Mazzoli (ed. 2009) on social networks. Cinema viewers (de Blasio, 2007; Casetti - Fanchi eds., 2006; Fanchi, 2002) and mobile phone users (Scifo, 2005) are other single media-specific audiences investigated; on the other hand, the tendency to study cross-media audiences is well witnessed by Pasquali - Vittadini - Scifo (eds., 2010), focused on cross-media consumption of young Italians, and structured around three main connected topics: the practices of mediated interpersonal communication, the emergence of new production practices and the redefinition of television consumption.

b) Conceptual tools and theoretical frames

By a conceptual point of view, the “everyday frame” of the audiences has been adopted, in some of these researches (for example, in the works undertaken by OssCom researchers on new media such as mobile phone and DTT) on the basis of the Roger Silverstone’s model of “domestication”⁵¹ (Silverstone - Hirsch - Morley, 1992; Silverstone, 2006). Other theoretical frames that oriented most of the empirical audience researches are connected to the debate about “diffused audience” (Abercrombie - Longhurst, 1998), “extended audience” (Couldry, 2005) and “networked publics” (Ito, 2008) as different interpretations of “audienicing”. By a methodological point of view, new challenges have been posed by internet, the so-called web 2.0

⁵⁰ In this paper my attention is more focused on the transformations of “traditional” audience (and the research on it) than on ICTs’ users, best outlined in Vittadini’s paper submitted to COST Action IS0906.

⁵¹ In the very last years, domestication model has been adopted -in some empirical audience research at OssCom- with a peculiar interest for Silverstone’s notion of “moral economy” of the household, applied -for instance- to the choice between alternative pay DTT subscriptions (Aroldi, Vittadini, 2010) or to the parental mediation in children digital television consumption.

and social media, with their claims for audience participation, sharing, production and collaboration, where internet seems to be, in the same time, a space where audiences become more and more active -to the extent to become producers of new cultural forms- and a new field for researchers and scholars, providing both occasions for “virtual ethnography” and participating observations, and a set of digital tools to investigate “what people do in the Net”. (Monaci - Scifo, 2010). Finally (and obviously), most of the empirical works on soap-operas audience referred to the feminist tradition in Audience studies -a tradition that never had before, in Italian scholarship, a well-established and relevant position.

c) Social groups as audiences

In conclusion, some words about the main social groups that Italian Audience research investigated in this last ten years as peculiar media publics. Some of these are identified on the basis of socio-demo factors, like gender and age: first of all, as mentioned above, women as “natural audience” for some television genres such as soap-operas (Capecchi, 2006); youth, children and kids are another very important category, because of the claim for a so-called “digital generation”, on the one hand, and their “institutionalisation” by educational, commercial and political systems, on the other hand. Some other interesting categories are fans (and fandom), migrants (and their “second generations”) and generations (as cultural identities).

Fans have been investigated on the basis of the whole tradition of fandom studies, from Jenson (1992) and Jenkins (1992) to Sandvoss (2005), by scholars focused on music (Tedeschi, 2003), tv series (Scaglioni, 2006; Andò - Marinelli, 2010, Vellar, 2010), reality show (Sfardini, 2009), subbers’ practices (Vellar, 2009). This focus on fandom is, again, very consistent with the trend to cross-media audiences studies mentioned above because of the very cross-media characteristics of “convergence culture” (Jenkins, 2006).

Migrant communities, coming from different countries and living in Italy, have been investigated to describe their media and cultural “diets” and to know how media contents and languages are used both to sustain integration processes (to learn Italian language, to collect useful and practical information, to share social discourses and so on) and to maintain their own cultural identities (linking people to their own original countries’ media or to the resident community). A peculiar attention is now posed to describe the differences among entertainment and cultural activities attended by first and second-generation migrants (Vittadini, 2008).

Finally, a generational approach to Audience studies has been attempted, on the basis of some previous works on television audiences in Italy (Aroldi - Colombo eds., 2004; Aroldi - Colombo eds., 2007), by the “Media and Generations” project (<http://mediageneration.wordpress.com/>), providing a general and theoretical frame to investigate “generations” as social groups with their own cultural identities; to avoid too much “technological deterministic” positions (e.g. “digital natives vs. digital immigrants”), main questions have been whether (and which way) media take part in the construction of generational identities; secondly, whether (and which way) generational belonging affects media usage and sense-making in the everyday practices of media consumption; finally, what are the differences introduced by ICTs in this relation between “media” and “generations”.

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AUDIENCE STUDIES IN ITALY

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In the mid 1960s sociology was finding it hard to take off in Italy, at least in the academic world. It was finally legitimated thanks to two tendencies: on the one hand the social movements that led up to and followed on from 1968 and on the other the impact of disciplines like psychology and anthropology. The anthropological sciences represented one of the privileged territories for the development of the research approaches that today we could define – with some approximation – as “culturalist”. Sociology – and in particular media sociology – was placed initially in the furrows of the American tradition of communication research.⁵² The social sciences took their first steps in this period and Italian scholars, in their attempts to legitimate sociology, borrowed methods and disciplinary approaches from the USA. In this frame, it is not surprising that these scholars, including some Marxist scholars, adopted a theoretical system that derived from structural-functionalism. It's not surprising that also the best handbook of the new Italian media studies held in great consideration the problem of media effects and often went deliberately towards the field of effects theories.

A particular case is represented by audience studies, where a curious convergence was produced by two factors: on the one hand the influence of the Frankfurt School on the Marxist scholars had generated a concept of the audience as a one-dimensional and manipulated mass;

⁵² An important part of this work is taken from De Blasio, Sorice 2007 to whom we address the reader for further information.

on the other hand the tradition coming from functionalist research had given cultural and methodological legitimisation to the idea that the media were only and exclusively tools of manipulation over a passive mass audience.

One of the consequences of this perspective was the adoption of determinist approaches to audience research, strongly based on over-quantitative methods. Using the four-part division of audience research proposed by Kim Schröder and others (cfr. Schröder, Drotner, Kline, Murray 2003) we could say that the Italian research was essentially concentrated on the first two dimensions (quantitative and experimental research), marginalizing the qualitative approaches and, particularly, reception studies and ethnographic research.

In reality, considerable attention to reception theories and text-based approaches had been developing in the fields of semiotics, the “aesthetics” of reception and literary criticism: these research areas had met (and sometimes merged) with French philosophy and the sociology of culture coming from the British tradition, which was also closer to the heterodox and “non-systematic” Marxism of Gramsci.

In a schematic form we can summarize the audience studies in Italy into four steps.

1) The first one is represented by the importance of the tv public service. The Italian television represented a privileged site of encounter and comparison between Italian cultures. Moreover, it was in the Public Opinion Service of RAI that the first research on audiences was designed and carried out (in the 1960s, several years before such research started in the Universities): and a reflection on media audiences was produced which tried – even if in a somewhat primitive way – to get out of the logic of “effects theories”, choosing a new perspective, based upon the idea that it was preferable to study what people do with the media. The RAI privileged in its investigation a psychological oriented approach, with a quantitative preference. In the frame represented by VPT (Verifica Programmi Trasmessi, Broadcast Monitoring) important works were certainly the books written by Francesco Casetti and by Paolo Mancini respectively dedicated to the family television use and to the tv news reception. Anyway, some years later the first researches of VPT).

2) Between the end of 1980s and the beginning of 1990s, many other researchers have chosen to adopt theoretical formulations coming from approaches and “methods” born in the tradition of the Cultural Studies (with reference initially to the work of David Morley, Dorothy Hobson, Charlotte Brunsdon, Roger Silverstone, Dick Hebdige, David Buckingham etc., and then diverging into the partially different approaches of those such as Sonia Livingstone, David Gauntlett, Annette Hill, the Northern European “school”, etc.). Once again the merger happens in the refusal of the concept of audience as a shapeless mass of individuals, a refusal made both jointly and independently by scholars coming from different cultural backgrounds. An important “turning point” in Italian audience studies was represented by the concept of “audiovisual conversation”, elaborated in 1982 by Gianfranco Bettetini, after the elaboration of Stuart Hall’s Encoding/Decoding Model and, only few months later, David Morley’s research on the reception of the programme *Nationwide*. Bettetini says that all texts, including those which are less open and more mono-directional (like the broadcasting communication), develop around a relationship of symbolic interactivity between two subjects (the enunciator and the receiver) which are, in their turn, symbolic productions. The model, in the Bettetini’s elaboration, “*is constructed on the outline question-answer, where question is an interest of acquaintance sped up from the enunciator subject (and, therefore, from the text) in the receiver subject and answer is the satisfaction or otherwise of this interest by the same enunciator subject and/or the text.*” The text would predispose therefore a *conversation* between the two subjects, to whose shape the empirical receiver can of course correspond with a series of behaviours going from the most passive acceptance to the most complete refusal” (Bettetini 1991:123, *our translation into English*). Bettetini’s model strongly refuses determinism and adopts the frame of the active audience, even if not in the hyper-optimistic and banalized scheme used in some Italian scholars’ theories and in early US ethnographic research. Anyway, one of the most important audience research in Italy, is certainly *L’ospite fisso*, one of the first fully ethnographic Italian research projects on media consumption, directed by Francesco Casetti (1995, of which we have spoken before). It represents an important turning point in Italian audience studies.

3) The third step is based upon the development of media system in Italy. The birth of duopolistic system (Rai Public Service with its three channels on the one hand, Mediaset, a private operator with as many other channels) result in a new centrality for the television in the Italian culture. The crisis of VQPT service (which had replaced VPT) led to a removal by RAI Italian universities, and a research reorientation towards a marketing logic.

4) The fourth step⁵³ is still in progress and it started in the late 1990s, with many new studies about television audiences and – in the beginning of 2000s – about the form of access and participation in the web 2.0. Italian research has now harnessed a range of skills acquired in the ethnographic field investigation, qualitative methods and social semiotics, where new audiences are reached and explored through a variety of techniques from focus groups to in depth interview, from e-interviews to buzz monitoring. In this new situation the studies about the interrelationship between media use and political participation seem very important to understand the new complex and fragmented audiences.

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⁵³ In this frame, the most important research approaches come from the works of the Osscom (the research centre based at Catholic University, Milan) and of CMCS (Centre for Media and Communication Studies, based at LUISS University, Rome).

AUDIENCE STUDIES IN ITALY BETWEEN TRADITION AND EMERGING RESEARCH

| | |
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The beginnings

To belong to an audience is not simply the action of “watching” television or consuming the products of any other medium. Consequently, «to study the audience means to take in consideration different contexts and multiple activities of cultural consumption» (Sorice 2007). In this situation it is not conceivable that the audience can be studied and “understood” only using old methodological tools and/or a simplified functionalist perspective.

Anyway, in Italy at the beginning of television history (since 1954) the majority of the academic researchers adopted a functionalistic perspective while, in the same time and until the beginning of the 1980s, many scholars have been writing at length about the scientific relevance of tools of measurement, that is, in my opinion, a marginal problem. The question of reliability (which is important from both a methodological and an ethical point of view) is in fact of lesser importance than the more general question of the structure of audiences today.

The audience has been deeply transformed; its fragmentation but also its reconstitution into shapes that only few years ago were unthinkable obliges us to question about the “audience status” itself; the mutations of the audience oblige us to rethink its representations too. From this point of view, the exploring public of the IpTv and some trends on the borders of TV such as YouTube but even some new styles of consumption such as in the so-called “mobile audiences” and in many experiences of the web 2.0, represent a collective subject which needs deeper analysis and wider range of methodological tools.

In the 1980s, there was an increase in the number of Italian scholars and sociological schools who explicitly declared their link to *Cultural Studies*, thanks also to the development of gender studies, women’s studies, research on ethnicity and, more generally, thanks to post-structuralist tendencies in the human sciences. In the field of sociological and media studies we can find in the 1980s the rise of television studies that make reference to the US tradition (Lawrence Grossberg, Horace Newcombe, James Lull), which is still partially based upon theoretical elements coming from functionalism and linked to the *Uses and Gratifications* approach. For example, the *Social Uses of Television* model, elaborated by James Lull, although strongly based upon a post-functionalist structure and heavily linked to the *Uses and Gratifications* approach, enjoyed great success in Italy and has frequently been considered a paradigmatic model of Audience research. In relation to this, it is worth remembering that the most interesting aspect of Lull’s research of the 1980s is the adoption of an ethnographic perspective, not the theoretical approach that remains within the *Uses and Gratifications* tradition.

Sociology (and particularly *Media Sociology*) fully assumes the “British” Cultural Studies point of view only with the generation of scholars who come to social research from structuralism and semiotics and, more generally, from the human sciences. In the same period (the 1990s), philosophers and political researchers in the Marxist area had been elaborating Gramsci’s ideas and this had led to a reworking (in some ways) of the Italian philosopher’s thought: it’s not surprising that in this context Gramsci came to be used, with ever greater frequency, also by non-Marxist scholars. The turning point came from United Kingdom and it is represented by the publication of the extraordinary historical-critical reconstruction of the development of Italian cultural industry, written by David Forgacs (1992). Forgacs’s perspective strongly refuses the “productionist” approaches to culture (and to the media) and it became a fundamental reference for those scholars who, at that moment, had been moving away from the dominance of quantitative analyses (and production based researches, often using only official data) of cultural production. In this context Italy saw the rising of Osscom in Milan and CMCS in

Rome that became the most important reference points (even if often still marginalized in academic development) for the new trends in audience research.

The emerging audience research in Italy

In the last ten years the Italian scholars involving in Audience Studies have focused their attention and main researches over the five following directions:

1. Politics and Audience
2. Access and participation in the audiencing processes
3. Audience and national cohesion in the perspective of the public service
4. New audiences in the web 2.0
5. Audience research and the emotional public

In particular the topics involving the interrelationships between media, audience and politics seem to be very important in 2010s, even for the peculiarity of Italian political system and the importance of the media to establish a new public sphere, which we can surely define as “emotional media sphere”.

The scholars between 35 and 55 have definitely abandoned the old functionalist perspectives, adopting new methodological tools and focusing their attention over the new topics in audience research. In this frame, an important research field is represented by the analysis of the emotional public (new “diffused/extended” audiences concerning the new tv genres and the political entertainment and even the interrelationships between the old media and the social media).

The “emotional public – an expression also used by Michael Higgins (2008, 106-109) – seems to be the most interesting actor in the new political sphere and the real agent of change of political communication. But it is very important even for the tv programmes success, at least for the tv programmes targeting a re-shaped mass audience.

The new research perspective of the Italian Audience Studies, push up the scholars to revisit and rethink even the most recent methodological tools used in the Audience Research.

After the break operated against some simplistic tendencies of the ultra quantitative Italian functionalism, the new methodological reflection is another important moment of turning point for audience research in Italy.

LITHUANIA

AUDIENCE RESEARCH IN LITHUANIA

| | |
|-----------------|--|
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| Keywords | new audience, modern audience, trust in the media, info-wars |

The major transformations experienced by the Lithuanian media audience during the last two decades could be attributed to two basic trends. From an internal perspective social changes and democratic transformations that took place in the twenty years of independence look even more important than global technological innovations.

The abolition of mandatory external censorship and escape from voluntary internal restrictions, the termination of radio jamming and the transformation of “organs of the communist party” into ordinary newspapers and magazines encouraged the creation of the *new audience*. Simultaneously, important global technological shifts took place, new innovative communication technologies and new patterns of media use emerged, which influenced the perception of the news and modified public attitudes towards media. These factors helped to create the *modern audience*.

Both processes in Lithuania (as in most post-communist European countries) developed in parallel and any differentiation of the effects looks artificial. Yet from a researcher’s point of view such separation of *new* and *modern* audiences could be useful, as it creates the background for comparative studies.

The new audience

After a frustrating period of the soviet media monopoly the greatest shock for Lithuanian audience was the multiplication of TV channels, radio stations, newspapers and magazines. Alternatives and freedom of choice were pleasant, but at the same time became a challenge. The loss of enforced guidelines and the obligation to make independent decisions created a basis for the media market and simultaneously for the marketplace of ideas. The media's struggle for the attention of a reader, listener or spectator was based on the adapting to the taste of the public. Liberated from any restrictions, the media often forgot its duty of responsibility.

The most unpleasant element was the feeling that the audience was becoming some sort of a commodity which media was selling to advertisers. On the other hand, advertising distorted the old media usage patterns, readers learned to satisfy their informational hunger with one newspaper, and spectators got accustomed to switching between different TV channels.

The Lithuanian audience idealized media and media workers for nearly a century. Underground media of the 19th and 20th centuries was a symbol and a weapon in the struggle for national independence, freedom and democracy. The understanding that media is also a business inevitably influenced the audience's attitudes towards media.

Trust in the media

Trust in the media surveys are the most consistent research of the media audience in Lithuania. They began simultaneously with the first public opinion polls in the late 1980s.

Lithuanian media was proud of the soaring level of trust, which for the most of the period was higher than 60 percent and in some periods was able to match public trust in the Catholic Church, which in Lithuania is traditionally considered to be one of the most trustful institutions. At the beginning of the 21st century Lithuanian's trust in media was higher than in any other EU country.

The last decade showed tendencies of "normalization" of trust in the media. We can map out at least two sudden declines (Sep. '03 to Apr. '04 – a decline of 20 percent; Oct. '06 to June '07 – down by 15 percent), which could be associated with the presidential impeachment and the scandal of assassination of a Lithuanian secret service officer. After these sudden declines the public trust in the media rebounded, but did not reach the previous levels.

Another factor that influenced the steady decline of the trust in the media should be associated with the so-called "booked articles" (malpractice of governmental institutions and private companies to pay for positive publications). Public opinion polls show that about 66 percent of the readers notice such "booked articles". Despite this fact and criticism of the practice, Lithuanian governmental institutions spend more than 40 mln Litass per year for the "booking of articles".

Risk of info-wars

Life on the external border of the EU and NATO, actual reminiscences about decades of occupation, censorship and Sovietisation, make Lithuanian public opinion extremely sensitive to the permanent Russian attempts to strengthen its economical or political influence in the region. The Baltic States live with an enduring feeling of at least information war, which from time to time is strengthened by cyber or economic attacks. Such a situation encourages various sorts of investigation; the audience's potential to absorb information from the East and the West becomes a serious topic.

According to public opinion polls, neighbouring states of Russia and Belarus, for a long time, are considered to be the unfriendliest states, while other neighbours Latvia, Poland and Estonia are called Lithuania's best friends. In such an emotional context, the popularity of Russian TV programs looks rather problematic: more than 30 percent of Lithuanian population watches Russian language broadcasts regularly; the local Russian radio station is the most popular radio broadcaster in the capital city, Vilnius.

The media audience's orientation towards the Russian information market could partly be explained by the linguistic situation: the Lithuanian population is the most homogenous, but knows the Russian language better than neighbouring Latvia or Estonia. Western media sources

fail to fill the international news gap, as most of the population does not understand other foreign languages.

Applied sociological investigations

Applied sociological investigations of the media audience in Lithuania are orientated towards the practical needs of advertisers; the most known companies are TNS, Vilimorus, and Baltijos tyrimai.

The modern audience

The modern audience research is in the beginning stage, mostly linked with electronic media. A recent interesting publication investigates alternative public spheres in the Lithuanian media, focusing on Internet commentaries and public perception of humoristic TV shows.

MACEDONIA

COMMUNICATION AND AUDIENCE RESEARCH IN MACEDONIA

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| Keywords | social media, mobile advertising, new media |

New vs. the old media

In this short essay will be elaborated an initial distinction between digital communication media and older analogue technologies. Why is new media so attractive? Beside the cheaper way in which media can be created, stored and distributed, the most attractive aspect of new media to someone like is the ability to maintain controlling ownership of their own content.

New media concepts provide a way of turning new media objects into social and cultural phenomena. The possibilities such as: new media digital convergence, many to many communication, globalization, virtuality and interactivity change the whole media philosophy.

Analyses of the new media age shows that the trend of the rapid growth of the digital media will continue. Moreover many companies see their future in the new media. Leading operators expects to generate their revenues from mobile advertising. For instance, Turkcell made \$100 million sales from mobile advertising in 2009 and operator expects mobile advertising revenue to grow by 60% in 2010.

New media concepts provide a way of turning new media objects into social and cultural phenomena.

Social media is a phrase that describes the platforms and other tools that connect people into social networks (of their choosing) online. Some of the household social media names worldwide (other than Facebook) are MySpace, Twitter, and YouTube.

The individuals that make up these online networks, use social media to organize themselves according to (1) their interests and (2) their preference for the way they choose to share, store and deliver information within their community (or "network").

Individuals have made it clear they wish to connect with other individuals that they choose to, in the way that they choose to, and around topics and for reasons that they choose to.

The individual is at the centre of the social media revolution. And this is changing the way business is done.

Online social media also have a phenomenal growth rate, which leads to change in media consumption - major implications for how advertisers reach and target these consumers who are now spending less time within mainstream media sites or channels. Brands also need to think about how social networkers discuss their brands and think about how to influence them. By expanding opportunities for instant feedback, online social media enable organizations to recruit customers to help shape their service for other customers through reviews and comments.

Still, social media remain easily recognizable by their common features: putting the users in the centre of attention and enabling them to fulfil their needs through mutual collaboration, through forming functioning communities, based on personal trust and credibility.

New media is user-generated content, where the customer is involved in the creation of the site, providing his or her own content.

Viral marketing is a technique tightly connected with social media, as its main purpose is to reach large number of prospects through a word-of-mouth campaign launched through a few well-connected individuals.

Compare to all this new possibilities that new media offers, the traditional media are still facing with the geographical limitation, communications that are strictly one way, limited number of “players” in the market, high costs any many others disadvantages.

New media technologies such as personal computers, MP3 players and mobile phones endanger the existence of the old (traditional) media.

Short scope on Macedonian market

The Internet rate in Macedonia is approximately 39%, with an estimated population of 2,061,315 "http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Macedonian_nationality_law" \o "Macedonian nationality law" citizens. This rate of penetration is comparable to the average penetration of 45% for EU Member States.

Majority of Internet marketing in Macedonia consists of online advertising. For instance, the only option under “marketing” menus on most Macedonian portals refers to purchasing advertising space for banner ads. In practice, a number of companies consider spam (unwanted direct marketing e-mail messages) as an acceptable form of marketing.

Just one agency in Macedonia deals exclusively with online advertising and is often used by marketing agencies as intermediary for simultaneous placing banner ads on multiple sites. In Macedonia they run maintain an advertising network across different media, including most of the influential portals, and also cooperate with global Internet media such as Hotmail, Yahoo! and Facebook. It serves as exclusive intermediary for clients from Macedonia for banner ads on Facebook, while the contextual advertising is handled directly by FB.

Social media and online communities based on social networking software and collaborative filtering have emerged as significant element of information society and e-business, especially after a number of important start-ups such as MySpace, YouTube, and Facebook received worldwide fame through pricey acquisitions or high stock market evaluations, paired with user counts in the tens and hundreds of millions.

Facebook as quintessential representative of social media, due to the nature of the services it provides as social networking platform, its openness for integration with other applications providing social networking, collaborative filtering and distribution of user generated content, and due to its popularity. Both globally and in Macedonia, Facebook is currently the dominant social media, and the critical mass of its users makes it an effective tool for advertising and other elements of marketing, including research and testing. Number of Facebook users from Macedonia reaches about 18% of the population.

Many companies use the social media for the purposes of Internet marketing, in particular for online advertising. Nevertheless, the traditional media are still dominant on the Macedonian market. Only 5% of the total media budget is used for online marketing.

Ultimately, the new media age revolves around consumer communications where consumers increasingly want something more to engage them.

Communication and audience research

Communication and audience research in Macedonia is located in several institutes. One of the main is the Institute for sociological & political and juridical research. This Institute is under authority of St Cyril and Methodius University.

The other one, Macedonian Institute for Media (MIM) carried out large national surveys about the usage of new media. MIM is a non-profit organization that promotes excellence in media and public communication through policy initiatives, research, training, publication and production.

In May 2008 MIM founded the School for Journalism and Public Relations, high education institution accredited by the Ministry of Education and Science, which offers study programs at bachelors' level in journalism and PR. So far, the Institute has published several books, handbooks and manuals regarding the sphere of media and public relations, as well as several researches regarding the media sphere. The Institute has a pool of highly qualified experts, researchers and trainers, which can offer expertise in journalism training at any level or topic, PR training and media consultancy for NGOs, state institutions and organizations, expertise in media legislation and professional ethics issues, as well as production services for all types of media products. The Institute enjoys very good reputation in the media community in the country and regionally.

Quantitative media researches are mainly conducted by specialized marketing research agencies such as: Ipsos and AGB Nielsen.

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THE NETHERLANDS

AUDIENCE RESEARCH IN THE NETHERLANDS

| | |
|----------------|---|
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Dutch communication and audience research is extremely diverse, located in different institutes of higher education and drawing from different sub-disciplines.⁵⁴ A main division in the Dutch field is between social science approaches and humanities approaches. Unlike the articulations and convergences, which typify, for instance, UK and Scandinavian approaches to audience research, this division is still rather sharp in the Netherlands. Social scientific audience research is brought together in the Netherlands School of Communication Research (NeSCoR). Audience research in the humanities is more diverse and carried out by relatively small groups and individuals in humanities departments. In addition, much useful descriptive research about time spent on media is carried out by the Social and Cultural Planning Agency.

Netherlands school of communication research: Programs

The Netherlands School of Communications Research (NeSCoR) brings together research from five Dutch institutes (ASCOR/University of Amsterdam, VU University Amsterdam, Erasmus University Rotterdam, Radboud University Nijmegen, University of Twente) and hosts two program groups that are involved in audience research of a mostly psychological kind. Quantitative approaches to audience studies are more commonly studied at ASCOR and the VU University, whereas qualitative approaches to audience studies mainly take place in the second program, and then especially in the Erasmus University Rotterdam.

⁵⁴ The current overview is based on several sources:

- Peer knowledge and snowballing
- Database of the Dutch Royal Academy of Sciences <http://www.onderzoekinformatie.nl/en/oi/nod/classificatie/D66000/>
- Royal Academy of Science discipline exploration
- Website of the Netherlands School of Communication Research (social science approach)
- Website of the Social and Cultural Planning Agency

Persuasive communication

This research cluster studies the use of communication as an instrument to achieve specific goals, such as for instance in corporate communication, advertising, risk communication, technical communication, and public information campaigns. There are issues related to the design of the communication product, such as the visual features of health instructions, as well as issues related to designed communication products such as the structure of prime time aired commercials. These are studied to identify variables that are critical to the success and failure of these persuasive communication tools for cognitive, emotional, attitudinal, and behavioural change. The research cluster is innovative in its focus on processes underlying the effects of both public and commercial communication.

The main research question is:

What is the role of (mediated) persuasive communication in the formation and development of individual or collective cognitions, emotions, opinions, and behaviours?

Media entertainment and popular culture

The use of media, and subsequently the reception and the interpretation of their messages by different audiences within different situations, are the topics of the research theme 'Media, Entertainment and Culture'. The research cluster is innovative in its combination of theories and research methods from traditions of media entertainment and psychology on the one hand and cultural studies on the other. The focus is on the media's offer in both newer, interactive and often online forms such as Internet auctions, dating sites, instant messaging, and entertainment such as adventure games, sexual explicit material, and 3D movies and in more traditional forms such as news and soap operas. How this media offer is being used by the public for forming and defining concepts of the self and identity, social relationships but also (political, social and cultural) citizenship is one of the main guiding themes in this program. Specific publics such as women, migrants, and children and adolescents, as well as specific contexts of use such as peer and parental mediation are given special attention.

The main research question is:

How do audiences of media emerge and change and how do media and audiences contribute to the construction of meaning?

Audience research in the humanities: Groups and projects

Three key groups in the humanities are Media Studies at the University of Amsterdam, Film and Television Studies of the University of Utrecht and Science and Cultural Studies at Maastricht University. Their profiles are slightly different, with Amsterdam focusing much on journalism and new technologies, Utrecht paying much attention to gaming and television, and Maastricht more competent in the fields of science and technology studies, and the articulation of media and sound with memory. In all these three settings, there are only occasional projects that would qualify as empirical audience research.

Social and cultural planning agency

- The agency carried out a large national survey about the diffusion and usage of digital media, concluding that:
 - Diffusion is less rapid than expected
 - The young, higher educated, non-migrant, and people in paid employment are the early adopters
 - Early adopters remain loyal to their old media, with the exception of the young
 - Young early adopters get their news completely from new media
 - Early adopters are cultural omnivores
 - The Netherlands is quicker than other European countries in its adoption of new media.

NORWAY

REVIEW OF EXISTING AND EMERGING AUDIENCE RESEARCH IN NORWAY - WITHIN THE REALM OF "AUDIENCE INTERACTIVITY AND PARTICIPATION"

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Keywords Norway, audience, interactivity, participation

I have solved this task by a search for publications and projects by Norwegian researchers on "audience", "interactivity", and "participation" in the Nordicom database (Ncom) <http://nordicom.aub.aau.dk/ncom/> since 2006/7. Nordicom's documentation is of high quality but not all the relevant research may be covered. Registered conference papers are reported as they may signal new directions in the research before actual publication.

No ongoing projects or publications cover the combination of all three keywords. No pieces of work in the database combine "Audience" and "Interactivity" either. However, "Audience" and "Participation" give 16 entries. And there are two entries combining "Interactivity" and "Participation". One will find more publications and reported projects searching just one of the three keywords.

There are links to the abstracts in Ncom from each of the said publications or projects, where also the detailed publication reference can be found.

"Audience" and "Interactivity":

No entries

"Audience" and "Participation":

Projects:

Participation and Play in Converging Media

The project investigated non-professional participation in the media, with an emphasis on how participation is facilitated and exploited by the media institutions that offer participation as part of its output.

Espen Ytreberg · Gunn Sara Enli · Anders Fagerjord · Faltin Karlsen · Arnt Maasø · Tanja Storsul · Vilde Schanke Sundet · Trine Syvertsen

Ethnic minority youths participation in the production and consumption of social media in Norway.

Carol Azungi Dralega · Ingjerd Skogseid, Vestlandsforskning

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REVIEW OF NORWEGIAN AUDIENCE RESEARCH

| | |
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In this introduction we interpret audience research as empirically grounded analyses of people's experiences, emotions, opinions and attitudes towards modern, hi-tech media. We present some characteristics of Norwegian audience research in three parts: 1) national characteristics, 2) the dominant research paradigm, 3) selected qualitative topics.

National characteristics

Norway is a homogenous welfare state with 4,8 million inhabitants, located to the north of Denmark and west of Sweden. The country is mountainous and cut through by fjords, lakes and valleys, which traditionally have made transportation and communication difficult, even in the central Oslo area. People make their living from fish, oil and gas from the Atlantic, hydro-electric industry, agriculture, tourism, craft trades, factories hospitals, universities and other public institutions, etc. The Norwegian people have seen a remarkable increase in wealth, freedom and security after World War II, partly enabled by the lucrative tax income from oil production in the North Sea after 1970 (Halvorsen and Stjernø 2008), but also by a strong political system with high trustworthiness among the citizens. The Norwegian society is set apart from mainland Europe, and this has led to great visions of 'the different country'. In 1972 and 1994 there were general referendums about EU-membership, and the Norwegians voted *no* in both cases.

Local democracy has been in place since the early 19th century. The value of equality has always been strong, and Norway is quite homogenous when it comes to income, living conditions and health of its citizens. This is mainly the result of a systematic welfare policy since 1945. This homogeneity influences the patterns of media consumption, and the divides in media use are smaller in Norway than in many other countries. This has two particularly interesting consequences: strong local newspapers, and strong digital media. Television is the medium with the widest reach in Norway as in many other countries, but nevertheless 65% of the population read local and national newspapers on a daily basis, and this makes Norway one of the most newspaper-consuming countries in the world. New media has a wide reach in the Norwegian population. 73 % of the people use the Internet daily. 82 % of them have access to the Internet via broadband at home, and 97 % have a mobile phone (SSB 2010: Mediebarometer 2009). This has made industrial actors talk about Norway as a media laboratory that can be used as a test-ground for new products and services. It has also triggered a number of studies of use and users of new media products and services in Norway.

The dominant paradigm

Norway does not have a long history of research on media audiences. For decades after 1933 the NRK saw little value in asking audiences what they thought and wanted, since their remit was to inform and educate them according to their own expertise. The USA, on the other hand, saw commercial and academic effects studies from the 1930s and interview studies from the 1940s. Norway did not register or analyse the country's audience behaviour until the 1970s. A study from 1972 is a milestone in the Norwegian tradition, namely Anita Werner's study of how children in the Arctic county of Finnmark experienced the introduction of television (Werner 1972).

From the 1990s onward, audience research has become an important part of media studies in Norway. There are two main approaches to audience research in Norway. The dominant one is *qualitative studies* focusing on 'thick descriptions' with interviews and focus groups. We will refer to a range of individual studies below. The theoretical approach builds on the critical tradition of British cultural studies, especially by its attention to popular taste and culture in film, television, computer games and so on (Gripsrud 2002). Furthermore, the Norwegian milieu of qualitative studies has a leaning towards German humanism, where people are studied as complex individuals who interact reflexively with their culture (Gentikow 2005), and not as an anonymous mass that can be studied in a positivist manner. Hans Skjervheim was a major Norwegian ideologue of this social and humanistic movement (Skjervheim 1974; Skjervheim 1995).

The second tradition is American effects studies based on questionnaires and various types of use-registration, for example set-top boxes. This approach has become more important since the 1990s, due to the introduction of market driven media and the ensuing use-value of ratings and opinion polls (Waldahl 1999). Regular analyses of statistical data have been made for several decades (Høst 1979; Høst 1987; Høst 1998). The Central statistics bureau publishes yearly reports of media consumption; see for example (Vaage 1997) (Vaage 2009). There are monthly and weekly statistical surveys of media use and opinions, typically conducted by government bodies like SSB and private market research agencies like TNS Gallup. A university-sponsored database contains a large body of such audience data, see <http://medienorge.uib.no/>. In this review we will not deal with the latter tradition, but we can expand on it in the future if the COST Action wants.

Selected qualitative topics

Children. As in other countries, Norwegian qualitative research has been concerned with the role media play in young people's lives, and how children and young people use the media. There are broad studies of how children live with media (Werner 1986) (Selmer-Olsen 1990), (Tønnessen 2000; Tønnessen 2007), (Hake 1996), (Tingstad 2006) (Hagen and Wold 2009), (Kaare, Brantzæg og Heim 2008) the influence of media violence in television ((Bjørnebekk and Bjørnebekk 2006) computer games (Karlsen 2000), (Karlsen 2010); sociological analyses of

children's everyday life with media (Gullestad 1996; Hagen 2003) (Haldar and Frønes 1998), safety on the Internet (Staksrud og Livingstone 2009), globalization (Vettenranta 2010), and computer use (Hagen 2003).

Minorities. Studies have been made of the experience of Norwegian media among Turkish immigrants (Kigilcim 1991) and Iranian immigrants (Alghasi 2009). Ethnographic studies of how ethnic minority youth use online media for self-expression (Mainsah 2009).

Television. In the 1990s there were several historical projects including the audience experience of film and television. (Skretting and Gripsrud 1994), and of the reception of the quite un-Norwegian TV series *Dynasty* in the Norwegian public sphere. Quite recently an analysis has been made of the reception of digital television from 2006, in a large interview study Gentikow 2010. Qualitative studies of the NRK have been made (Hake and Norsk rikskringkasting 2006), (Hake 1998). Dating programs on Norwegian television (Hagen, Syvertsen et al. 2001), the role of audiences in the TV-strategies during election campaigns (Aalberg and Jenssen 2007). A study of opinions about participating in broadcast programs (Bøe 2006), and a comparative study of the same issue in Norway and Ireland in 2005-2006 (Nyre and O'Neill forthcoming). As far as we know, there are no qualitative studies of radio listening in Norway.

Internet. With the development of the Internet and personal digital media, media habits have changed dramatically since the 1990s. Audiences are empowered by highly effective feedback technologies like email, chat rooms, social media, etc. Studies focus on how users are becoming more influential not only as consumers, but also as producers of media content for various platforms. Media use is considered as participation in local government (Brandtzæg and Lüders 2008) (Mortensen 2003; Enli and Skogerbø 2008), children (Gansmo 2004), (Svoen 2008), maintaining a semi-public profile in social media (Storsul et al 2008), playing computer games (Karlsen 2010), and playing multiuser adventure and fantasy games (Mortensen 2003), (Mortensen 2009), downloading popular music (Nag 2010), and creating a complex representation of themselves (Lüders 2007), (Brandtzæg and Lüders 2009), (Lundby 2008).

Mobile phones. A number of studies have followed the diffusion of mobile phones. These include quantitative studies of mobile phone use among young people (Skog 2006), studied user dynamics in groups and among individuals (Ling and Yttri 2003; Ling 2004) and the use of sms and mms correspondence (Prøitz 2007).

Magazines. Among the analogue media, there is an interesting PhD-project about the attractions of women's magazines among Norwegian women Brita Ytre Arne (2009; forthcoming).

Conclusion

There is a rich literature about Norwegian audience behaviour from the 1990s and onward, but the lack of a longer-lasting research history seriously limits the researcher's insight into changes in behaviour over time. It becomes really difficult to compare the market-driven media environment of the present time with the more ideological and slow-moving environments of the past. Even though radio was an important medium thirty years ago there are no studies of its use at that time that could be compared to radio use today, or with the use of other media. This flaw can only be remedied by historical research on relevant aspects of Norwegian media behaviour, in addition to the follow-up of the present.

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POLAND

AUDIENCE RESEARCH IN POLAND

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Audience research can be looked upon from two perspectives: Theoretical vs Applied Media Research on the one hand and, partly overlapping, academic as opposed to commercial media research on the other.

Academic or theoretical research involves posing questions rooted in the theory of communication, language and media studies as well as philosophy, sociology and psychology and is carried out by academics, critics, policymakers, students of media programmes, interested public, who investigate the nature of media, social stratification of the audiences, their psychological conditioning and the language which text producers and receivers use, etc.

Commercial audience investigation is primarily concerned with measurement of reception, identification of the audiences' predilections, preferences in different groups of media addressees and receivers and is conducted by those who are compelled to use audience data in their job and profession and diverse forms of media consulting.

Polish media audience research is fairly compartmentalized and performed by a number of, frequently unrelated to one another, institutional centres. The fact that there is no one lexical item in Polish, equivalent to the English *audience* may partly contribute to this state of affairs. The Polish concept of *publiczność* (etym. public), a prototypical equivalent of the English *audience* in lexicographic work, does not embrace the entire range of senses of the English word audience but is rather limited to the audience of public performances, theatre plays, concerts, films, museums and exhibitions. The audiences of written forms are referred to as *czytelnicy* 'readers' or 'readership'; theatre has its audience in the form of *widzowie* lit. 'seers' / 'spectators', or *widownia*, especially with reference the spectators watching or attending a particular show or performance; TV audience are dubbed either *telewizjowicze* lit. 'television-seers' / 'viewers' / 'TV public', *odbiorcy* 'receivers' or, less frequently *publiczność (telewizyjna)*; radio audience are invariably *(radio)słuchacze* '(radio)listeners', while new, computer- and internet- based audience are addressed as *internauci* 'internauts'.

Academically, audience research is conducted in a number of university faculties and departments. Historically the oldest units which have been studying first reception of literature, then culture are departments of language and linguistics, departments of Polish and foreign languages, departments of Polish and foreign literatures and cultures. Recently new institutes and departments of media studies, social communication, intercultural communication, and journalism have been taking over the profile of media and audience research. This theme is also a common subject of investigation in institutes of sociology, (social) psychology, as well as anthropology and political science.

Academic institutions involved in this type of research include the Institute of Sociology (particularly Department of Journalism and Social Communication) and the Faculty of Philology of the University of Lodz, University of Warsaw (inter alia, public and student circles) and Leon Kozminski Academy (Jedrzejewski 2003), Catholic University of Lublin (KUL), and Jagiellonian University at Cracow, dealing particularly with semiotics of new media, anthropology of the Internet and media psychology (media effects). Some research teams at the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznan undertake studies of selected audience groups in a larger socio-economic context. The project PL0255 ADOPOLNOR *At the doorstep of adulthood: adolescent health and quality of life in a variety of socio-economic backgrounds*, financed by the Norwegian Financial Instrument and the European Economic Area (EEA) Financial Instrument, has been active in the period 2008-2011 and involves scholars of Poznań's Adam Mickiewicz University, Karol Marcinkowski University of Medical Sciences and Eugeniusz Piasecki University School of Physical Education, as well as scholars from the University of Agder in Kristiansand, Norway. The researchers from AM University work on the social aspects of the quality of life of

adolescents in the context of (new) media impact (Agnieszka Kielkiewicz-Janowiak – project coordinator). Active in the field are also Higher School of Social Psychology in Warsaw and the Academy of International Studies (WSSM) in Lodz, particularly in the field of the media and intercultural communication. The effect of the multidisciplinary of the media field are new interdisciplinary humanities study programmes, offered at these universities.

Additional scholarly activities are also present In Poland, e.g. journal and magazine publishing concerning audience research. One of such examples is IMAGES (The International Journal of European Film, Performing Arts and Audiovisual Communication) – a magazine published by Dept of Film and Television at Adam Mickiewicz University, devoted to broadly understood audiovisual culture, namely film, television, Internet, photography, etc., particularly with an emphasis on the function of and reflection over many aspects of images, fundamental to modern visual culture.

Some of the higher education institutions undertake studies related to the ICT aspects of the media, particularly with reference to contributing to faster and more effective collection of the new media (internet) language materials in order to facilitate audience research based on authentic language data and discourse contexts.

The Department of Computational and Corpus Linguistics of Lodz University collects materials from two main sources: traditional media and new media and carries out research based on them (e.g. Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk & Tomaszczyk 2010). The team has been involved in building the National Corpus of Polish for a few years <http://nkjp.uni.lodz.pl> thus having access to a vast collection of digitized newspapers as well as television and radio transcripts (cf. Pezik 2011, Walinski & Pezik 2007). Collections of the Polish and English Usenet archives as well as blog materials and the Internet fora constitute data indispensable for further analyses.

Teams from technical universities are also active in the field e.g. Poznan Technical University (Faculty of Robotics and Transport), which deals with information architecture and its functionality optimisation in web services (e.g. Krawiec 2010).

The second large domain of audience research are applications in advertising, programming, social policy and financial analyses. Each of these applications is connected with new electronic media hardware developments (DVRs and PVRs, interactive media, digital cable), and computer applications of different kinds.

On top of extensive academic research, which looks at literature and television programming and individual broadcast programs and their consequences, there are also available analyses of the broadcast radio & TV business through publishers and local network affiliates, i.e. national and commercial stations, which usually carry out content ratings and audience research measures.

The oldest audience research in Poland is related to readership studies. *Polskie Badania Czytelnictwa (PBC)* 'Polish Readership Research', primarily involved in it, is an organization of press publishers in Poland, employing the marketing firm SMG/KRC Millward Brown Company to conduct questionnaire surveys. Every year the research covers about 50,000 subjects and 200 press titles.

Radio appears to be the most systematically used medium in Poland (see particularly Jedrzejewski 2003), with the largest audiences in certain periods of the day (between 9 am and 4 pm), also involving over 80 % of the population in the age range between 15-80 years. Radio programmes are received by conventional means as well as computers and various mobile devices.

TV audience research (*TV-Sat Forum*) is systematically conducted by national and commercial TV producers and independent marketing firms (*Ipsos Public Affairs*) to investigate a number of parameters of audience behaviour and habits of audience members such as audience adhesion, average time spent, average time viewing and the socio-demographic structure of target groups and their political/ideological preferences.

Research conducted by *Polskie Badania Internetu* 'Polish Internet Investigation' group in cooperation with *InternetStats* and *gemiAudience* teams in Poland conduct the websites and

internet applications audience research in Poland and other countries. The data is obtained by site-centric investigation, web-based questionnaires as well as independent offline studies.

By contrasting the data available from these various teams and methods (phone surveys, postal and on-line questionnaires, observation studies, automatic on-line measurements), a more general picture of audience characteristics in Poland becomes available – from the time spent with a given medium-to-medium adhesion and programmes and content preferences.

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GemiusAudience

InternetStats

Ipsos Public Affairs / Ipsos Marketing Research (TV, telecommunication)

Polskie Badania Czytelnictwa (PBC)

Polskie Badania Internatu (PBI)

TV – Sat Forum

National Corpus of Polish (NKJP) <http://nkjp.uni.lodz.pl>

RADIO AND NEW MEDIA USAGE

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In 2005 OFCOM published outcome of survey based on FGI revealing the most important attributes for radio listeners: (Ofcom 2005):

- variety of music
- the local and national news and weather reports
- witty, entertaining and intelligent presenters
- ease of access wherever and whenever you want

The challenge for radio is to be transferred these attributes to the digital technology. In a wider perspective the transition from analogue to digital environment offers something more, namely, that technology would entirely change our lives and social relationships. Moreover, in recent years the concept of radio (and the listening, also) has been changed itself, because

multimedia circumstances demand a new way of listening as well as a new functions, probably aesthetical than informative, to audio narratives.

The nation of time has definitely been at the heart of the change process above. The question is that “internet time” and “radio time” are very different. In fact, if in terms of broadcasted radio time has to be understood in its linearity, in terms of Internet, time has to be perceived within the possibility of non-linear services, which means the possibility of constantly rebroadcasting out of real time (Spinelli 2006)

In recent years new listening patterns were shaped by developments across all media – the press, radio and television - along with a huge potential to develop the Internet and new media. It maintains the same high level of consumption throughout the day, with an increase in the afternoon and evening (see: e.g. internet research in Poland, Gemius 2008). These results form the multidimensionality of the Internet. For it is used both for business purposes (work, study) and private (entertainment, contact with friends etc.) Also, it extends the time spent listening to the radio while navigating the web. According to the EIAA Report (2006), radio has the highest level of parallel media use, in comparison with other media, particularly the Internet. Among those who mainly use the Internet, regardless of day part, as many as 40% listen to radio.

Table 1 Simultaneous use of media (in %)

| | radio | TV | internet | press |
|-----------------|--------------|-----------|-----------------|--------------|
| Radio | | 8 | 30 | 32 |
| TV | 8 | | 28 | 24 |
| Internet | 40 | 32 | | 6 |

Source: EIAA Digital Generation Report 2006 (Public Radio in Europe 2007)

A major challenge remains the measurement of the use of on-line radio. On-line radio listening measurement are able to measure, as the level of use of technologies such as streaming and downloading, although the comparability of such use is limited and reduced to measurement data for access to pages, sites, or portals.(Kozamernik , Mullane 2005).

In any case, changes to patterns of radio listening are taking place. Currently, more and more listeners are to decide how, when and where they will use this medium. They listen to the radio through the television networks, cable systems, satellite dishes and software on PC (RAJAR 2007-2009). The British surveys record an increase in the use of the radio outside the traditional mainstream of acceptance. (see RAJAR radio survey).

Table 2 Weekly share listening for three digital radio platforms in UK 2007-2009 (in %)

| Year | All platforms | DAB | TV | Internet |
|----------------------------|----------------------|-------------|------------|-----------------|
| 2007 (Q4) | 16,6 | 10,0 | 3,1 | 1,9 |
| 2009 (Q2) | 21,1 | 13,1 | 3,6 | 2,2 |

Source: RAJAR 2007-2009

Many radio audience studies in the field of media use focus only on the receiving of radio content, thereby separating the radio from other goods and services used in everyday life (Winocur 2005). More recent studies on the mechanisms of reception confirms that perceptions of radio content focus on its audiences, as a result of specific negotiations, during which they

reject or incorporate into their own cognitive structure definitions, meanings and the importance of a message constructed by the broadcasters.

Qualitative studies are related to models of coding and decoding of radio texts, originally the semiotic, relying on the "reading" of meaning and radio texts according to radio genres and content (news and current affairs, radio plays, features and documentaries, comedy, talk shows) (Hendy 2000). The focus here is on shaping the understanding of the meaning, the structure of radio genres is embedded in routine, everyday activities in their home environment, but also in "communities of interpretation" in the wider social environment.

In contrast to earlier views, that considered that the audiences passively consume information, the newer approaches see them as an active individuals, negotiating complex meaning encoded in media texts, thus supporting identity patterns, social relations and ways of communication at home, the family and the wider social structures and social institutions (Taylor, Willis 1999).

However, it is known, even on the basis of daily observation that the audiences are not overly active. On the one hand, the use of their media is surrounded by structures of cultural, social and ideological, the other interpretations are also limited to both the general and generic discursive properties of radio texts related to distribution platforms.

With the transition to the digital radio and the increasing role of Internet, radio begins a new stage. Studies on the radio as an object include issues relating to audiences and focus on conjunction with new technologies and its impact on social relationships.

In Poland, studies of the radio audience in the perspective of the new technologies are rarely taken. Besides of monograph E. Saar *Using the radio on Polish society* (1981), the most important works in this issue deal with the book and papers, i.e. of W. Siwak *Audiosphere on two centuries threshold* (2002), M. Gmerek-Rajchel *Formatting local radio* (2005) J. Tuszewski *Paradox of word and sound* (2002) and S. Jedrzejewski *Radio in social communication process* (2003) and *Public radio in Europe in digital era* (2010).

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PORTUGAL

AUDIENCE'S PARADIGMS AND THEIR NEW PATHS (FROM MAINSTREAM TO "PIRACY")

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| Keywords | networked communication, piracy audiences, self mass communication, multimedia interpersonal communication, one to many mediated communication, people are the message |

Introduction to a set of questions

The essay here submitted is divided into three subsets all focused in the works of Portuguese researchers. First we will address how we should think of media participation and interactivity in the current model of communication, following Gustavo Cardoso's suggestion of "Networked Communication" and arguing that in order to do so we must look at the media landscape as a whole of networked uses combining different media and different practices and not just single media appropriations. Part two and three will address some suggestions on how to look at audience studies in a more traditional approach, that is focusing in one singular medium, by referring to the works of Eduardo Cintra Torres and Cristina Ponte. Last, but not least, we will make a suggestion for a research agenda of WG2 focusing on what we are calling "Piracy Audiences". "Piracy" audiences, because they are called so by the media industry perspective that contents being made available through non-institucionalized distribution processes (P2P, barter and of course illegal copying and selling) are considered to be piracy. What we want to take into discussion here is that within Europe we have audiences that are being built mainly around the use and interaction with contents that are being reached through non-institutionalized delivery channels and that when those practices reach almost half of the population we are clearly facing a new paradigm of audiences analyses both on the interactivity and participation dimensions, and we need to deepen our knowledge of it.

A Different way to look at communication and its audiences?

All societies are characterised by communicational models and not just informational models (Wolton, 2000; Colombo, 1993; Himanen 2006; Castells 2006; Cardoso 2007). Our informational societies have witnessed the emergence of a new communicational model. A fourth model that one can add to the three preceding models and can be put in chronological order in terms of its cycles of social affirmation (Ortoleva 2004). The first model has been defined as interpersonal communication, which takes the form of the two-way exchange between two or more persons in a group. The second model, which is equally deeply rooted in our societies, is one-to-many communication, where an individual sends one single message to a limited group of persons. And the third model, with which we have less experience in historical terms, is mass communication, where, thanks to the use of specific mediation technologies, one single message can be sent to a mass of people, i.e. it is forwarded to an audience of an unknown size that is, therefore, unlimited at the outset (Cardoso 2008; Thompson 1995).

The fourth communicational model, the one that seems to characterize our contemporary societies, is one shaped by the capacity of communicational globalisation,

together with the networked interconnection of mass and interpersonal media, and, accordingly, by the emergence of networked mediation under different interactive patterns. Those patterns take the shape of Self Mass Communication (Castells, 2009), as when we use twitter, blogs or mass SMS, Multimedia Interpersonal Communication, as when we use MSN or Google Chat or even Skype, One to Many Mediated Communication, as when we use Facebook with our “friends” and, of course, still Mass Communication and non mediated interpersonal communication. All those patterns take into account previous communication models and, through the evolution of mediation, allow us to reconfigure them into a new communicational model.

The organisation of uses and networked interconnection of the media within this new communicational model is directly related to the different degrees of interactivity that our current media allow (Cardoso 2008).

The Networked Communication model is therefore structured around the social appropriation of two main technology nodes and their appropriations, which we access through multiple technological interfaces: television for low interactivity activities, and the Internet for high interactivity activities. What we see here is the common feature of mediation by screens but differentiated by very distinct practises.

Internet screens and Television screens epitomize, respectively, the concepts of search and browse and that of broadcast and zapping, different practises and degrees of involvement in communicational activities and consequently of interactivity dimensions.

Although we have many other media, and consequently different forms of mediation, present in our media diets we can argue that, for example, reading a newspapers or a book, listening to radio or music is closer to zapping and that playing a videogame or using a mobile phone – in its multiple functionalities - is closer to searching.

We are therefore living a time where the centre is moving from the concept of audience into the concept of the participant (Silverstone, 2006) and of the user, regardless of the degree of interactivity that such a use of media has to deal with. As participants and users of media, we assume different roles in this networked communicational context. Those roles can be distinguished in a conceptual triangle built by a large number of participants engaged in the roles of: distributors; innovators; and classifiers of experience.

In the 1970s, McLuhan argued that the media were the message (McLuhan, 1997) — meaning that any single medium induces behaviours, creates psychological connections, and shapes the mentality of the receiver; regardless of the content that medium transmits.

Castells, in turn, characterized the organizational relation of the current media as being based on the “message being the media” (Castells, 2002), i.e., the media are chosen depending on the message one is trying to get across, and seeking that which best serves the message and the audience at which it is aimed.

But, not only have we evolved from a moment where “the media were the message” into a society where we find the “message being the media,” we also are witnessing a moment when the channel or medium is no longer neutral with respect to what it transmits. Furthermore, “the media precede the message” (Eco, 2001) when the technological acceleration produces multiple new channels that exist before there is content to be placed there, creating a new challenge of an economic character, thus rendering transmission feasible without having equated what is to be transmitted (as in the case of interactive and digital television or the interactive CD-ROM).

In addition to the economic challenge, we also find a cultural change that marks a new paradigm of communicative organization. Such a paradigm is visible in the fact that the majority of the new communicational channels have been presented to the general public in a process of active experimentation which Castells has defined as “learning by doing” (Castells, 2002), or the shaping of its own media environment by the audiences, and no longer only by the media companies.

From the media were the message, to the message being the media, to actually the media preceding the message, one could argue that the current networking of media makes the discussing around media and message obsolete, in the sense that once the message enters the network it will reach who it is destined to reach and if its format is not the most appropriate for a given media it will be remixed by the people in order to reshape its format accordingly to the

media. If the message is of interest to someone, those people will convey the message accordingly to the media. So, in the networked communicational model one could state that no longer the media are the message but that the people are the message and that implies that we change the ways in which we look at and think of audiences.

The decrease of audiences in television?

Eduardo Cintra Torres explores, in "Televisão do nós e televisão do eu – a encruzilhada da televisão generalista" what has been the evolution in terms of television audience at a time of proliferation of new media. "Using a new media leads to the reduction of other media" (Torres 2004).

In 1999, the audiometric data on Portuguese television, suggested for the first time a consistent decrease in terms of audiences.

But how can we situate this process of audiences decrease in terms of the evolution to a network society? Well, being the Internet the basic support for the initiation of a network communication on a global scale, we easily find a starting point to understand this relationship. According to Torres (2004), "The UCLA Internet Report 2001 indicates that the Internet users see fewer 4.5 hours of television per week than non-users. Thus, the more time using the Internet, the less time using Tv... therefore, the alternatives for having the access to information and entertainment are becoming more numerous and the Internet is only a part of this growing universe".

In this same study, the main evidence was the following: 65% use the Internet, 76% use cable television and 89% use the generalist TV. Having said that, and if we compare with the results on the World Internet Stats, we see that the most recent count (2010) points out that in the United States, for example, 239,893,600 people of the global population, estimated at 310,232,863, are already Internet users, which increases by about 12% (77%) the percentage indicated at the above-mentioned study, dated 2001.

This means that if there is indeed a relationship between the decrease in the audience of generalist channels and the increasing supply from other media (particularly the internet), then the audiences on generalist television (like many other traditional and less interactive media) will tend to decrease as the new Media, much more interactive, are growing in importance. Moreover, we have the sustained growth of cable television. As Torres (2004) points out, those who have cableTv tend to see less generalist Tv.

"This is a society drenched in media "used to say Abercrombie and Longhurst (1998). That is, this complexity of society and individuals (Torres, 2004), or what Norbert Elias called the "greater variability depending on the times and societies", seems to point to a" type of postmodern other-directed personality, characterized by an individual living in a mass media society ", where "a multiple-self, fragmented, is part of multiple and diffuse audiences".

Today, the fragmentation of the collective-self, or individualization, leads the individual to choose for himself (and given the enormity of choices that are raised) the content he wants to see. In brief, when "I" turns to "Us", the generalist television is able to satisfy me. Even if "I" do not enjoy the programs, "we" like to talk about these programs. When "We" turns into "I", the generalist television rarely gives the program that "I" want to see. And here appears the active audience or the "I" television, more diverse in content and individual choices. It is the center moving from the audience to the user.

Ultimately, this reference to the audience's drop of generalist channels allows us to better understand some implications related to the transition to the Network Society. "The decline of television audiences, as we have seen, appears to be related to the increase of Internet use" (Cardoso: 2009). During the past 15 years we have witnessed a profound change in the media landscape, a change that results not only from the increasing innovation but also results on the way users chose to appropriate their Media, where the particularisms of the Internet allowed the migration of a more traditional/analogic media to more digital technologies, leading to the necessary bridges between the old and new media (Torres: 2004).

Are we changing contents?

What is changing with the globalization of information? Many things are changing: the capacity we have to access other places and what is going on there without having to leave our rooms; the possibility that we have to filter information coming from far away; the availability we have to realize what is happening around us and so on. This is what the essay written by Cristina Ponte "Journalistic Coverage of Children: Defining the International Child" (2002) shows us. Here, a comparison of news began to analyze and compare different stories related to the so called western-children and the ones from the third world countries. Among other observations based on news coverage, the child of Europe is newer than the third- world- child. The children in Europe are mostly white-skinned and middle class babies. The third-world-child is often associated with refugee camps, war scenarios or the victims of environmental disasters. The news about the first-world-children, especially in Europe, usually appear related to pedophilia or student conditions. Children of third-world countries appear linked to wars, to health problems, extreme poverty, sex tourism, child labor and so on.

"Most of the European news covering children is dealing with risk situations or controversy for the welfare of children in contemporary societies, corresponding to a latent discourse of anxiety... different set of topics is dominating the news from Africa, Asia and Latin America, where the negativity is the most common feeling. These children are presented as victims of problems far from a western European perspective, such as war or ethnic persecution, natural disasters or lack of basic health care. These are the greatest victims of poverty, dependent on international aid, abandoned and neglected by governments of their own countries "(Ponte: 2002).

In brief, what we want to mention is that this perception of different child situations more or less characteristic depending on their position on the political map, are an example of the potential of a more networked society where communication technologies allows us to receive images and news about different problems presented as "a world of others with no apparent connections with ours" (Ponte: 2002).

In any case, the most important thing to keep in mind is how the global world allows us to send different pictures/stories of different places, putting ourselves aware of what is happening beyond our boundaries of comfort. Perhaps this system of disseminated information is the main reason/intermediate for the regularly acts of altruism inter-regions. As Ponte (2002) defends, "the suffering of the third world provides us (developed countries) a sense of comfort, reminding us that we can help others. That power is confirmed by the appealing look of a child, carefully selected to hold our attention".

Piracy audiences?

What are "Piracy Audiences"? Usually we look at Audience and participation departing from a media industry definition of what we are analysing, we look at TV, Radio, Newspapers, Games, Internet and contents that we reach because we pay a licence fee, we subscribe to the service, we buy it or simply because it's available for free (being paid by advertisement). That is, we look at contents and the way people participate and interact with them within a system of thought that looks at contents and their distribution channels as the product of relationships between companies or non-profit media organizations and individuals that, although sometimes don't sign a paper or digital contract, effectively build a relationship of a contractual kind with rights and obligations. But if we, for a moment, turn our attention to the empirical evidence found not just in southern and Eastern Europe – but also up to some degree in the northern Europe and UK/Ireland – we see a growing number of people building media relationships outside those institutionalized set of rules. We are not discussing if we are dealing with legal practises or illegal ones, what we are stating is that when a number above 20% of the population is building its mediation through alternative channels of obtaining content such a movement should be studied and deepen our knowledge of audiences. Because we need a title to characterize those audiences in their diversity, but at the same time in their commonplaceness', we propose to call it "Piracy Audiences".

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PORTUGUESE AUDIENCES RESEARCH IN COMMUNICATION STUDIES: AN OVERVIEW OF THE LAST DECADE (1999-2010) WITH A FOCUS ON AGE AND GENERATIONS

| | |
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| Keywords | audience studies, generations, young people |

In this paper, we wish to provide: 1) an overview of the state of development of the audience research in Communication Studies, in the last 10 years, based on public indicators which suggest an absence of research for years; 2) A focus on recent and ongoing research suggesting that Audiences Studies are becoming active on particular media audiences/users, such as children and young people.

1. Audience research in communication studies

In the absence of a centralized database of research in the field, we had to operate through indexes to build this picture (1999-2009): the research Projects supported by the national research foundation (Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia – FCT) from 1999 to 2009; the general conferences promoted by the national association of researchers on Communication (SOPCOM); the books supported by a national media authority (GMCS) and other book collections on Communication and Media, which come mostly from PhD and MA theses; the Portuguese research on children and the internet in the EU Kids Online database, etc. We leave

out the articles in journals, because we believe those stem mostly from research Projects and intersect also with presentations. So we expect to give a picture of the main agenda of the communications research in Portugal and the (scarce) space of audience research in it.

General features

In a country that has been developing the support and investment in science and research in the last decade, Communication Sciences have been one of the fastest growing areas. However, audience and reception research is still slowly gaining space among the academic community.

The first generation of academics in Communications, founded in 1979 with the first department in New University of Lisbon (UNL), was mostly heir to the French academic tradition and disciplines connected with Humanities and the essay matrix. Their influence is still visible in Communication departments from other Universities, either public or private⁵⁵.

For years, empirical research in Communications and Media Studies (Master of Arts and PhD theses) has been mostly supported by content analyses and non-obtrusive methodologies. Journalism Studies play a major role here: the focus has been overwhelmingly on its importance for democracy, analyzing news production and contents while research on news publics has been quite rare (exception of Marisa Silva's work (2005, 2010) on the readers-writers of letters to the editors in quality press).

Research and publications

The number of funded Projects involving research teams focused on or that include audience and reception analysis is also very low (just 7 in 58 supported Projects in the 2000s) and they are coordinated by an even smaller group of researchers (Manuel José Damásio, Universidade Lusófona; Cristina Ponte, UNL; Sara Pereira, University of Minho and Isabel Ferin Cunha, University of Coimbra), focused on TV and digital media audiences and users. Besides this list, there has been research on media education and literacy conducted by Vitor Reia-Baptista (University of Algarve), who participated in the European Mediappro Project, as well as by Manuel Pinto, & Sara Pereira, both from University of Minho, which has been developing studies on children as TV audiences since the 1990s; the reception of TV contents (namely *telenovelas*) has also been researched for years by Isabel Ferin Cunha⁵⁶ and her postgraduate students.

As for the book collection supported by the national institute for communication (Gabinete dos Meios de Comunicação Social – GMCS), the numbers seems consistent with this weak audience research. In 120 books supported by GMCS since 1999, only six investigate media reception or include a methodology of reception analysis⁵⁷. Children and young people as audiences play an important role, accounting for four of those books, aside readers-writers of letters to the editor and soap opera reception. The main line of research represented in this collection is that of journalism, on the discourses, representation of particular groups or topics, and community of journalists and news making processes; there are also some historical perspectives of media, public opinion and public sphere. If we look at the two greater book collections on Communication Studies, only a couple more cases arise, following the tendency of paying attention to children/young people as audiences.

Since 1999, the national association for Communication Research, SOPCOM, has promoted conferences on a biannual basis, for some time associated with the Iberian and Brazilian communities of communication research⁵⁸. The section of Public Opinion and Audiences was the one with least sessions and least papers throughout the several editions of the conference, and even then there is a focus on public sphere theory. The work of Gustavo Cardoso, Rita Espanha, Nuno Almeida Alves and their colleagues from CIES and OBERCOM, though, has been the most present in this section, with sociological frameworks and empirical

⁵⁵ The situation has some similarities which the Francophone Belgium context (see Patriarche et al essay)

⁵⁶ See Isabel Ferin Cunha's essay, in this collection (WG4)

⁵⁷ This public policy for supporting the edition of national research on Communication and Media Studies doesn't apply however to the translation of books. As the national market is quite small, the publishers resist paying the translation; therefore the access to the reference books in the field uses English, Spanish or French languages.

⁵⁸ The editions analysed start in 2004, since there is no record online of the previous ones.

research mostly based on surveys⁵⁹. The topic of audience is sometimes presented in other sections, such as Multimedia and Audiovisual studies, but it remains dispersed and rare.

2. Recent and ongoing research focused on children, young people and generations

In 2008, acknowledging the lack of a systematic study on audiences, the Portuguese Regulatory Agency for Communication, ERC, commissioned a national study of reception of the media in Portugal, which was coordinated by José Rebelo (2008), from ISCTE, a public university. The research team involved an interdisciplinary approach with researchers from Communication Studies. Besides a national representative survey, the work focused on the media reception by children, immigrants and elder people, the last two researched also through focus groups. The survey showed clearly that television is the hegemonic media, isolated from the other media, in all age, gender and SES groups, searched for information, leisure and entertainment purposes. The survey also showed the SES and the generational gaps in the use of computers and the Internet and confirmed the low penetration of printed media in a country marked by a long history of low levels of literacy and education.

The Portuguese contribution for the EU Kids Online database on national research on children and the internet since 2000 (see www.eukidsonline.net) came mostly from Education and Sociology: 18 PhD and MA theses (pre-Bologna system) chose this topic in a 'case study' approach. Based on the identification of research gaps in this field, in the New University of Lisbon, Cristina Ponte, national coordinator of EU Kids Online, has been promoting this research focus; presently a group of 8 PhD students are currently researching children and young people as media users and producers (relation with adds, brands and with mobile cultures among the *tweens*; fan culture and celebrities; youth political participation; uses of the internet and the influence of peers and parental mediation; digital literacy and personal identity among others). Two MA theses (Candeias, 2008 and Neves, 2008) provided also qualitative insights on contexts of digital exclusion among low SES adolescents and young children's skills and literacy to deal with Internet risk, respectively.

As far as the role of the media for the identity processes of migrant young are concerned, the research of Carvalho (2008), Universidade da Beira Interior, is a reference. Framed within the Media Studies and the Sociology of Culture and based on in-depth interviews and news content analyses, the author compared the second generation of Portuguese living in France with the second generation of Cabo-Verde migrants living in Portugal, and the role of the news media in their own identity and on the identity of their distant origins.

In 2008, a national study on children using the Internet at home and at school was also concluded, noting the relevance of SES and parental mediation in the families. The study involving a national sample of more than 3000 children and conducted by the sociologist Ana Nunes de Almeida (University of Lisbon) was supported by the Gulbenkian Foundation and included a comparative dimension with Catalonia. The results were presented in a two-day public conference (Lisbon, 2009), promoting an interdisciplinary discussion and also contributing to an enlarge vision of age and generations as relevant variables. Other national research on children and the Internet conducted by Cardoso, Espanha et al (2007, 2009) and funded by the industry (PT Foundation) also stressed the relevance of the SES and schools for accessing and the bedroom culture.

Also in 2009, the research project 'Digital Inclusion and Integration' (2009-2011), coordinated by Cristina Ponte (New University of Lisbon), Joe Straubhaar (UT Austin) and José Azevedo (University of Porto) and supported by the UT Austin|Portugal Program, started researching the relation of families from different social groups (with a focus on migrants and economically disadvantaged households, as well as on gender, age and ethnicity) with the digital media and the media in general (see https://digital_inclusion.up.pt). Involving 20 researchers, including 6 PhD students, from five Portuguese Universities and from the UT (Austin and San Antonio), the team presents different academic backgrounds (Media Studies, Education,

⁵⁹ See Gustavo Cardoso's essay, in this collection (WG2)

Sociology, Psychology and Informational Sciences). Aiming at identifying factors of digital inclusion/exclusion among those populations in a context of social change, the Project has theoretical frameworks from Bourdieu (social inequalities, social and cultural capital, distinction), and uses sociological focus on generations provided by Mannheim or Bertaux and Thompson (see McLeod and Thompson, 2009). The ongoing field work is based on qualitative and ethnographic approaches, including interviewing life stories and observation of public spaces such as libraries, as well on surveys focused on specific users, those that have to access to the internet in public places. The focus has been put on the family, interviewing different generations (children, parents and great-parents).

Audiences transformation and social integration

This picture leaves the topics focused by the WP4 group still unattended. However, there has been other work focused on Europe from the point of view of framing (Horta, 2004; Silveirinha and Ponte, 2006), as well as an extensive work on the public service media, especially radio (Paula Cordeiro, 2010) and TV, by researchers from the Minho University (Mediascopio Project), that might contribute to the needed contextualization. The work on gender and social status starts to consider age and generations besides children and young people, while the work on media fandom has been less taken on by national researchers.

Conclusions and perspectives for the future

The need of contextualization of audience research emerges from the comparative research Projects, in socio-economic and cultural national contexts, on the one hand, and in broader landscapes, such as the European context, its similarities and differences, on the other. It would be interesting to compare how the Portuguese diaspora is socially integrated in those countries and the role of the media in these processes with the situation of other communities.

Due to the particular context of the Portuguese society (experiencing an “unfinished modernity”, as Machado & Costa point out (1998), and low levels of education and literacy among adults and the elderly), age, gender, SES and generation emerge as relevant variables for studying media influence and uses, namely TV and digital media.

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SOCIAL CAPITAL AND INTERNET USE: PORTUGUESE SOCIAL CAPITAL SCALE

| | |
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The present paper intends to contribute to the understanding of the concept of social capital (SC) and its role in the analysis of contemporary's audience Internet use experience by introducing a measure called *Internet Social Capital Scale* (ISCS - Williams, 2006), analysed and validated for the Portuguese context.

Social capital research has dealt in the past with the relation between social and local levels of political and economical development in southern European countries, namely in Italy (Putnam, 2000) and a number of studies have also approached the issue of the relation between online forms of interaction and civic participation (S. Valenzuela, N. Park, K. Kee, 2009). However, no research exists that considers the relation between internet use and social capital in these countries, namely considering the fact that heavy public and European funded investments have been made in several of them, namely in Portugal, in the past decade having, amongst others, as major goals to promote economical development and social cohesion. Our research emerges from the existing social environment where computer-mediated-communication has gained a central position as a form of inter-relation and communication, capable of supporting social and affective links between subjects. People are spending more time online and new social configurations are emerging from that fact. The forms of social organization known as virtual communities are often depicted as examples of new social constructs (Blanchard, 2007; Wellman & Gulia, 2002) that emerge from the use of the current forms of communicative expressions on the internet, the so-called technologies of social networking (Katz & Rice, 2002).

Previous studies on the concept of social capital have pointed out information technologies (ITs) potential to reduce traditional forms of interaction, negatively affecting the levels of SC shared within a community (Blanchard, 2004, Kollock & Smith, 2002). Our study envisions new technologies, namely SNS – social network sites - as capable of fostering the amount of interactions and relationships shared within a community. The central hypothesis proposed is that we can enhance the levels of SC produced in a particular community by introducing in its dynamics the use of technological devices that support communication and share information, but only if those technological devices consider the specificity of community activities and goals. By valuing the potential of technology to improve community interactions,

we are not, neither is our intent, to center our analysis on the technology nature. Instead the heart of our concern is the community life, its objectives, relationships and activities. Though, we consider local cultural specificities, in this case Portugal's cultural reality, to have a definitive role in shaping different technological uses and associated SC outcomes.

The concept of SC is essential at this point and we will proceed by presenting data from the analysis and validation of a measurement tool of SC applicable to an online environment. SC should be understood here as a multidimensional concept including such diverse dimensions as civic participation, satisfaction, social trust and engagement (Esser, 2008), helping to realize why people do better when they belong to social networks and are linked to more people. The idea is that the more links a subject maintain in a social network, more they share common values with other people in that network, the easier is to get information and the higher are the levels of social capital shared. A main distinction provided by Putnam (2000) concerns the separation of SC into two different types – SC of bonding nature, related to homogeneity and identity; and the SC of bridging nature, more inclusive and tolerate, joining people of diverse backgrounds.

The Williams' ISCS (2006) present four sub-dimensions: bonding online/ offline, bridging online/ offline, with 10 items each. The items were translated and submitted to a sample of 380 Portuguese subjects (mean age= 24,SD=6.5). In order to analyze if the model structure was appropriate for the Portuguese context, an Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) was performed, with SPSS 18. The preliminary assumptions for EFA were fulfilled (KMO=.892 and Bartlett's test of sphericity: $\chi^2 = 6665, 84; p = ,000$). An Oblimin rotation was chosen since, according to Putnam (2000), bridging and bonding must be considered related constructs. The initial solution extracted 7 factors; however given the conceptual framework, the structure was not suitable. Another extraction was performed forcing the solution to four factors, considering the Scree Plot and the original conceptual model. The solution found was now consistent with the original measure. However the item 9 of the Online Bonding subscale and the item 10 from the Offline Bridging sub-scale displayed low factor loadings ($<.400$) so they were removed. Since the sub-scales are constructed in mirror, the correspondent items were also removed. Therefore, a four-factor solution can be also assumed in this version. The next step taken was to force the solution into two factors. The results seem to clearly differentiate between Online and Offline, which supports the original model. However the item 3 of the Bonding subscale and the item 7 of the Bridging subscale had to be removed, as both did not present significant factor loading in either factors. The internal consistency in all sub-scales and correlations between the four and two sub-dimensions were high ($> .800$) and significant. In order to validate the structure obtained through the EFA, a Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA) via AMOS software was performed to test the data goodness of fit to the model achieved. The following indices of fit are reported, as suggested by several authors (Keith, 1997, Williams, 2006, Taub, 2001): the Tucker-Lewis Index (TLI), the Comparison Fit Index (CFI), the Goodness of Fit Index (GFI), the parsimony ratio (PR) and the Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA). The chi-square statistic was not considered, as it is a sensitive indicator to sample size. The structure model for the Portuguese version presented good fit for the data (TLI=.91; GFI=.86; PR=.89; CFI=.92; RMSEA=.05), closing with 4 sub-scales, with 8 items each. In table 1 we present the final Portuguese version and respective factor loadings. Regarding the results, the sub-scales can be used independently to measure either Online or Offline contexts or all together to measure SC. As main differences from the original measure, the Portuguese version presents only 32 items, against 40 items. Final results indicate a strong relation between cultural background, levels of SC outcomes and technology use.

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Portuguese SCS

| Question text, with online/offline version difference indicated | Online Bonding | | Offline Bonding | |
|---|------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|
| | Original alpha=.896 | Portuguese alpha=.884 | Original alpha=.859 | Portuguese alpha=.892 |
| Bonding subscale | | | | |
| There are several people online/offline I trust to help solve my problems. | .818 | ,605 | .747 | ,767 |
| There is someone online/offline I can turn to for advice about making very important decisions. | .828 | ,614 | .761 | ,751 |
| When I feel lonely, there are several people online/offline I can talk to. | .693 | ,441 | .696 | ,712 |
| If I needed an emergency loan of \$500, I know someone online/offline I can turn to. | .717 | ,770 | .751 | ,634 |
| The people I interact with online/offline would put their reputation on the line for me. | .735 | ,812 | .657 | ,562 |
| The people I interact with online/offline would be good job references for me. | .656 | ,602 | .548 | ,667 |
| The people I interact with online/offline would share their last dollar with me. | .702 | ,856 | .609 | ,696 |
| The people I interact with online/offline would help me fight an injustice. | .655 | ,670 | .653 | ,600 |
| Question text, with online/offline version difference indicated | Online Bridging | | Offline Bridging | |
| | Original alpha=.896 | Portuguese alpha=.855 | Original alpha=.859 | Portuguese alpha=.865 |
| Bridging subscale | | | | |
| Interacting with people online/offline makes me interested in things that happen outside of my town | .661 | -,796 | .739 | ,634 |

| | | | | |
|--|------|-------|------|------|
| Interacting with people online/offline makes me want to try new things | .671 | -,787 | .699 | ,533 |
| Interacting with people online/offline makes me interested in what people unlike me are thinking | .605 | -,731 | .491 | ,490 |
| Talking with people online/offline makes me curious about other places in the world. | .683 | -,810 | .687 | ,668 |
| Interacting with people online/offline makes me feel part of a larger community. | .648 | -,627 | .699 | ,746 |
| Interacting with people online/offline makes me feel connected to the bigger picture | .709 | -,541 | .771 | ,630 |
| I am willing to spend time to support general online/offline community activities. | .593 | -,515 | .483 | ,416 |
| Interacting with people online/offline gives me new people to talk to. | .619 | -,589 | .630 | ,564 |

STUDIES ON THE RECEPTION OF *TELENOVELAS*⁶⁰ IN PORTUGAL: AUTHORS, METHODOLOGIES AND INTERNATIONAL INFLUENCES

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| Keywords | reception studies, television studies, <i>telenovelas</i> , TV audiences |

Reception studies in Portugal started in the eighties and must be analyzed in the media and academic Portuguese context. In the end of this decade new legislation was adopted in order to deregulate the market.⁶¹ In 1992/93, after public concourse and approval of new legislation, emerged two private channels: SIC (Sociedade Independente de Comunicação) and TVI (Televisão da Igreja, then Televisão Independente) which will join the public broadcasters RTP1 and RTP2.

In view of the field of Communication we note that the explosion of courses in Communication Sciences, Journalism and Advertising will take place only in the nineties.⁶² In the previous decade, and since 1979, only existed in the Universidade Nova de Lisboa a graduation in Social Communication at the Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities. This degree had reasonable disciplinary components in Philosophy, Literary Studies and Linguistics, which did not provide an conducive environment to the reception studies development. The undergraduate studies in Sociology and Anglo-American allowed in this context, greater awareness and contact with reception studies.

⁶⁰ Telenovela is a fictional product that tells a story in about 170 episodes. The plot has many nuclei and the story has beginning, middle and end as opposed to soap operas. It is a product with origin in Latin America developed mainly by Globo TV in Brazil.

⁶¹ Cfr: Lei de Bases de 88/89

⁶² Couto, A. I. (2007) Das barreiras alfandegárias entre campos disciplinares: breve ilustração a partir do caso sociologia e ciências da comunicação, CIES e-WORKING PAPERS, nº 36.

Our paper aims to survey the studies of reception on television, with particular emphasis on *telenovelas* reception and its effects in the Portuguese society. The two pioneering studies were conducted in the late eighties and early nineties and sought to understand how the *telenovela* contents are appropriate in everyday life. Other reception studies were performed in the nineties and by then in the first decade of the millennium, either about the Brazilian and Portuguese *telenovelas* reception. We emphasize that by 1999, the ratings give absolute hegemony to Brazilian *telenovelas* and only from the beginning of the millennium those are outweighed by the Portuguese ones.

The two pioneering studies were focused on Brazilian *telenovelas* and feature different methodological approaches.

The first study dates from 1987 and aims to catch the *ideological* effects (Viegas, 1987: 21-22) of *telenovelas* in Portuguese public. The author notes that the criticisms can be systematized in three fundamental aspects: the dangerous hegemony of the “Brazilian speaking” and “Brazilianisms” in Portuguese culture; the presentation of new behaviors and new moral standards (which undermine traditional morality and the Catholic Church authority); the critical stance of the elites (especially intellectuals) in relation to this genre of fiction. For this purpose he conducted 18 in-depth interviews — and he subsequently selected five (two men and three women) with differentiated ages and socio-professional strata — looking to identify the values (positive or negative) of adhesion expressed by the interviewees.⁶³ The author, professor and researcher at the Instituto Superior da Empresa e do Trabalho (ISCTE), identifies three key points in the conclusions. First, he believes there is a distinction between *telenovela*’s and audiences’ speeches: the prominence that is given to the themes and characters in *telenovelas* do not coincide with that which is given by the audience. Secondly, the author concludes that there is a relationship between the respondent’s interpretations, the *telenovelas* discourses ideologies and the structural conditions of their existence. Finally, in a perspective of assessing the impacts of Brazilian *telenovelas* in the Portuguese public, notes that the *telenovela* show *news behaviors and value systems, including live images from the high middle class* and a set of values of modernity, such as consumption and success (Viegas, 1987).

In 1994, it is published a second study of reception based on a ethnographic methodology inspired by Hobson (1982), Ang (1985) Leal (1986), Fisk (1987) and Morley (1992) studies. The author, João Paulo Moreira, professor at the Faculdade de Letras, Universidade de Coimbra, had already developed an earlier work on *telenovelas*,⁶⁴ and in this new article he *aims to identify who watch telenovelas, but also how people do this, their attitudes and the meanings that they give to contents* (Moreira, 1994:66). Moreira says that there aren’t studies on *telenovelas* and *their* audiences and reception in Portugal. He is astonished by this, because it is a fictional program that for over two decades was broadcasting every day very successful. However, *despite the size of the phenomenon did not attract a proportionate interest in the scientific community* (Moreira, 1994: 60). He also notes that the phenomenon of Brazilian *telenovelas* in Portugal should become a subject of critical research for multiple and discontinuous reasons such as: differences in ways of speaking Portuguese; political and cultural context; different times and 3 showtimes; lag scenes and rhythms of daily life like meals, food, household and rhythms of life. The author developed an empirical study based on group interviews (focus group) in two different areas of the city of Coimbra, namely in a small village on the outskirts and in a popular neighborhood. He promoted five sessions conducted with 20 individuals, 10 men and 10 women, mostly employed in unskilled or semiskilled service, which lasted about 90 minutes.

The conclusions of this study highlighted the topics included in the plots of the *telenovelas*, particularly those which are identified as belonging to the *public space* (social rights and duties, political corruption, the role of gender, national identity) as opposed to the *private sphere* (emotions, feelings, etc.). The respondents compare (in 1994) the Brazilian and

⁶³ The *telenovela* that was broadcast at the time of this study is *Father Hero*, written and produced in Brazil in 1979, by Janet Clair, Direction of Walter Avancini, Gonzaga and Roberto Talma Blota.

⁶⁴ Cfr: Moreira, J.P. (1980) “*Telenovela: A Propósito da Cultura de Massas*”, Coimbra, *Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais*, 4-5: 47-85; Moreira, J.P. (1991) “*Telenovela: Um Desfile de Modelos*” Coimbra, *Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais*, 33: 253-263;

Portuguese telenovelas, giving the former greater credibility and ability to *portray the realities of simple people and working life, as well as the struggles against social inequalities*. Another set of important observations advanced in this study described the segmentation of public tastes and gender issues. Younger audiences preferred plots that emphasize the urban lifestyles and humor, while the older showed a preference for historical reconstructions and rural environments. The study noted — from a gender perspective — that women (as advanced by Hobson and Ang) followed the *telenovelas* to the rhythm of their domestic activities, while men seem just watch, when they were unoccupied during prime-time telenovela.

From this period until the start of the new millennium, there aren't studies on telenovelas's reception but only texts that attempt to reconstruct the reception basing on the analysis of the press, television critics, columnists of the press, as well as in articles published in television magazines.

An essay published in 1995⁶⁵, during the 'audiences war' around *telenovelas* between public and private TV channels, the authors mobilize arguments based on Portuguese and Brazilian journalists (eg, Duda Guennes, Artur da Tavola, Vicente Jorge Silva), Brazilian authors (eg Dulcilia Buitonni, Muniz Sodre, Samira Yussef and Nancy Cardia), Latin American writers (eg, Vargas Llosa and José Ignacio Cabrujas) and Portuguese Professors and intellectuals (Adriano Duarte Rodrigues, Natália Correia, Eduardo Prado Coelho, Esteves Cardoso) to discuss the impacts caused by the spectators continued viewing of Brazilian *telenovelas*. The essay argues that the four hours of television consumed by the Portuguese daily are due to the Brazilian *telenovelas* and, based on surveys and performed at the time, attributed difficulties to the Portuguese in distinguishing between real and imaginary world. In the rural hinterland of the country, according to many critics cited by the authors, the Brazilian *telenovelas* showed social and moral behaviors, as well as lifestyles completely unimagined by the people. For the first time in its history in Portugal, the Catholic Church felt confronted every day by an emitter almighty. According to Albuquerque and Vieira (1995) despite being proven the damages caused by prolonged and continuous exposure to this fiction product, some intellectuals and critics appreciate it and not resist to its allure as evidenced by the quote from Eduardo Prado Coelho:⁶⁶ *There is a pleasure to watch telenovelas that would be dishonest to conceal [...]. The telenovela is something else - a little oasis in the lives of all us [...] all the critical media analysis that intellectuals have done, just now, is based on this real aberration which is the concealment of pleasure [...]*⁶⁷

The following empirical reception studies on *telenovelas* emphasize different topics and methodologies. Some have focused on the family (eg, Silva, 2006, Silva, 2007, Castilho, 2010), others on gender issues, love and sexuality (eg, Policarpo, 2006, Silva, 2006, Alvares, 2008), but also on age consumptions (Burnay, 2004, Cardoso e Amaral, 2006, Valdigem, 2006) migration and ethnic aspects (Cunha, 2005, 2008, 2009, 2010, Valdigem, 2005). Some studies are mainly interested in identifying processes of appropriation relating to lifestyle and other components in culture and identity. Almost all the empirical work opts for mixed ethnographic methods, which include participant observation, surveys, semi-directed or in-depth interviews, as well as focus group sessions. The studies may be located in small villages (Vila Pouca do Campo, Anadia near Coimbra) in urban centers (Cascais, Carnaxide, Lisbon) or in the slums of Metropolitan Area of Lisbon, located in the municipalities of Amadora, Loures and Odivelas). Some of these studies present a comparative perspective between Portugal and Brazil in order to identify differences and similarities of the reception on Media, Digital Media and telenovelas among the two countries.

Theoretically these studies are based on Cultural Studies, either Anglo-Saxon or Latin-American. Among the first studies we stress the inspiration of the founding work of Richard Hoggart and the studies of Ang, Hobson, Morley, Moors, Stuart Hall and Silverstone. The Latin America theoretical influence is present since the early Portuguese studies on *telenovelas*, either

⁶⁵ Cfr: Albuquerque, D. e Vieira, A. (1995) "As Telenovelas em Portugal - história e teoria do género" in *O Fenómeno Televisivo*, Lisboa: Círculo de Leitores.

⁶⁶ Eduardo Prado Coelho (1944-2007) has been a professor and intellectual. He was columnist for several newspapers.

⁶⁷ Cfr: Coelho, E.P. (1986) "E no calor dessa magia", Lisboa, *Semanário Expresso*, 22/11

on production side or on the reception one. We underline the predominance of the Center for Research of Telenovela (Centro de Pesquisa da Telenovela) at the Escola de Comunicações e Artes, University of São Paulo, Brazil (authors like Baccega, Ballog, Costa, Escosteguy, Fadul, Jacks, Lopes and Pallotini). The Latin American reference is present since the early nineties, through the Brazilian researchers and was primarily based on three authors, Jesus Martín-Barbero (Spanish settled in Bolivia), Nora Mazzioti (Argentina) and Guillermo Orozco Gomez (Mexico). At the intersection of these schools and authors we can also recognize the contributions of Milly Buonanno (Italy), Lorenzo Vilches and Charo Lacalle (Spain).

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ROMANIA

AUDIENCE STUDIES IN ROMANIA

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The sociological approach of the relationship between mass media and society starts from the following statements:

1. Media reflect social structure and social values of a society, acting as social change factors
2. The mass communication research implies a one-to-one analysis of the relationship media-society
3. Mass media is only *one factor* of social communication, so the analysis will include other extra-media factors.

The concept of audience changed over the time depending on new research developed over two axes: the sender approach and the receiver approach.

McQuail (2000) defines audience either *large aggregates of dispersed and passive spectators, without opportunities to respond or to participate in a genuine way or constituted momentarily by the more or less simultaneous contact with a distant source and has no other existence except in the book-keeping of the media industry*.

The **sender approach** represents the studies conducted by media companies as a marketing activity. Those companies are interested in the public or audience as a market that buy their products and provide benefits for the shareholders. The **receiver approach** is mainly

developed by public and /or academic institutions to investigate the media consumption and their effects (on short or long term) on the public.

In the last decades, three methods have been used for survey audience measurement :

Inquiry / survey as interview, panel diary and peplemeter.

Besides quantitative methods, there are sociological qualitative methods used for audience studies – focus groups, in depth interviews, participating observation, projective tests. Audience meaning emerged in time from the concept of *social aggregates* to the notion of *mass* and *public*, ending with the American approach of *market*.

Audience market research in Romania

Speaking about audience research we make distinction between *commercial surveys* like nowadays peplemeter and the complex sociological inquiries that investigate audience under several aspects as – attitudes evaluation, motivations and public satisfaction, life styles and cultural practice.

On the Romanian market there are or were a number of audiometry companies (AGB Data Research, CSOP Tylor Nielsen SOFRES Mediametrie, TNS-AGB International, GfK, etc.) that made quantitative studies on audience, but tried also qualitative methods, like the Media departments of IMAS, CURS or IRSOP as well as academic research centres in communication studies like the Centre for Media Studies and New Communication Technologies (University of Bucharest) and others.

The audience studies began with TV audience measurement that started in 1993. At the beginning, the National Council of the Audiovisual (established 1992) ordered these studies (see www.sna.ro)

Until 1997 audience measurement used paper diaries filled by TV viewers from a selected cohort. Starting 1998, the measurement is done by peplemeters. In order to provide reliable data, the measurement is controlled by a large association of media actors – The Romanian Association of Audience Measurement (www.arma.ro).

The present national study of audience uses a representative panel of 1200 households to measure TV consumption and the socio-demographic profile of TV viewers.

The print media audience is controlled by The Romanian Bureau of Release Audit (www.brat.ro) that provides information about the number of copies a journal or magazine sold at every release. A similar study is ordered for the online media, in terms of Internet traffic (www.sati.ro).

The studies I mentioned are very technical, providing data required by the Marketing departments. But in real life there it is not quite a distinct line between academic research and marketing research because research institutes are often running joined studies, or expand their interest over transversal axes.

Audience academic research in Romania

In the last decade, the academic field was investigating the audience on the following axes :

- Social composition of the audience
- Media effects, especially on children
- Cultural consumption practices
- Uses and gratification approach of media use
- Analysis of specific groups (e.g. children of different ages, or couples of children and parents, etc).

In the period 2004-2009, the Centre for Media Studies and New Communication Technologies (CMSNCT) elaborated important studies on the evaluation of violent content of the TV broadcasting that led to the publication of a book on *Televsual violence and child protection*, recommended by UNICEF and the Romanian Education Ministry, too.

Research reports could be found at www.cna.ro (website of the National Council of the Audiovisual).

Other studies investigated media consumption practices of children aged 7-10, 11-14, 15-18 years old and the impact of advertising on children and parents. A lot of papers and PhD theses have been published by the members of our Centre on those subjects.

Besides the audiovisual field, a lot of studies investigated cultural practices (including mass-media consumption) as the annual study The Cultural Barometer (www.culturadata.ro) or the Public Opinion Barometer (www.osf.ro).

Important studies investigated reading practices and studied traffic visitors at bookfairs. An example is the traffic study for the international bookfair GAUDEAMUS, in Bucharest that has been performed by members of our Centre in the last five years.

The results of those studies outline the *flexibility* of academic research in defining a consumption behaviour as a combination of statistical-demographic factors and value and motivation aspects that may determine someone to choose from alternative media.

Although in present days television is the main information channel in Romania, new media gain the interest of younger and educated people, despite print media. The radio has a low but stable audience and moved to digital. Dragan (2007) revealed that at family level people watch TV for relaxation and fun, but at individual level media consumption is motivated by understanding society and information. This suggests we could orient our future research on two analysis units –family and individual.

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SERBIA

SERBIA - AUDIENCE DIGITAL DIVIDING

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Rapid development and implementation of Information communication technologies, is changing all aspects of postmodern society and sketching the outlook of new Information Society. Information is becoming new production resource, and related information manipulation – gathering, processing and saving, are causing structural, in depth changes. At the same time this development is transforming the concept of audience as we have perceived it in last decades. The era of audience gathered around mass media (press, radio and television), and having as its main attribute - „mass” - is coming to an end. Traditional mass media are converging with new information technologies – computer networks, Internet and telecommunications – bringing about new digital and hybrid media. Their main characteristic is interactivity, which at the same time induces **demassification** of audience. In a new media environment all specific strata of audience can find appropriate sources of information, education or fun, according to their own choice, in their own way and in their own time. This means that audience isn't "mass" any more but diversified and self-organized. Existing social networks, blogs and open portals are showing that this new reality has already began. Citizens are practicing their right and freedom to receive and spread information and opinions, to form local publics, to start social movements and other forms of social activities, which provoke new influences on political, economic and overall social system. Thus, transformation of citizens' role from former audience to active public is reciprocally affecting the institutions and structure of contemporary society, which is going towards the information one.

Serbia could be very interesting example to study described audience transformation, not only because it belongs to societies in transition and of unfinished democratization, but because it is the country in which correlation between transformation of audience and of society could be clearly demonstrated. Process of digitalization is still in its early phase. But, ICT-s and media convergence is taking place, transforming Serbia towards Information Society too. Penetration of Internet is in constant progress as well as the computer literacy. According to official statistics from 2009⁶⁸, 36.7% of households have access to Internet, while individual usage figure shows that 54.6% of population uses Internet on daily basis.

According to the latest research (April, 2010. Ipsos Strategic Marketing and Irex Serbia) 90% of population uses Internet for surfing (searching for information), 77% for reading news and informing, and somewhat less - 71% for exchanging e-mails, only 15% for education, and 2% for business purposes.

These changes are eminent and are advancing, because Serbia can not stay an isolated isle in the surroundings that is far ahead in this process, along with policy of EU and process of globalization.

Digitalization of most prominent mass medium – television – should be completed according to the adopted government Strategy in 2012, following the European plan for digital switch over. Along with evident superior quality of picture and tone, digitalization will bring

⁶⁸ "Usage of ICTs in the Republic of Serbia", Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia, 2009, <http://webzhs.stat.gov.rs/axd/en/dokumenti/ict/2009/ICT2009e.pdf>

along much more important change known as **digital dividend**. Number of available channels will be multiplied allowing operation of new television and radio stations, diversification of program content and interactivity. Therefore, digital TV will be addressing smaller target groups and eventually lose significant financing from biggest advertisers. This could, in turn, affect content quality. Press has already started with on-line editions and 40 digital media has been registered until now. On line versions of newspapers are threatening already low circulation of printed press, and could lead to further closing.

Digitalization also leads to **content convergence** (convergence of broadcasting, telecommunication and press content), business convergence, network convergence and data terminals convergence (one data terminal will be used for receiving information, broadcasting and telecommunication). In public communication this shift is evident in EU documents, which refer to „media like content“, instead of “mass communication content”.

These trends are causing **audience digital dividing** in Serbia. On one hand „mass audience“ in Serbia is very vivid and active. According to most recent insights every citizen of Serbia watches television more than 3 hours per day on average, which is among highest ratings in the world. Another research⁶⁹ from this year is showing that 77% of population finds TV as a primary daily source of information. Internet is second most used source of information for 13% people in Serbia, following press and radio with very low ratings – only 7% and 2%.

Decline of newspaper readers and radio listeners can be explained easily by simple facts. Newspaper readership is badly affected by economic crisis because press is becoming too expensive to buy. Radio is losing its information function that is taken over by much more attractive medium – television. Also, young generations are turning to Internet for downloading music, which was the most attractive radio supply. Because Serbia is in deep economic crisis, accompanied by low salaries and a high level of unemployment (20%), citizenship turns to passive and cheap consumption of mass media products. At the same time this characteristic goes hand in hand with lethargy in political field and abstinence from social activism. Predominance of TV audience that considers mass culture (reality shows) as its program preference, can be associated with *narcotizing* dysfunction, e.g. *escapist* function of television. Watching TV seems to be the best way to forget reality burdened with a lot of existential problems, such as poverty, unemployment, worries about future of work place, family...

Closer review of social structure of audiences in Serbia brings us to a very interesting conclusion. According to age, as social indicator, *audiences are deeply divided* in two categories: **users and viewers**.

Findings of Strategic Marketing research team indicates that television is extremely popular among persons older than 66, among those with primary education and dwellers of rural areas. In that age category only 5% uses Internet. On the contrary, Internet users are young, highly educated and urban. Although only 52 percent of total population uses Internet from time to time, that percentage among young people (ages 12 to 29) goes up to 91 percent. The same strata uses Internet for informing 29%, and 60% of them still turns to television in order to be informed. But pattern of viewing has changed. 60% of youth states that they surf the Internet while watching TV.

Audience researches are showing that members of mass audience and consumers with lowest taste are mostly oldest and middle generations. At the side of society, these citizens are „losers in process of transition“. On the other hand, among young generations, diversified audiences and virtual communities, that don't depend on mass media, are rising. At the side of society, those are younger (ages up to 45), computer literate and citizens of higher economic standard. Apparently, they know how to use potential of new communication tools to get better social position and status. Largest migration of “audience” from mass media to new media platforms (Internet and mobile phones) is evident among youngest urban population (up to 25). It provokes constant increase in the uptake of ICTs. In sum, youngest generation in Serbia is

⁶⁹ Results from research conducted in April 2010 by Ipsos Strategic Marketing and Irex Serbia

exploiting all Internet potentials, participates in creation of Web 2.0, and instead of passive, consumerist, mass audience is becoming an active “user”. Among them are creators of information, education and entertainment content in forms of citizen journalism.

Research activities of Serbian COST team will be: investigating, measuring and demonstrating outlined transformations of audience that could be associated with current social change. This action could inspire a shift in modes of audience research in Serbia and provide valuable cooperation with foreign experts in the field.

TRANSFORMATION, INTERACTIVITY AND PARTICIPATION OF AUDIENCES IN SERBIA

| | |
|-----------------|---|
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| Keywords | internet users, young people, interactivity, participation |

Empirical understanding of the audiences in Serbia is based mostly on the market-oriented researches.⁷⁰ The questions asked, the methods used and data collected are determined by that fact. Specialized agencies for market and public opinion research provide updated findings about popularity (rating, share, number of visits, readers) of specific media outlets or type of media in general. To collect these data they use people meter (for TV audience), web statistic (for internet users) or conduct phone survey on representative sample. These quantitative data, however give no insight into reasons or ways of using media, meanings ascribed to particular content, nor explain how media usage is connected with everyday routine of audiences.

Therefore, when we talk about transformation of audience due to changes caused by information and communication technologies, what we can say with certainty is that the number of people using Internet (via computers and cell phones) is increasing.⁷¹ The percentage of Internet users differs because there is no established definition of 'user'. Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia performs annually research about 'Usage of Information and Communication Technology' and considers last three months as defining period.⁷² According to them the percentage of individuals who use the Internet had grown from 23,9% (in 2006) to 38,1 % (in 2009). The newest research from July 2010 carried out by market research agency Ipsos Strategic Marketing and Irex, states that 36,8% of population is using internet on everyday basis, while 52% use it occasionally. The latest data from Internet World Statistics place Serbia slightly below European average (55,9% of users in Serbia comparing with European average 58,4%) but significantly bellow Sweden or Norway whose penetration is above 90%.⁷³

The existing researches give not only overall number, but also demographic structure of users and it is obvious that young people are leaders in using of new technologies. According to Statistical Office the percentage of Internet users among population age 16 to 24 is 82,7% and between 24-35 is 71,5%, which is significantly above average.⁷⁴ Therefore it is not surprising that behavior of young people and their attitude towards media were subject of two small-scale research: 'Media Usage & New Media Technologies among Young Generations' (2008)⁷⁵ focused on their estimation of different type of media and 'Online Behavior of High School Population'

⁷⁰ Besides them, there is annually research of Statistical Office about Usage of ICTs in the Republic of Serbia, and occasionally some small scale research.

⁷¹ The fact that television is still very influenced media should not be neglected. According to research from 2010, 77% of the whole population still use television as the main source of information.

⁷² The question was: 'Have you used internet during last 3 months?' Usage of ICTs in the Republic of Serbia, Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia, 2009, <http://webzrs.stat.gov.rs/axd/en/dokumenti/ict/2009/ICT2009e.pdf>

⁷³ <http://www.internetworldstats.com/stats.htm>. visited on August 8th

⁷⁴ Data for other age categories: age 35- 44: 46,4% users, age 45-54: 33,4% users, age 55-64: 12,8% users and age 65-74 only 3,6% are users of the internet.

⁷⁵ Conducted in August 2008 by Strategic Marketing Research for Irex. Six focus groups with young people from three biggest cities in Serbia were used. http://www.irex.rs/attachments/069_Media%20Usage%20and%20New%20Media%20Technologies%20Among%20Young%20Generations.pdf

(2010)⁷⁶ interested in the most common activities on the net. Although we cannot generalize their findings, these researches give some clues about major trends in understanding and using of media among young. The main conclusions are that for them Internet is dominant medium for information and communication. Its importance is priceless and world without Internet can't be imagined. Internet is used daily (on the average 2-3 hours a day). The most often young people are on some social network (Facebook or My Space) chatting with their friends, or spending time downloading music or other entertainment content. Beside the Internet the most important media for them is cell phone. They evaluate TV programs as not attractive enough and radio is seen as obsolete. These researches confirm importance of new media in the life of young people and can be used as starting point for some further studies of this type of audiences/users.

Interactivity and participation of audiences were not central aspect of any research conducted in Serbia. We can find out a few things about these activities among researches whose focus was something else. For example, already mentioned research about usage of information and communication technologies contain question 'for which purpose people used internet'. Two offered answers are interesting and will be further analyzed here. First is 'for posting messages to chat sites, newsgroups or discussion forums' and the second is 'uploaded self-created content (text, images, video, music, etc)'. The given percentage refers only to those who declare to used internet during last three months (and not entire sample) and 42,3% of them, among other things, posted different type of messages and 26,8% uploaded some self-created content. It is interesting to see that women are more likely to leave messages (48,2 of female participants posted messages and 37,3% of male had that practice) while there were no significant difference when it comes to uploading user-generated content. The young people (between 16 and 24 years old) are the most willing and most often are engaged in such activities: 66% of them were posting messages while 46,3% uploaded some content they made.

The similar set of questions were covered by research about 'Online Behavior of High School Population'. Participant answered that 38,1% regularly post comments on sites and blogs (25,6% does it occasionally), 31,9% regularly share self made content (32,6% does it occasionally) and 8,4% write its own or read other people blogs on regular basis (25,6% does it sometimes). Also they are very active on Facebook regarding sharing the content they find interesting, posting self-made content and visited links and content other people recommended.

Unfortunately that would be all we can conclude from existing data because further analysis was not done, therefore we can not tell which type of event, why and when people comment, nor what content they upload. There is no sufficient information to enable discussion about user-generated content, its relation with mainstream media content, or its role in public communication. Without in-depth analysis we stay with a lot of questions raised unable to provide answers that would help us to fully understand audiences.

Another attempt to get insight into participatory potential of the Internet was organized in 2007 by CEPIT (Center for Research of Information Technologies of Belgrade Open School). Research called 'Internet and Public Sphere' offers analysis of participatory solutions that were built into web sites of main republic and local institutions, political parties and traditional media. This research offered review of tools (services) that are included in these sites in order to enable interaction between people and institutions (forums, options to leave comment or to ask a question). It gave insight in willingness and readiness of main actor in public sphere to use potential of Internet to involve citizens in debate about relevant questions and encourage them to express their views rather than just receive messages and information.⁷⁷ Research was not focused upon users and does not explain behavior of citizens, it does not analyze their messages, discourse, it just mentions some illustrative examples. Done in this

⁷⁶ Organized by CEPIT (Center for Research of Information Technologies of Belgrade Open School) in April 2010. Internet survey was used to collect information from 300 young people who use internet on daily basis. <http://www.bos.rs/cepit/>

⁷⁷ The main conclusions were that sites of republic institution did not use possibility to establish interactive communication with citizens. Some local institution did not have their web site, while there were also good examples of active local communities who debated different issues on sites of local authorities. Sites of traditional media were described and their interactive tools mentioned together with topics which gained the biggest publicity.

manner it tells more about institutions and media policy in that period, then it explain interactivity and citizens engagement.

The transformation of audience in Serbia, its interactivity and participatory potential are in existing researches just pointed out with general remarks, expressed through numerical indicators about users. Knowledge we have now is fragmented and numerous aspects of ongoing change are neglected which makes audience research wide unexplored area that gives lot of opportunities for studying of audience transformation and its relations with social, economical, political and cultural aspects of life in transitional society.

SLOVENIA

LAYING OUT THE SLOVENE RESEARCH FIELD ON THE ROLE OF MEDIA USE FOR EVOLVING SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS: AN ATTEMPT

| | |
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Slovene research regarding the role of media in evolving social relationships has shown some potential, especially regarding ICT and CMC audience research. I will try to map surveys, (mostly emerging) authors and their works that are laying out this field in Slovenia.

At the beginning I have to mention three longitudinal surveys that probably aren't the best methodological tool for approaching the given research problem, but are very useful in showing long-term shifts in (especially) traditional media use: "*Slovene public opinion*" (SJM), "*Reading, Watching, Hearing*" (Branost, gledanost in poslušnost), while the latter: "*Use of internet in Slovenia*" - RIS Survey (Uporaba internet v Sloveniji) is more concerned with longitudinal measure of ICT use.

Survey Slovene Public Opinion started in 1968 and represents more sociologically related survey in wider aspect but every once in a while also entails section of indicators that measure respondents media use, be it radio, TV, press or the internet and their attitudes towards media quality of central TV shows or newspaper issues that are dealing mostly with politics. Every 2 years (starting from 2002) it also entails European Sociological Survey section of indicators that measure people's media consumption habits; time devoted to watching TV, listening to a radio and reading newspapers. It's true that this survey only quantitatively "touches" the audience research, but it's virtue lays in its longitudinality and of course it's comparability with the EU states.

Similar was the longitudinal survey "Reading, Watching, Listening" that measured media consumption habits of Slovenian audiences from 1992 to 2002. It's weakness, in relation to our research question, is that the indicators, as with the SJM survey, merely measure the time that people devote to specific media, be it TV show, newspaper or magazine edition or radio show.

More promising in relation to the problem of evolving social relationships are representative series of surveys called *Use of Internet in Slovenia* – especially *Use of Information-Communication Technologies* from 2005 (RIS IKT 2005) which deals with questions of sociological impact of (not only the internet but) new technologies in general. This survey has given extensive data for analysis. Basic works that relate to research on changing social relationships and draw references to this survey is, in my opinion, work by Gregor Petric on self-interested individualism in mediated relationship society. He compares face-to-face and mediated interaction and argues that migration of social relationships through ICT in a given living conditions of a late postmodern society, stimulates and promotes self-interested individualism.

Concerning the matter what changes in society can be result of new media use, there is also an interesting ethnographic research based on semi-structured interviews done by Gregor Bulc in 2007 on mobile phone and surveillance in which he argues that private lives of non-

material labor force are increasingly subject to interpersonal surveillance determined by power relations in neo-liberal/post-welfare state capitalism, which forces individuals to exercise particular oppositional strategies directed against their constant communicative availability to authorities. What I also regard as a virtue of both works, is that they both tend to integrate this problem (in my opinion pretty well) into a broader socio-economic context.

Polona Zdešar and Tina Kogovšek are also two researches that contributed to this field, more precisely their research was focused on consequences of ICT use on egocentric social network as a source of social support. They have made a comparison among ICT users and non-users and have shown that there are no relevant differences in an amount of emotional social support among the two groups.

Work of Metka Kuhar on influence of mobile phones on interpersonal relationships and self is also draws relevant references from RIS ITK 2005 survey. The author compares the influences of face-to-face interactions and CMC interactions on intrapersonal relationship and finds distinctive difference in use of ICT's with young population. Youth, in her opinion, tends to use it for establishing intimate relationships.

Worth mentioning is another research: *"Analisis of family violence in Slovenia – suggestions on prevention measures"* that also concerns media influence on social relations. It was done by Breda Luthar and Dejan Jontes in 2007. Through discourse analysis of news articles and TV shows that entailed content of family violence authors argue, that melodramatization of violence in media leads to decontextualized and individualized treatment of family violence in real life, in a manner that is being interpreted with no regard to structural causes for violence, for example class differentiation and production of hegemonic masculinity.

In this short essay I have tried to outline relevant researchers and some of their work in my country. Since this field ranges across more disciplines, trying to pinpoint the cornerstones of research is not a rewarding job. In a sense, and I have no doubt, I have been subjective. Maybe I've given more focus to ICT research and maybe neglected some other works that could also qualify to the field. And if by any chance this is true, than it can only mean that Slovene research in this field is impressive indeed.

THE AUDIENCE IN SLOVENIAN COMMUNICATION, MEDIA AND JOURNALISM RESEARCH: SOCIAL SPECIFICITY OF NORMATIVE ASSUMPTIONS

| | |
|-----------------|---|
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The audience has been a contested notion in Slovenian communication, media and journalism research since institutional outset past five decades (cf. Vreg 2004). The question how to discuss people in terms of their relationship with media, as texts and practices, has been determined by prevailing normative assumptions within respective social settings. The literature review reveals that the phenomenon of the audience has not been thoroughly theoretically (re)conceptualized in empirical research and that has been rarely centered within primary research interests on the relationship between media and people. Namely, audience as collective entity has been framed foremost by articulations between prevalent normative notions in research of social processes within communication theory, and political, economic and cultural realizations of these ideas in empirical research. In this sense, in Slovenian communication, media and journalism research the audience has been reconstructed in shifting understandings of people's engagement with media through the notions of social class (from early 1960s to late 1980s), the public and the mass (from early 1990s till mid 2000s), and the community and citizenry (from mid 2000s onwards). The aim of this essay is to provide historical assessment of normative groundings of the notion of the audience in Slovenian

research by reconsidering normative shifts within political, economic and cultural context in the last five decades.

During the period of “self-management democracy” in Yugoslavia (cf. Kardelj 1977), when often competing and even contradicting ideas of Marxism, Anarchism and Socialism prevailed in social thought, investigations into the audience was embedded in the dynamics between the historical process of dialectic materialism and the central role of the working class in social progress. Respective grounding determined the understanding of the audience within Slovenian journalism history research (Vatovec 1961; 1967), readership studies (Vreg 2004), and investigations into participation within “self-management communication” (Vreg and Splichal 1986). Grounded on the Marxist-Leninist assumption that the press is “the weapon of the working class” (Gorjup 1978) and self-management idea that all “working men” manage political, economic and cultural mechanisms and processes and would take part in decision-making (Kardelj 1977) notions of the working class and the audience have been normatively interchangeable. Such understanding of people’s engagement in media was used in research and used as a guideline in critical empirical assessments, which stressed that the audience and the working people were approached as an abstract political subjects without collective consciousness and heterogeneous character (Vreg 1986) and that the “activating of mass audiences” is the progressive solution to the growing “statism” in the communication and cultural system (Splichal 1986).

The ideas such as freedom of enterprise, private property, freedom of political association, parliamentary democracy, and national unification, which were revolutionary in the 19th century, became guidelines of the social order and development after the collapse of the socialist system in Slovenia two decades ago (Splichal 1992; 1994a; 2001). These broader societal alterations signaled profound normative changes in communication, media and journalism and, at the same time, reframed the understanding of and approaches to knowledge production, texts and the audience. These dynamics were mostly embraced by the ascent of the public and civil society in communication theory and research, which were not linked to socialism in any intrinsic sense and as concepts clearly referred to the rise of capitalism and liberal bourgeois democracy (Splichal 1994a, 8). In this regard communication, media and journalism research approached the audience in attempts to for instance identify types of Slovenian television viewers (Luthar and Hafner Fink 1993), investigate consolidation of public opinion polling as a cultural form in journalism (Luthar 2004), and research realizations of public responsibility and accountability of Slovenian press (Poler Kovačič 2005). Respective research stressed that broader processes of paternalism, commercialization and nationalism in the media environment favored the interests of political, commercial and professional elites and enabled them to transmit their ideas, attitudes and instructions (Splichal 1995). Such empirical conclusions suggest that the notion of the audience is regarded as an aggregate – as such it is often represented in audience research done by media organizations (cf. Šrot 2008), and, at the same time, that the public is degraded to “publicist synonym for population, some sort of a sum or statistical average, which means exact opposite to the public” (Splichal 1994b, 11).

In recent years Slovenian communication research has given considerable attention to the Internet as communicational tool and environment and simultaneously altered the understanding of the audience by grounding them on the concepts of community and communitarian understandings of citizenry (Oblak Črnič 2010). The investigations in the phenomena of “community media” (Pajnik 2010), “communitarian journalism” (Vobič 2010), and “citizen journalism” (Poler Kovačič and Erjavec 2008) have based their approaches to people’s engagement in media on communitarian ideals, framing the media as a catalysts of public debate, trying to enhance participation of citizens in public matters, to build mutual connection of social sectors, and deliver identification of the problems in social processes and solutions to these problems through deliberation. However, research foremost based on analyses of texts reveals that despite technological possibilities the character of the audience involvement in the knowledge production and the nature of their engagement with the media can hardly be labeled as interactive, but rather unidirectional and even monological, resembling the relationship between the audience and mass media.

The historical assessment of Slovenian audience research suggests that the audience is an entity that is reconstructed, reproduced and represented within understandings of the nature of people's engagement with the media, as texts and practices, within societal processes of politically, economically, and culturally specific social contexts. Furthermore, insights above suggest that theoretical reconsiderations of the relationship between (new) media and the audience need further attention and altered approaches to these fluid dynamisms. In this regard, Luthar (2010) identifies two possible of evolution of approaches to the audience research in Slovenia: first, shift from interpretation of content to usage of technology; second, contextual treatment of the text and the reader in circumstances of contemporary production of knowledge.

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SPAIN

AUDIENCE RESEARCH IN SPAIN: A BRIEF APPROACH

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Audience research has traditionally been one of the main fields in the Spanish Communication Sciences, although the accumulation of empirical studies is maybe not as profuse as one can expect. However, theoretical handbooks, formal structure of degrees' syllabus and even national research organizations have always included audience research as one of the main topics of knowledge. This short essay presents some of the main findings and contributions to this field during the last decades, evolving from wider approaches on audiences' investigation (Grandio, 2007) to concrete results focused on the study of both the social integration and the audience transformation processes. Its content is necessarily limited, so it is not including all the audience research production in Spain, but only some of the more remarkable one to my knowledge.

Taking analytical purposes into consideration, three big groups of audience studies can be identified. First, one can find research focused on the explanation about the Spanish audience behavior from institutional and commercial perspectives. These kinds of publications usually rely on the results provided by the main audience measurement companies (TNSofres, Estudio General de Medios, OJD) in order to complete quite-objective descriptions about media consumption and scheduling strategies. As a key aspect of the media market logic itself, this information is present at the companies' decision-making process, at the media discourses and at everyday life in Spain, as audience results have turned into a media agenda soft topic.

Scientific scholarly analysis is still scarce in this field, although there are some interesting books (Vaca, 2010, 2009) and articles (Monclús and Vicente-Mariño, 2008; Vicente-Mariño and Monclús, 2008) trying to explain how the Spanish audience behaves in a broader sense. Nevertheless there is a remarkable data production coming from the audience measurement companies (Sofres, 1994-2008) and from consulting research departments (GECA, 1998-2007; Corporación Multimedia; Barlovento Comunicación), being most of them available to the public interest.

Second, and walking towards a higher concretion, there is also a big room for studies taking the reception process as the main topic of their approach (Grandío, 2009). It is within this group where more connections with the objectives of this WG4 can be found. Refusing to understand the audience as simple and statistical data, the process of construction of social and individual meanings is the main point of interest. Small groups (families, youth, children, elderly...) became the target for researchers trying to deepen their understanding about the mediated communication process as a whole. Qualitative methods are the main tools to achieve significant results and some of these contributions will be presented below.

And third, there is an established production of theoretical handbooks where audience research is presented as the only topic to be covered, or it becomes an important part of a wider media handbook. On the first group, Jauset (2000, 2008) and Huertas (2002, 2003) are the main authors traditionally devoted to the explanation about the audience research techniques and measurements.

It should also be remarked that when it comes to the study of the Spanish audience and their reception attitudes, most of the fieldwork was devoted to television. The quota for newspapers consumption or radio broadcasting is smaller and even for the digital revolution caused by the Internet has not lead to an accurate audience analysis yet. Nevertheless there are some interesting contributions in all these fields (Reinares, 2010) and there is a growing interest in these new media scenes: social networks and the evolution towards a more active public are accessing the research arena, establishing partly the agenda for a near future. In this process,

special monographs of scientific journals as TELOS (2010) are interesting route plans, although the audience is not in the core of most of the articles yet.

Framing the general Spanish audience

Communication scholars have deeply studied the way in which the Spanish audience has completed an intense way from a public monopoly system in the early 1980's to an open competence panorama in first decade of the third millennium. In fact, scientific approaches have usually linked the media offer to the media consumption results, creating a common field where audience and reception studies remain together. In order to get audience results, one will have to search for them in wider works about media (Contreras and Palacio, 2001; Gómez, 2003; Prado, 1992)

A rich source of objective data comes from the audience measurement companies, providing the media companies and the society with updated information about the relation established between the citizenship and the media menu.

There are also contributions narrowing their analytical scope to concrete channels like Cuatro and La Sexta (Vaca, 2010), formats like reality games (León, 2009), or concrete programs like Operación Triunfo (Cáceres, 2002; Vicente-Mariño and Monclús, 2009), Gran Hermano (Cáceres, 2001) or TV US series (Tous, 2010).

Nevertheless, even in this field -usually kept away from the public and scholar discussion, as it works mainly with statistical and objective data-, the Spanish researchers can bring more light to understand the main lines of their media system. Audience results from radio, press or Internet are still waiting for a deeper development.

Integration of social collectives as a research topic

The Spanish societies have changed a lot during the last three decades, and so did the media structure. Nevertheless, it has been agreed that this offer explosion has not lead to a higher pluralism on media content. So Spain media are facing an ethnic and cultural diverse audience, but the media content seems to keep on following a similar path as in the past. Scholars have presented this contradiction and have provided useful examples of good and bad practices in the field of social transformation as a result of media action. Our focus will be now displayed on three different collectives sharing common social goals.

Children and media

Lining up with a solid international tradition, children and teenagers are one of the more privileged age group in social research. The media effects on the social meaning construction by those who are building up their lives counts with a dominant presences in scientific journals as ZER. Always in the crossroad with sociology, this age is also carefully analyzed by other journals devoted specifically to Youth studies, such as Revista de Estudios de Juventud (2010). Suggesting considerations about the methodological concerns raised when researching this collective have been treated by Callejo (2010), or by García de Cortázar et al. (1998). Media education field in Spain counts with some solid researchers and their studies about the children and youth media reception process are completing one of the more interesting fields.

Migration and cultural relations

The arrival of workers coming from Latin American, Eastern European and African countries to Spain is one of the salient changes encountered in Spain. After a long tradition of Spaniards moving to Central Europe and Latin America during the 20th century, Spain turned into a reception country. Media has always been considered as a useful strategy to integrate these new collectives and to reduce to the minimum quota the potential conflicts about national identities. Castelló (2006); Martínez (2009); López et al. (2010); León y García (2002) have analyzed diverse aspects from both the media representation and reception processes.

Women studies

The portrayal of women in contemporary media is a traditional topic of study, but paradoxically there is not a similar quantity of studies about the female audiences and the comparisons to the male gender. Del Hoyo and Berganza (2006), García and Martínez (2009) have studied the media portrayal of women in diverse media, from press to audiovisual.

Nevertheless approaches to audience studies are not completing the deep analysis of the mediated representation of this collective, unless punctual studies like the one carried out by Garcia and Martínez (2008).

Some conclusions

The Spanish audience research landscape is mainly still in progress, but the current consolidation of Communication Sciences all over the country is a solid starting point for the future. Trying to synthesize, a brief list of headlines are provided:

- Qualitative approaches are clearly dominant, whilst the quantitative studies are too much limited to the consumption description, without going beyond the presentation of the main trends on media consumption.
- TV is still the main reference. Although Internet is accessing the field with strong energy, its impulse is not enough to replace the TV from the researchers' methodological designs.
- The room for imbrications with other research traditions is still to be explored, but potentialities are easily visible. There is a lack of connection with media production or media economy studies that could benefit audience research, following a similar strategy as the one mixing audience and textual analysis or cultural studies.
- There is a clear absence of experimental research (Alcolea, 2008). This trend is common to the Spanish Communication Research field. Although it cannot be the more convenient research method for audience research, it has also some things to contribute with.
- Children and Youth are one of the main topics of interest, whilst the attention displayed to other social collectives, like Women or Elderly cannot resist any comparison.
- A growing space is being provided to the migration studies, trying to emphasize the differences and commonalities on their media consumption and understanding.

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MAPPING E-DEMOCRACY RESEARCH AND NEW MEDIA IN SPAIN: A PERSPECTIVE FROM DIGITAL JOURNALISM

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Keywords citizenship, journalism, new media, Spain

Under a global view of citizenship participation in society through ICT (Information and Communications Technologies), on one hand, the level of media literacy can be seen as the first step or requirement to involve people in a real and useful interactivity. On the other hand, the ways which people get a true e-Democracy could be seen as the final step, as the scene where they can build citizenship. In this way, full audience participation in digital media is a necessary step for building active citizenship in an online environment, due to the traditional role that media have played as filters and mediators of politicians and political contents.

Although the e-Democracy is based on direct contact between citizens and politicians, the public will always use the media as a strategic actor with two main tasks: watching the behaviour of politicians ("watchdogs") and containing the political buzz at the streets to move it to different forms of political organization. The role of media in this case is using technology to facilitate the participation of citizens in the decision making progress.

Increasingly, new institutions -like new media-, are hybrid structures that encourage participation with new audiences. In this sense, mapping the research on how audiences are integrated with the media is also a research on how the filters for political contents (the media) are putting in contact their publics with the initiatives and political campaigns which are valuable for the community.

During the International Conference "Comparing Journalism: Theory, Methodology, Findings" at Eichstatt (July 2010), the key speaker David Weaver identified three topics which need more research on the field of Journalism: the impact of political changes, the new audiences and the fear of journalists to new media. These three challenges are discussed on this essay. Spanish online media have faced technological convergence with many initiatives, but the uncertainty and the fear is still the dominant note. This insecurity has caused the dismissal of numerous journalists and even the closure of some media (Soitu.es, Factual.es, ADN.es) and the lack of preparation have been evident in recent attempts to coverage of political campaigns in the digital media. In many cases, the citizen media (and Social Media) got better interactivity with the audience. The new audiences seem to feel more comfortable to build citizenship in the media made by them, the Social Media.

In Spain, the research on e-Democracy ("ciberdemocracia") has changed from a political science perspective (Sampedro, 2000; Dader, 2001; Dader and Campos 2006) to another point of view, very influenced by science communication and the role of new media (Dader, 2003; Dader, 2006; Zamora and Álvarez Teijeiro, 2006; Sánchez Carballido, 2008). From this point of view, the e-Democracy through the development of new media could be better understood (Llop, 2007; Noguera, 2010a).

The Spanish research on Digital Journalism is defined by keywords such as “interactivity” (Edo, 2000; Molina, 2008) or “participation” (Herrera, 2003; Sánchez and Pastor, 2009) in mostly of cases, and there is a growing interest on social networking and journalism (Campos, 2008; Noguera, 2010b), but not from a perspective that emphasizes the role of new media at political contents.

This essay suggests a research line linking e-democracy with the development of digital journalism, due to in this area (new journalistic media) is where the public can show more interaction and participation (in political content) and watching the results. And the real digital media convergence is not related just with the platforms. It is a convergence with their audiences. In Spain, the most important research on journalistic convergence is the global project “Digital convergence on media 2006-2009” (national reference SEJ2006-14828-C06), made by 24 researchers from 12 universities.

Related to the e-Democracy research, it must be underlined the last project “e-Democracy in 2008 political campaign” (national reference SEJ2007-64487/CPOL), with 12 researchers from 7 universities, and with Professor Víctor Sampedro as main researcher, author of several books on deliberative democracy, public opinion and political identities. Both projects are conducted thanks to the public funding.

Linking research lines (e-Democracy and Digital Journalism) and creating new clusters of researchers could be useful to study the development of digital media at the scene where the interactivity and the participation of publics can be showed clearly: the political scene (communities, messages, contents, relations).

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THE RECEPTION OF AUDIOVISUAL FICTIONAL PRODUCTS IN SPAIN (2005-2010)

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The lack of a historic school and an original theoretical *corpus*, together with the scattered empirical production, makes the **study of audiences within the Reception Studies traditionally one of the biggest weaknesses in the existing Spanish research landscape** (Grandío, 2007). As a mosaic, research on audiences in Spain has been rather fragmented, led by working groups and researches, which carried out unconnected topics, methodologies and traditions. **The strongest audience research perspective in Spain has been conducted mainly within the Mass Communication and the Effects tradition through studies regarding public opinion and political communication.** Agenda Setting and Framing have been the perspective more applied in this kind of research projects. Therefore, topics like hybridization of content and genres, entertainment, pleasure or identification has been habitually underestimated in the Spanish Communication Research arena.

However, **there has been a growing interest in the audience research in the last five years in our country encouraging new topics coming from the reception studies, audiovisual narratives and their audiences.** Therefore, the aim of this brief essay is mapping the outstanding progress on this area from 2005 to 2010 due to the general process on internationalization of the Spanish research on Communication. The irruption of the new technologies and the possibilities of interaction; the new context of consumption related to multitasked viewers and crossmedia narratives or topic like pleasure or the processes of identification are now opening a remarkable panorama for research in our country.

The following reviewed authors and research projects can be found at a specific post in the blog called *Spinoff*⁷⁸ (Spinoff, 2010). This review does not include studies based on consumption and quantification of the television audience or attendance to the movie theatres. Topics of interest for this first panoramic selection are studies based on the processes of reception, interpretation, pleasure or influence of fictional audiovisual content (film and television) on their audiences.

Regarding the reception of television fiction, three main topics must be underlined: the study of **youngest audiences and the impact of television fiction on the creation of their individual identity** (Luzón et al, 2010; Fedele and García-Muñoz, 2010; Igartua, 2008; Pindado, 2006; Montero, 2005) and **cultural and social identity**, specially the Catalan identity (Martínez-García, 2009; Martínez, 2008; Castelló, 2008) and exploring the **concept of pleasure** (Grandío, 2009) and the relation between **entertainment and interactivity** (Soto et al, 2009). **Media literacy** perspectives specially related to the youngest viewers (Idoyaga, 2010; Ferrés, 2010), together with **user and gratifications theory** (Grandío, 2009; Soto, 2010) and studies inspired by **psychological perspectives** like the VARETEL project (Public, Values and Attitudes to the Television Fiction) from LIPSIMEDIA laboratory of the University of Valladolid (Bermejo, 2010) are the most applied theories to explain the process of interaction with these fictional words. All these studies employed **empirical case studies**, and the **qualitative perspective** with focus groups is the most popular methodology.

There are very few studies on film audiences in Spain. Basically, almost all the studies come from the professor of the University of Salamanca, Juan José Igartua, and the members of the Spanish group of the International project about the reception of the movie *The Return of the King* conducted by the professor Martin Barker from Aberystwyth University (Wales). Since 2005, Igartua has been carrying out some research projects about the reception of several Spanish and international movies. These studies used surveys as the main tool to

⁷⁸ Updated post about the main studies focused on the reception of audiovisual products in Spain: GRANDÍO, M. (2010): "Estudios de audiencia en España: Ficción (Cine y televisión)", in Spinoff. <http://spinoffonline.blogspot.com/2010/07/estudios-de-audiencia-en-espana-ficcion.html>.

gather the data, with a relatively small sample, in order to see **how the processes of identification are** (Igartua 2005, 2008, 2009 and 2010.). A quantitative methodology is normally applied. Regarding the case of the reception of *The Return of the King*, the authors were part of an international network which researched the world responses to the final part of the film adaptation of *Lord of The Rings*, with an eye to aspects as the functions that film fantasy plays in the lives of different kinds of audience. Sánchez-Aranda, Bonaut and Grandío were in charged of collecting and processing some information about the Spanish audience. The main source was an online survey, which was later completed with the results obtained through some in-depth interviews and two focus groups. **A combination of quantitative and qualitative measures was used.** An overview of this data has been presented to **describe the consumers' profile** of this film (Sánchez Aranda, Bonaut and Grandío, 2005) and to analyze a specific aspect regarding **identification** (Sánchez Aranda, Bonaut and Grandío, 2008). A more elaborated contribution of this study covering several aspects of the reception of the film, such as the critics' reception, is forthcoming in a publication (Sanchez Aranda and Grandío, 2011). Sánchez-Aranda and Grandío have kept on researching about blockbusters' viewers such us the reception of *The Revenge of the Sith*, the last movie of *Star Wars'* saga (Sánchez Aranda and Grandío, 2007). This research deal with the issue of identification through some data gathered through online questionnaires.

TOWARDS A DELIBERATIVE DEMOCRACY BASED ON DELIBERATIVE POLLING PRACTICES

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"How well the public sphere functions becomes a concrete manifestation of society's democratic character and thus in a sense the most immediately visible indicator of our admittedly imperfect democracies" (Dahlgren 1991, p. 2).

From a representative to a deliberative democracy

There exists a broad interest among Political communication scholars focusing on studies that analyze the mass media role in the democracy building process. Based on the interaction of all the actors involved in the public sphere (politicians, consultants, journalists, intellectual, civil society, etc.) in modern democracies political communication developed by mass media is understood as the exchange of speeches between politicians, journalists and citizens (Canel, 1999, Del Rey, 1996, Wolton, 1995).

However, the gap between governments and society turns the concept of public communication into key for the modern democracy. With the increasing importance of representative institutions of liberal democracy (elections, parliaments, rule of law, and so on) for developing the public discussion about public issues, civil society is more and more out of the public sphere and the decision making process. Besides, the access inequality to the public discussion feeds the weight of institutions voice comparing to society voice, where social groups with less organizational level, with less economic and cultural capacity are in a disadvantage position regarding the participation in the public debate. In consequence, modern democracies are more and more a non-legitimate democracies rather than a real participative democracy (Entman, 1989; Wolin, 2008).

Jurgen Habermas speaks directly to this "crisis of liberal democracy." Habermas' theory of the public sphere (1989), which he labels "deliberative democracy," relies on reasoned and inclusive public deliberation that is geared to reaching consensual decisions. His arguments foreground concerns about legitimacy and (universal) justice, concerns that he believes are ignored by poststructuralists at their peril. Habermas's vision, where political participation is enacted through the medium of talk and where citizens deliberate about their common affairs, is considered indispensable in terms of theorising democracy and also that contemporary public

sphere theory (see Downey and Fenton 2003; Fraser 1996; Calhoun 1992; Curran 1991) applies these elements to a wide range of public sphere activity applicable to alternative media frameworks.

For example, following this line, in order to avoid this participation deficit, Fraser (1992) proposed the concept of “deliberative enclaves” as a promotion of a public superposed spheres plurality, as discursive arenas that can help social groups to be listened, so that, later on, their voices could have resonance in the decision making process.

A complementary concept related that deliberative enclaves is that of the “minipopulus” (Dahl, 1993): considered small citizens assemblies that, based on new technologies that facilitate the public participation, provide a critical mass of well informed and active citizens that take part on deliberative process about the policy making process, and could contribute to a better qualified democracy.

A major citizenship participation and a different way of doing and of understanding politic are demanded as new exit routes of the liberal representative democracy crisis. Most of the deliberative democracy scholars have taken again the liberal tradition to impulse the need of a higher citizen participation in the political and public debate, as the way of revitalizing modern democracy based on dialog, deliberation and argumentation as fair methods for the decision making process (Besette, 1980; Beniabü, 1994; Dryzek, 1990; Fishkin, 1995; Gutmann and Thompson, 1996; Nino, 1997).

The deliberative polling as a tool for encourage civic participation

In the public opinion field, some of the ideas of the sociologist John Zaller (1992) underline the mass media role of managing knowledge, shaping ideological opinions (or not), doing available certain information and, definitively, offering alternatives or opinions: the richer in information amount and plural mass media are, the easier public opinion will be able to have a solid opinion, more according to his knowledge and his ideological view; by contrast, the more slanted or reduced in media expositions, the fewer possibilities for the citizenship to have an own opinion. From this perspective, the key problem is what happens when we only receive a dominant opinion about a topic. Zaller writes: “the manipulation decreases if some possibility of choosing is given to the public, that is, if the chance of choosing between alternative visions is allowed” (Zaller, 1992).

And here is where the deliberative polling plays a crucial role, as a methodological procedure designed by James Fishkin on late eighties included in the qualitative public opinion research methods and the processes to restore citizenship voice in the public decision process. Unlike the conventional survey, the deliberative poll includes informative resources and public debates that can reach more solid and plural opinions.

What would we think about a concrete topic if you could be informed and debate the arguments on favour and against with a plural sample of citizens? The deliberative poll tries to response to this question across a process that starts with a public-opinion survey, which follows a deliberative forum where participants find the resources to be informed and to debate. A second survey to the same sample will allow us to observe how preferences could change as result of this experience.

In Spain, the use of deliberative polling for obtaining more informed, trustworthier and less stereotyped opinions are not enough often. In fact, there is a lack of mechanisms of democratic participation that strengthen the formation of citizenship. The first and unique experience in that sense took part in Córdoba (Andalusia), last march, 2006, and was organized and supervised by the Sociological Research Centre (CIS) and the Advanced Social Studies Institute of Andalusia (IESA).

This first deliberative poll in Spain had two complementary phases: first one, in which 1.200 persons were answering to a survey on the topic of the consequences of so called “macrobotellon” (young people big meetings for alcoholics drinking in urban and public places, that are more and more often on weekends); later (six weeks after), 136 respondents were voluntary used as a representative sample to participate on a forum and listened to some experts' conferences from where they received information about that topic. Later, they answer

back again to the first survey. The results showed that most answers changed enormously: after the deliberative forum, the participants rejected the idea of that the uncivic behaviours were generalized among young people who take part on these “macrobotellon” activities, and their responses were more supporting the preventive measures than repression measures, that were more extended in the first survey.

In the organizers words: "this experience demonstrates that when citizens have the opportunity to be informed and weigh the different positions that exists concerning a certain topic, an opinion change takes place. The major information and the possibility of deliberation concerning a topic that the deliberative forum provides bring more variegated and cautious opinions that go far from prejudices and established stereotypes".

Nowadays, the Communication Faculty of the Catholic University San Antonio of Murcia (Spain) will develop a new experience of deliberative polling on the water management and drought problems in Spain that will be supervised by James Fiskin, from Stanford University (USA).

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SWEDEN

REVIEW OF EXISTING AND EMERGING AUDIENCE RESEARCH IN SWEDEN

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The purpose of this essay is to highlight a selection of present and emerging Swedish audience research. The delineation starts with an outline of institutions that deliver general figures depicting the size and composition of Swedish media audiences, followed by a selection of studies describing patterns of use, reception and meaning making connected to specific media uses. The exposition is in itself by no means exhaustive, but it represents a key to sites, researchers and subjects covered by current Swedish audience research.

Audiences measurement in Sweden

General figures of traditional media use derive from two types of sources. The first source is official institutions responsible for producing official audience figures (or "currencies" as the industry jargon goes) used on the market of advertising. The second source is research institutions, inside or outside academia, active in the field of audience research and measurement. Traditional media currencies for readership of newspapers, periodicals and free dailies are provided by the Swedish audit bureau of circulation TS (www.ts.se), for radio listening by TNS-Sifo (www.tns-sifo.se), for television viewing by MMS (www.mms.se), and for use of Internet sites by the Association of Swedish Advertisers (www.kiaindex.net). The "currencies" regarding traditional media use - like readership of newspapers on paper, listening to FM radio and viewing of linear television at home - are well established, while "currencies" regarding media use on Internet and mobile platforms are contested. At the moment a number of alternative measures are present, and various players strive to set the standard for measurement of digital media consumption.

TNS-Sifo, who track consumer behaviour and media use by means of largely and frequently distributed surveys (ORVESTO Consumer and ORVESTO Junior) have launched a new survey (ORVESTO Internet) aimed to establish a catch all measurement of Internet and mobile media use. MMS, TS and the Association of Swedish Advertisers strive to establish measurements of Video consumption on Internet and mobile phones, and an interesting pay-off of these efforts is a series of reports depicting usage of Video at large in different forms such as short clips, web television programming, mobile TV, use of downloaded material etc. (MMS Rörliga bilder 2007-2010). More independent institutions mapping out the same field is the independent research institute World Internet Institute (www.wii.se) focusing on the Internet and its influence on man and society. Yearly general reports show the development of Internet use in Sweden, and specific reports are devoted to the same development among children and youth. The specific focus on young peoples use of Internet is also taken by a number of governmental agencies. The Swedish Media Council (www.medieradet.se) is an example surveying children and parents use of traditional and new media.

Besides measurements mapping out circulation, reach, rating, share, and web traffic there are other influential representations of the Swedes' media use. One first, widely used, is provided by the Nordicom Research Centre, University of Gothenburg (www.nordicom.gu.se).

Nordicom has been tracking cross-media use in Sweden since 1979 through a yearly survey mapping out reach and time spent on different media (Mediebarometern). In 2000 the survey was broadened regarding Internet use and a new series of yearly reports published introduced (Internetbarometern). Two additional and likewise resourceful published series based on Nordicom data are the biannual MedieSverige (1983-) and Nordic Media Trends (1985-). For a Nordic showcase of the so-called “digital natives”, access the anthology Children and Youth in the Digital Media Culture. From a Nordic Horizon, which is the 12th Yearbook of the International Clearinghouse on Children, Youth and Media.

While NORDICOM's time series are centred on media use, a broader source of information, coupling attitudes and public opinions with media use, is the yearly syndicated SOM-survey established in 1986 at Gothenburg University (www.som.gu.se). The SOM Institute is managed by media researchers and political scientists in collaboration and a broad range of research and publications are based on these data. An original emphasis of aligned audience research was newspaper readership and news consumption. The 30 years of research within the Newspaper Readership Program was briefly summarized for the WAN conference in Gothenburg in 2008 (Sternvik et. al., 2008). Aligned audience research at the Department of Journalism, Media and Communication (www.jmg.gu.se) cover, apart from newspaper readership on paper and online, general and specific patterns of mass media use (Radio, TV, Internet) and news consumption, cross-media use (Reimer, 1994), trust in the media (Elliot, 1997), individualized media consumption (Bjur, 2005), social media use and user generated content (Bergström, 2010), mobile phone use and mobile news consumption (Westlund, 2009), free dailies (Wadbring, 2003), generations, life cycles and media use (Nilsson, 2005), the public attitudes towards advertising in different media (Grusell, 2008).

Since it is impossible to outline Swedish audience research within the limits of this exposure, the exhibit of references below - categorized following the research agenda of WG1 - is the chosen way to open up a doorway to the interested reader to proceed further and deeper. All researchers listed below, are accessible and searchable in Nordicom's database on Nordic Media and Communication Research (NCOM - <http://ncom.nordicom.gu.se>). The database lists, on top of that, research projects and institutions (within or outside academia) active in the field of audience research and measurement, as well as a great number of researchers, projects, institutions within the broader field of media and communication studies in Sweden and in other Nordic countries.

Examples of Swedish research within WG1's main themes

Within the framework of Transforming Audiences, and WG1's division in four sub-areas of study, these can shortly be described as follows:

1. Cross-media use

In this section we find three broad types of research. The first of these can be described as *traditional audience research centred on one medium and/or one type of content*. Typical examples are Ross' (2008) reception study of audiences for fictional series Tre Kärlekar and for news broadcasts, Bjur (2010) mapping out individualization in patterns of TV viewing, or Hill et.al (2005) comparing attitudes towards factual TV programming in Sweden and the UK.

A second type is *media use that comprises several media, or whole media environments*.

A typical example is Bengtsson's (2007) qualitative study of moral aspects of media use in everyday life amongst a variety of media users.

A third type is on *media use of digital media (computer based and mobile phone)*, for example studies of computer game players, etc. Typical example here is Lövheim's (2007) study of young girls' gender identity work on social forum's on the internet. Other studies in this category include Sveningsson (2009) and Sundén (2010). This research also include mobile phone use, at least that research that focus on the mobile as a multi-media tool (e.g. Bolin & Westlund 2009).

2. Hybridization of content and genres

Within this sub-theme can be found studies that are more textually oriented, and seek to analyse new textual expressions in the contemporary media landscape. Discussions of such hybridization include e.g. Bolin (2010), Bolin et al. (2010) or Snickars & Vonderau (2009).

3. Blurring boundaries

Within this theme can be found research within media studies and political science, mainly dealing with questions concerning the role of the digital media (sometimes in combination with traditional mass media) for public engagement, democracy and civic life. Dahlgren (2009 & 2010) is a good example of this perspective, but we also can find research within this area from Robertson (2010).

4. Media literacy and digital literacy

Tied to this theme is the knowledge, abilities, attitudes and creative potential demanded and in play in an era of abundance of digital media. Aligned are questions about divides and deficits, and whether new competencies are a matter of generation rather than place, social position, class and formal education. Examples of research treating these themes are (Enochsson, 2005) and (Tholander & Fernaeus, 2008) treating competencies and educational sustaining children's media use, but many other studies apply such as Findahl's (2009) focusing non-users of Internet and Bergström (2010) studying the will to contribute with user-generated content.

Exhibit of research in line with the above outlined framework.

1. Cross-media use

1.1 traditional audience research centred on one medium and/or one type of content

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(Take notice that many texts from section 1.3 and 3 fit into section 4)

TRANSFORMING AUDIENCES, TRANSFORMING SOCIETIES: A SWEDISH STORY

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| Keywords | audience, user, convergence |

Less than some twenty years ago Swedish media researchers – like media researchers all over the western world – could rather conveniently speak of a media audience. To be fair, however, there were a lot of different audience conceptualizations circulating within research by this time. Sometimes the media audience was conceived of as *readers* of newspapers (Weibull 1983). In other studies the audience was rather referred to as radio *listeners* (Åberg 1996). Television was understood to be the dominant medium at this time, and as a consequence the media audience was most often analyzed in terms of television *viewers* (Dahlgren 1995). There were of course also some more fine grained variations within these conceptualizations. Viewers of video movies, for instance, were often referred to as a special category of *viewers* (Dalquist 1998; Bolin 1998).

Depending on analytical tradition these readers, listeners and viewers were looked upon from a number of different points of analytical departure. In some studies members of the media audience was referred to as *citizens* in need of information (Asp 1986). In other, international studies they were mainly understood as *consumers* (Ang 1996), or even commodities for the media companies to sell to their advertisers (Smythe 1977). In still other studies they were understood as potential *victims* of harmful media content, and a great deal of Swedish research efforts were paid to mapping such potential media effects (see Rosengren 1994 for an overview).

Despite the obvious differences inherent in the various views of the members of the audience as readers, listeners or viewers (and in the views of its members as citizens, consumers and/or potential victims), these different conceptualizations share an important property. What they have in common is a view of the audience that understands it as a collective of temporally and spatially dispersed –but still coordinated – sets of recipients of centrally produced media. The individuals within the audience were furthermore looked upon as having little – if any – influence over what content they were offered. Still, they were very often ascribed great capabilities to actively (re)interpret whatever media content they came across (cf. Fiske 1989; Lull 1990).

Already during the 1980s and early 1990s, however, developments within media started to make established ideas of the media audience problematic. The adaptation of satellite and cable-TV during the late 1980s (Ilshammar 2002), and the establishment of commercial, Swedish radio in the early 1990s (Hadenius et al. 2008) contributed to a great increase of media supply and – as such – to segmentation of the media audience. In other parts of Western Europe a similar development was referred to as “audience fragmentation” or – simply – “the end of the audience” (McQuail 1997).

In the middle of the 1990s, however, the media audience became a somewhat more acute theoretical problem. With the advent and rapid dissemination of digital media in general and the internet in particular the notion of “the audience” seemed to finally have deserved a place on the book shelves of history, and two interrelated issues played key roles in making the notion of “audience” appear obsolete:

1) In terms of technical characteristics digital technology reshape the relationship between the category formerly known as the audience and the media. They converge all media into one and the same digital code, offer interactive features and open up for huge amounts of content for “audiences” to attend to. These features seem to rock the foundation of a traditional view of the audience that understands it as dispersed but coordinated sets of recipients of centrally produced media.

2) With the rapid dissemination of digital media the notion of “users” grew in popularity at the expense of “audiences”. This is obviously related to the technical development sketched above, but it is also related to convergence between different academic fields. As media researchers with an interest in the audience – or users – started to pay interest in computer-based media, they also came into conversations with researchers from other academic fields, notably informatics and Human Computer Interaction (HCI). For all the merits of these fields, they do not come out of a tradition that pays audience theory and analyses much attention. Their user- rather than audience-centered approach also seems to have been rubbed off on media scholars, as the latter have often been quite quick to abandon “the audience” for the benefit of “users”. This move also holds theoretical consequences as it threatens to leave knowledge from audience theory and analyses behind, notably knowledge of how media get interpreted, how we live with media in everyday life, and the importance of understanding social and cultural contexts of media use.

Despite these transformations, can the notion of an audience really be that easily – and so quickly – dismissed? Are we not at risk of losing valuable insights by focusing narrowly on users, who often, in conceptual terms, often seem to hover in some theoretical vacuum, unconstrained and unshaped by specific socio-cultural contexts?

Our position here is that the digital revolution and the emergence of internet, Web 2.0, and mobile telephony have – and continue – to dramatically transform the entire media landscape, obviously enough. However, we also assert that we are find ourselves in a transition or hybrid epoch, where the one-way communication of “the one to the many”, which typifies traditional mass communication, certainly remains a major dimension of the contemporary media sphere. To fully explore the characteristics of today’s media institutions, media outputs and flows, and all the various forms of usage takes not least into the complex domain of convergence. Here, however, our argument is more specific: given this still dominant, albeit convergent dimension of “mass communication”, we ignore it to our peril if we are serious about grasping the character of prevailing media realities. Moreover, and most pertinent to our discussion here, the all-too-abstract notion of “user” needs to be anchored or at least set in relationship to ongoing research about audiences – understood the more or less traditional sense, but with a keen analytic eye on their evolution in the new media sphere.

To support the validity of this claim, at least in the Swedish context, let us look briefly at just a few statistics about media access and use in Sweden, comparing data from 1999 and 2009. These data are available on the Nordicom website – www.nordicom.gu.se (a splendid resource with data bases and statistics, research overviews, as well as extensive journal- and book publications in our field). Looking at access to different media in 1999 in terms of the population (aged 9-79) as a whole, we find the following:

| | 1999 | 2009 |
|-------------------------|-----------|------|
| Daily press | 71 | 66 |
| Radio | 99 (2001) | 100 |
| Television receiver | 98 | 97 |
| Multichannel television | 58 | 90 |
| DVD-player | 7 (2000) | 86 |
| Computer in home | 63 | 91 |
| Internet in home | 47 | 89 |
| Mobile telephone | 73 | 97 |

Yes, there is a small decline in access to a daily newspaper, and certainly if we control for age the differences become a bit more pronounced (for example, in 1999 the figure for daily press for ages 45-60 was 75 percent). Yet overall access to radio and television remains the same, with both multichannel television and DVD – as versions of traditional mass communication – increasing dramatically. So too of course we witness the rise in computers in the home, access to Internet in the home, as well as mobile telephones (whose character of course is evolving rapidly towards mini mobile computers with net access).

If access to the various media in this ten year period has this profile, what about actual use? Access can reveal the possible extent of usage; we still want to know the actual usage. Some quick figures about usage on an average day reveal the following percents among 9-79 year-olds in the Swedish population:

| | 1999 | 2009 |
|------------------------|------|------|
| Morning newspaper | 72 | 68 |
| Afternoon newspaper | 28 | 29 |
| Radio | 80 | 73 |
| Television (all forms) | 88 | 83 |
| Video/DVD | 17 | 13 |
| Internet | 31 | 65 |

There is a small drop in the use of morning newspapers during this decade – but the evening press remains unchanged. Radio, television, videos/DVD's all manifest a small decline (proportionately largest in the latter category, though we may suspect that watching films has in reality not declined: at least among the young, we surmise that downloading would account for a good deal of film viewing). We say “decline”, but it is truly relative: the fact remains that two thirds of the population still reads a morning newspaper on an average day, three quarters will still listen to radio, over four fifths still watch television. Net use weighs in at just under two-thirds of the population.

It is apparent that we still need to talk about “audiences”, and to research them, while probing how they are changing in their profile and practices in the new media milieu. To simply focus on aggregates of individual “users” (understood: of the net) as the essence of media usage in today's media world would give us a very delimited and skewed perspective. We need to

“bring back” audiences, not least to chart their metamorphosis in the current phase in the history of social and media development.

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SWITZERLAND

AUDIENCE RESEARCH IN SWITZERLAND

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A brief portrait of Switzerland

Before presenting existing and emerging audience research in Switzerland, a brief portrait of the nation itself has to be done.

Switzerland, Swiss Confederation, is a very peculiar and diverse country in the middle of Europe, and not part of the European Union. It is a Federal Republic, divided in 26 cantons. The fairly small area is characterized by the Alps, which force the small population to be concentrated in few areas.

Switzerland has 4 national languages: German, French, Italian and Romansch (the first three defined as official languages). With the respect to the three main languages, Switzerland is divided in linguistic and cultural regions (German speaking part, French speaking part and Italian speaking part), plus few Romansh speaking valleys.

The Swiss therefore do not form a nation in the sense of a common ethnic or linguistic identity. The strong sense of belonging to the country is founded on the common historical background, shared values (federalism, direct democracy, neutrality) and Alpine symbolism.

As concerning population, Swiss permanent residents, at the end of 2008, included 7'701'856 people, +1.4 compared to 2007. Foreigners were 1'669'715 that means 21.7% of the entire population. It has been recorded a growth of inhabitants with Swiss citizenship due to

naturalization (44'365) and to positive natural balance (number of births exceeding that of deaths). The aging population is a phenomenon that is developing from year to year. In 2008, the percentage of persons aged 65 or more years has reached 16.6%, while decreased the proportion of people under 20 years (from 21.5% to 21.2%). The proportion of people aged 20 to 39 years instead remained at 26.8%.

| | Total | Male | Female | Swiss | Foreigners |
|--------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| Total | 7'701'856 | 3'786'675 | 3'915'181 | 6'032'141 | 1'669'715 |
| Age | | | | | |
| 0-19 | 1'635'377 | 840'952 | 794'425 | 1'274'155 | 361'222 |
| 20-39 | 2'061'096 | 1'033'773 | 1'027'323 | 1'431'012 | 630'084 |
| 40-64 | 2'728'938 | 1'370'818 | 1'358'120 | 2'176'759 | 552'179 |
| 65-79 | 913'713 | 416'846 | 496'867 | 807'023 | 106'690 |
| 80 and more | 362'732 | 124'286 | 238'446 | 343'192 | 19'540 |

Source: Swiss Federal Statistical Office, 2008

Let's turn the attention on the high number of foreigners. Among the 1'669'715, about two-thirds come from UE27 or EFTA member states. Compared to 2007, resident permanent population with a foreigner nationality recorded a growth of 4.2%. Compared to 1980, foreigners almost doubled.

Moreover, we have to add data about acquisition of Swiss citizenship by foreigners; these data influence the prevalence of foreign communities in the country. From the date of acquisition of Swiss nationality, that person is counted as Swiss and no longer according to his/her origin. In recent years, naturalizations have been rising, from 11'133 in 1992 to 44'365 in 2008. Half of the people who have obtained a Swiss passport were younger than 30 years old.

As previously said, Switzerland has 4 national languages: German, spoken by 63.7% of the entire population; French spoken by 20.4%; Italian, spoken by 6.4% and Romansch, spoke only by 0.5%. Moreover, what has to be highlight is that 9% of the population speaks "another" language. This is in line with data about foreigners.

The 3 main Swiss regions have a strong relationship with the neighboring countries, because they share the languages (and in many cases media too). It is interesting therefore to compared Swiss demographic data with other Europeans countries.

| | Switzerland | Germany | France | Austria | Italy | UK | Spain | Portugal |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------|----------------|---------------|----------------|--------------|-----------|--------------|-----------------|
| Total population (thousands) | 7'593 | 82'218 | 63'938 | 8'319 | 59'619 | 61'194 | 45'283 | 10'618 |
| % people younger than 20yo | 21.5 | 19.4 | 24.9 | 21.3 | 19 | 24.1 | 19.7 | 20.8 |
| % people older than 64yo | 16.4 | 20.1 | 16.3 | 17.1 | 20 | 16.1 | 16.6 | 17.4 |
| % foreigners | 21.1 | 8.8 | 5.8 | 10.3 | 5.8 | 6.6 | 11.6 | 4.2 |

Source: Eurostat, 2007.

History of research on media

Media and migration

Data about population underline the importance of foreigners/migrants in Switzerland. This is a very important issue for the society, which implies a significant transformation of audiences and the necessity to rethink at social integration. In this context, I believe that media play a central role in the process: in fact, we need to turn the attention not only of audiences' transformation, but at the role of media as a mean for social integration and representation of diversity.

This research area is pretty new in Switzerland, although few works have already been done. As noted by Vettori et al. (see INFRAS 2007), there are very few data available in Switzerland on media used by immigrants and on the relationship between media use and integration. The majority of conducted researches focused only on a single media, namely television, and on only one of the linguistic regions of Switzerland (i.e. the German speaking area), with as main purpose to monitor the use of national and foreign TV programs (without trying to identify specific cultural reasons behind different media use) and as second purpose to identify the impact of the use of television on integration (but with difficulties in evaluating this impact). We can mention projects such as:

- *The Function of Media in Constructing Social Identity in a Multicultural Setting* (PNR 52, IPMZ University of Zürich) analyzed differences between Swiss and immigrants identities through a mixed quantitative and qualitative research, only focusing on a specific linguistic region (canton Zürich) and on a single age group - 12 to 16 years old (see Bucher and Bonfadelli, 2007; Moser and Hermann, 2008).

- *Sprachregionale und ethnische Repräsentation (Language and ethnic representation)*, (Universität Freiburg - Schönhagen/Trebbé) studied the creation of images and stereotypes through television in three linguistic regions of Switzerland (Geneva, Zürich and Lugano).

- *Migration, Medien und Integration (Migration, media and integration)* (IPMZ, University of Zürich) focused on the contribution of public, private and complementary radios to the integration of linguistic and cultural minorities in Switzerland and their representation, the offer of radio products for migrant minorities and their use (see Friedman and Vasella 2007).

- Another research focused on immigrants concluded in French and German speaking areas is Bonfadelli and Signer (2008), studied immigrants' use of the Internet and other media and their needs for information.

Tying to fill the lack of research conducted on the different linguistic areas together and on several mass media (both traditional and new) used by foreigners, a new project recently began: *The role of media in cultural and social identities construction. The case of Kosovar Immigrants in Switzerland* (Prof. Richeri and Dr. Cola, IMeG and Prof. Poglià and Dr. Mauri Brusa, ICleF – University of Lugano; prof. D'Amato and Dr. Iseni, SFM – University of Neuchâtel). The research (2010-2012) focuses on two dimensions: it will determine the characteristics and specificities of media consumption (*media diet*) of Kosovars in Switzerland; and it will analyze the role of media consumption on the integration process and social and cultural identities construction.

Media and young people

Considering audiences transformation, we have certainly to take into consideration young people - "digital natives" - and new media technologies.

In Switzerland in 2009, 90-95%, depending on regional area, of "14-29 years old" was regular Internet users. We can without doubt mention an age gap reality, as older generation Internet consumption is significantly lower (50 % regular use of internet for the 50-59 years old and 20% for the individuals older than 70 years old, see OFS survey, 2009).

In order to explore and understand this phenomenon, recently the attention of Swiss media scholars has been turned to the topic. We can mention few ongoing projects, such as:

- *Mobile phone usage, communication behavior and social network* (2010-2011), directed by Dr. Patrick Amey – University of Genève, funded by Nokia Research Center ("Pervasive communication laboratory", EPFL, Lausanne). Longitudinal analysis of mobile phone behaviors and usage, based on sociology of usage and social network analysis, communicative practices

and mobile phone usage; sample of 170 mobile phone users; methodology: descriptive and explicative statistical data analysis using a real time measurement experimentation and a questionnaire.

- *Adolescent daily media practices in Switzerland* (2010), directed by prof. Daniel Süss - ZHAW Zürcher Hochschule für Angewandte Wissenschaften, in collaboration with Dr. Patrick Amey (University of Genève, responsible of the French speaking area) and Dr. Marta Cola (University of Lugano, responsible of Italian speaking area). Analysis of media use, with particular attention to mobile phone and Internet, and the effects of these new media skills on adolescents (age group "12-19"). Survey conduct on a sample of 1000 adolescents, distributed in the three main linguistic areas.

- *Adolescent daily mobile phone use in Switzerland* (2010-2011), directed by prof. Daniel Süss - ZHAW Zürcher Hochschule für Angewandte Wissenschaften, in collaboration with Dr. Patrick Amey (University of Genève, responsible of the French speaking area) and Dr. Marta Cola (University of Lugano, responsible of Italian speaking area). Analysis of mobile phone use and the effects of these new media skills on adolescents (age group "12-19"). Survey conduct on a sample of 1000 adolescents, distributed in the three main linguistic areas.

History of research on media

Trying to briefly trace the history of research on media, as Saxer (1992)⁷⁹ wrote, only in the 20th century the scientific interest turns the attention on media sector, even though already in 1903, at the Universities of Bern and Zurich, lectures on newspapers were offered, which for a long time were only merely reflections related to the practice of realization of the newspaper, its historical roots and its legal requirements and technicians. Only with the advent of other media and with the grows of challenges associated with them, we can notice a progressively intensification of the research on media systems and communication sciences, as it was the case in Germany or in the Anglo-Saxon area.

"The concentration of the press provoked the interest of politicians, film and television encouraged pedagogues' reflection; the culture of media's creators was increasingly perceived as inadequate and the political decisions in the context of new media, and in advertising, had the objective and urgent necessity of having scientific knowledge about the media system in Switzerland" (Saxer, 1992).

The complexity of media-as-subject was considered in an interdisciplinary way. Several social and cultural sciences gave their contribution to the study of media sector: from social psychology to history of popular tradition, from economy to law. Using this approach, very few were the academic institutions where media studies have a central role (only Bern and Zurich at the beginning).

As previously mentioned, the development of audience studies in Switzerland has been linked to linguistic regions and therefore it is hard to talk about a "Swiss audience research" since it is hard to talk about a "Swiss media system". The attention is rather concentrate on single linguistic region, where beside the local/regional media, an important role is played by media from neighbouring countries. As pointed by Richeri (2005)⁸⁰, in the Italian-speaking part of Switzerland, the role of the public and private channels from Italy (RAI and Mediaset) is prominent and the Swiss Public Service Broadcaster must inescapably confront with them. This phenomenon also explain why Switzerland has experienced a scarce development of private broadcasters; the TV system is mainly based on channels broadcasted by Public Service broadcaster SRG SSR idée suisse (which has 8 TV channels in several languages).

The linguistic fragmentation effects the media consumption too. As notice by Calvo (2011)⁸¹, there is very little consumption of media content from linguistic areas other than its own. The circulation of newspapers outside of the linguistic region in which they are printed is

⁷⁹ Saxer, U. (1992). 'Cultura dei media in Svizzera', in P. Hugger (ed), *La Svizzera. Vita e cultural popolare – Tomo terzo*, Bellinzona: Edizioni Casagrande.

⁸⁰ Richeri, G. (2005). 'Svizzera', in G. Richeri (ed), *Le televisioni pubbliche nelle regioni d'Europa*, Roma: Rai Eri.

⁸¹ Calvo, S. (2011). *Lo straniero nello spazio pubblico svizzero*, Doctoral Thesis, Università della Svizzera italiana, unpublished work.

extremely small, on average, only 5% of copies distributed with peaks that do not exceed 10%. The national television audience of another area is even more limited, reaching a maximum of 5% in Italian-speaking Switzerland, where there is a strong German-speaking community (Kriesi, Wernli, Sciarini, Gianni, 1996)⁸². In addition to the obvious obstacle of the difficulties associated with language comprehension, this phenomenon can be explained by the particular political system existing in the country and especially with the high use of direct democracy, even at the level of cantonal and municipal micro-decisions. This means that the majority of the Swiss media are anchored to the linguistic region, and there they have most of their audiences.

From its beginning to nowadays, the communication, media and audience research in Switzerland has been very diverse. In order to create a picture, it can be used the Swiss Association of Communication and Media Research (SACM), which, as stated in its presentation, “represents communication and media research in Switzerland. Its members are primarily concerned with communication and media – they may be scientists, professors at universities, universities of applied sciences and in further education or experts in the area of media and media research, in related associations or authorities and administrations”⁸³.

Even though only in the 60's-70's media become subject (minor at the beginning) in universities programmes, the discipline has become more and more important and it is nowadays taught in many universities and in university of applied sciences. Depending on the positioning of institutes and chairs, discipline takes hold of its object and its problems by developing various approaches and methods, mainly those of social sciences and cultural studies.

An overview of universities and research centres involved in communication, media and audience research, can be provided using the “SACM Atlas”. Among the institutions presented in the Atlas, we can differentiate between the ones which deal with communication in a broad sense and the ones which deal mainly with media and audience research. These institutions, and their research areas, are briefly presented below.

German-speaking part of Switzerland

- University of Zürich – Institute of mass communication and media research (IPMZ), Faculty of Philosophy
The main research areas are: political communication and media policy; media and new media economy; mass communication and media effects; strategic communications and media performance.
- University of Basel - Department of social sciences and philosophy, Institute for media studies, Faculty of Humanities
The main research areas are: theory and history of the media; cultural studies; inter-media aesthetics; digital media and hybrid cultures; empirical methods of media and social research; audience, appropriation and reception; popular culture and entertainment; media literacy.
- University of Bern – Department of social sciences, Institute of communication and media studies, Faculty of economic and social sciences
The main research areas are: theory of social sciences; qualitative and quantitative methods; media and civic societies in Switzerland and in an international perspective.
- University of St. Gallen – Faculty of Business, Institute for media and communication management
The main research interests are: communications management, corporate communications, culture and media, social media and mobile communication.
- ZHAW - Zürich University of Applied science – Department of applied linguistics, Institute of applied media studies, Institute of applied psychology
The main research areas are: journalism; theory of organizational communication; media linguistics; public storytelling; new media psychology, media socialization.

⁸² Kriesi, H., Wernli B., Sciarini, P., Gianni M. (1996). *Le clivage linguistique. Problèmes de compréhension entre les communautés en Suisse*, Bern : OFS.

⁸³ Further information can be found at: www.sgkm.ch

French-speaking part of Switzerland

- University of Fribourg – Department of Communication Sciences and Media, Faculty of Economics and Social Sciences (the university is bilingual French and German)
Main research domains are structured around social-public communication, in particular conditions, systems, processes, contents and mass media effects.
- University of Genève – department of Sociology, Faculty of Economics and Social Sciences
Political communication, public space, analysis of media discourse, new technologies, intercultural communication, touristic communication, radio, television, internet and press.
- University of Neuchâtel – institute of Academia of Journalism and media, faculty of Economics Sciences
Research domains are structured around media management and new media and technologies. In particular, about: media business models; media convergence and concentration; social media.

Italian-speaking part of Switzerland

- University of Svizzera italiana, Lugano – Faculty of Communication Sciences, several institutes
Main research domains, related to the main research institutes, are: linguistics and semiotics; media and journalism; marketing and communication management; communication technologies; public communication and education, psychology and sociology of communication; communication and health; Italian studies and Mediterranean studies.

TURKEY

A REVIEW OF RESEARCH ON THE PUBLIC SPHERE AND AUDIENCE PARTICIPATION IN TURKEY

| | |
|-----------------|---|
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This essay reviews the studies on the public sphere in Turkey with a particular emphasis on its link to critical communication studies and its institutional origins at Ankara University. If we endorse the view that the public sphere is "a realm of our social life in which something approaching public opinion can be formed" and that "newspapers and magazines, radio and television are the media of public sphere" (Habermas, 1979: 198) then, audience research is expected to be at the core of the research on the public sphere as it is directly related to "public opinion". However, critical communication studies in Turkey have usually dealt with the uses of the concept of public sphere in a proper sense or with its different interpretations in the Turkish context and the research on it has mostly focused on textual analysis. This review will hopefully justify a need for further research on audience and political participation in Turkey.

1. Mapping the use of the concept by critical communication scholars

The use of the concept of public sphere has become widespread in Turkey after a debate over women's veiling in "public" buildings. Public authorities have used the concept to imply a ban on headscarves in state buildings, schools and universities. Even though the secularists versus Islamists positioning has had a long history in Turkish political scene, the association of the concept of public sphere with "the authoritarian secular state operating against citizens/Muslims" has served to deepen the polarisation.

Ironically, "public sphere" could be a critical concept against such polarised comprehension of the relations between state and citizens, between secularists and

Islamists/(Muslims?),⁸⁴ and had already been widely discussed by academic and intellectual circles in Turkey. One of the prevailing fields in this discussion had/had been the media studies, others being political philosophy and sociology.⁸⁵ This prevalence, I argue, has all to do with the critical approach to media and politics, developed in Ankara University.

The School of Journalism and Broadcasting was founded in 1964 under the umbrella of the Faculty of Political Sciences at Ankara University (Tokgoz, 2003). Hifzi Topuz, a UNESCO officer at the time drawing up plans for the school, and Nermin Abadan-Unat, a political sociologist doing empirical research on media and public opinion amongst other research, can be considered as pioneers. While Oya Tokgoz and Aysel Aziz from the first generation of communication scholars have continued their academic careers with administrative communication research on political communication and social development, Unsal Oskay among them became the founder of critical theory in Turkish communication and media studies (Turkoglu, 2008). He introduced H. M. Enzensberger, W. Benjamin, T. W. Adorno, L. Lowenthal, their political stances, their analyses of culture, their aesthetic debate to Turkish readers in the late 1970s and early 1980s. In fact, Oskay also made one of the earliest references to Habermas in 1980,⁸⁶ and to Arendt in 1982. He moved to Istanbul in 1986, and his assistants at Marmara University (who had been their students in Ankara), Nurcay Turkoglu, Beybin Kejanlioglu and Ayse Inal, pursued critical work in varied aspects of communication and culture.

Unsal Oskay's students, now working at different universities in Ankara, Istanbul and Izmir, have set the pace for critical communication studies, including research on the public sphere and the media. Elaborations of the concept, translations of main materials and research on it started almost at the same time in the early to mid 1990s. But preceding this period, the must BA course, "Public Opinion", taught at Ankara University first by Meral Ozbek from 1989 to 1991, then Eser Koker, had already included reading materials by and on Habermas, Negt and Kluge. Koker also drew heavily on Habermas in her postgraduate courses.⁸⁷ In fact, Koker's *Communication of Politics and Politics of Communication* grew out of her lecture notes in 1998; and Ozbek's edited book, *The Public Sphere*, was published in 2004 after nine-year-long preparation. Ozbek argued for maintaining some normative aspects of the conception of public sphere by Habermas for Turkish politics yet supporting mainly an improved version of Negt and Kluge's comprehension, including all the oppressed groups along with the proletariat, and a link to the concept of experience.

Other lecturers of the "Public Opinion" course (Sevda Alankus from the mid- to late-1990s and Beybin Kejanlioglu from 1999 to 2002) were luckier in terms of publications. Although Alankus has not published her post-doctoral thesis, which includes a comparison between, Arendt's and Habermas' conceptions of the public sphere, her translations of Nicholas Garnham's and John P. Thompson's pieces on the public sphere and media were both published in 1995.⁸⁸ She also published articles on the public sphere and representation of others in the media in the second half of the 1990s. Kejanlioglu's research about a current affairs/public discussion programme on TV ("Arena of Politics") in terms of Nancy Fraser's critique of Habermas and her conception of the public sphere(s) was also published early in 1995. Kejanlioglu's literature review on the public sphere and the media along the lines of public broadcasting and audience participation programmes on TV was completed in 1996 yet could be published in 2004 in Ozbek's edited book mentioned above. Her critique of Habermas, his model

⁸⁴ In Islamist discourse one can find the use of the word Muslims in general, yet many Muslims are also secularists and of course most of them are not Islamists. Even uses of words show a somewhat constructed character of the debate.

⁸⁵ This discussion includes the views of Arendt, Sennett, Rawls, Habermas, S. Benhabib, N. Fraser, I. M. Young, O. Negt and A. Kluge.

⁸⁶ This piece also includes references to other Frankfurt School philosophers along with Stuart Hall, Kaarle Nordenstreng and Herbert I. Schiller (Oskay, 1980).

⁸⁷ The publication of the translation of *The Transformation of the Bourgeois Public Sphere* from German into Turkish was in 1997 yet it included Habermas's Preface of 1990. The short encyclopedia article by Habermas on the public sphere has 3 translations: 1990, 1995, 2004.

⁸⁸ Translations of other related materials from English were also published such as Curran's pieces and debate between Keane and Garnham. All were translated into Turkish by Suleyman Irvan (1997, 2002), who was a student of Ozbek and Koker and classmate of Kejanlioglu.

of "intersubjective transparency" and lack of analysis on "information" which actually feeds the "informed citizen" was presented in the World Congress of Philosophy in 2003 (Kejanlioglu, 2007).

Nurcay Turkoglu at Marmara University has given a significant role to Habermas and Benhabib's critique in her discussions about public sphere, ethics and communicative action. Negt and Kluge's emphasis on experience has also taken place in her studies on media and culture, especially in her analysis of TV programmes (Turkoglu, 2004).

2. Research on public sphere and the media

Most of the recent research on public sphere and media in Turkey grew out of the studies of these communication scholars either through their supervision of graduate theses or through their published work.⁸⁹ In fact, Turkoglu supervised several theses that include the concept of public sphere, two of which deserves particular attention. Artun Avci's (2008) PhD thesis, *The public sphere and television in Turkey: The transition from civic-oriented television to consumer television*, focuses on how commercialization undermined the discourse on citizenship and political potential of the broadcasting media whereas Gulum Sener's (2006) PhD thesis, *Internet as a new public sphere in the age of global capitalism: the use of internet by new social movements*, applies a user-oriented research to discuss the potentials and the pitfalls of a new medium.

Similarly, two theses written under the supervision of Kejanlioglu have different orientations. Abdulkadir Cetin's (2006) *Sokak/Street both as a Public Place and Public Sphere* takes a short-lived magazine, "Sokak/Street", as an instance for the discussions on the public sphere and considers Negt and Kluge's views as a more suitable frame of study whereas Ilker Ozdemir's (2007) *Strategicalization of communication: a critical evaluation of guide books, personal development courses and communication training seminars* is based on a Habermasian conception of communication, even if with a critical tone, and includes both an analysis of books on communication and participant observation in training courses and seminars on personal development and communication.

One crucial PhD research deserves a particular attention as it was published. Ulku Doganay's (2002) PhD thesis under the supervision of Eser Koker is on the practices of political discussion and the democratic process in Turkey, looking at (a) a local political meeting organised by *Local Agenda 21* which got the best application award by the UN in 2001, (b) an assembly of Women's Shelters, and (c) three discussion programmes on television. Having a solid theoretical discussion on deliberative democracy, local governmental practices, the public sphere, the feminist critique of the public sphere and "tele-democracy", this study compares and contrasts forms of political discussion for democratic politics. In fact, she published her thesis under the title of *Reconsidering Democratic Procedures*. In cases of meeting and assembly, Doganay's research is based on participant observation and interviews, yet for TV discussion programmes, she analyzed three deciphered texts of the programmes. As to the third set of research that involves media, partially a rather pessimistic response to Kejanlioglu's analysis of one of the programmes in 1994,⁹⁰ Doganay reached to a conclusion that several exclusionary mechanisms from thematic limits to sensationalism exist in such TV programmes. Programme presenters supported some speech at the expense of others and instead of discussing altogether, they tried to underline the contrasting views. Exclusions and sharp encounters could not of course lead to a shared basis for understanding each other. Overall, Doganay criticizes procedural comprehension of democracy at a time when prevailing power relations persist.

In fact, Doganay also started supervising theses in the mid-2000s and one of them by Demircan (2006) was on the Internet and public sphere. Analysing online forums as a basis of public discussion in the context of the arguments set forth by Habermas and theorists of

⁸⁹ Of course, this review is not all exhaustive, just tries to map out the research orientations via putting Ankara University at the centre. Other related theses can be found at Marmara University, written under the supervision of Ozden Cankaya and Yasemin Giritli Inceoglu for instance or one can see a project of personal interest on video and experience by Akbal-Sualp (1999).

⁹⁰ Kejanlioglu analysed the very same programme in terms of the flexibility of its format, which was changing every week and Doganay's choice was one of the most limited and closed one. Actually both consider the programme as presenting a forum not for rational discussion but a site for discursive contestations in a society marked by huge inequalities. Such visibility of inequalities through contestations was rather interpreted optimistically by Kejanlioglu.

deliberative democracy, Demircan says different viewpoints could be relayed in online forums yet discussions were not developed through argumentations.

3. Research on public sphere and audience participation?

The literature review on public sphere and the media in Turkey shows that a rather conceptual debate over the issue has dominated the research. Yet, still, four veins of research can be identified: (a) deregulation and public broadcasting; (b) representation of excluded groups and/or others in media; (c) TV discussion programmes; and (d) the Internet as a medium of public sphere or/and an alternative media. The first vein is related to the deregulation policies of the 1980s, using the concept of public sphere as a cure for revitalising public broadcasting/media. The second set of research has more to do with representation and textual analysis that also constitutes a part of the third vein. Most of the research on public discussion programmes is based on textual analysis to register audience participation. Even some of the research on Internet limits themselves with texts.

Above-mentioned PhD thesis on the Internet by Sener (2006) was among the research that "went to public but not publicized/published". A rare example of such user/audience research on TV programmes was conducted by Emek Cayli (2009), who used to be a teaching assistant of Kejanlioglu at Ankara University and got an invaluable support from Koker for her PhD thesis. Cayli questioned the relations between privacy and publicity in the morning TV talk shows that consisted of women audience both via textual analysis and audience research - participant observation and in-depth interviews. Such focus, I argue, needs to be elaborated and more research should be conducted in Turkey along the axis of "audience participation". Nico Carpentier's (2007: 106-110) discussion on the concept of participation can be a starting point.

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AUDIENCE RESEARCH IN MEDIA STUDIES OF EGE UNIVERSITY

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Since the mid 80's, there is very few research on audience in the graduate dissertations (MA and PhD's) of the departments of sociology, journalism, radio, TV, cinema and public relations of Ege University.

Going over 187 dissertations of the last 25 years, it is found that only very few dissertations have actually examined the audience. These media audience surveys have examined a limited sample mostly confined to the city (Izmir). The research themes and the audience examined in these works are as follows:

"The Role of Family Structure on Individuals' Orientation to Mass Media in the Urbanization Process"(1991)(Nimet Önür) written on the role of family structure on individuals'

use of mass media (TV, radio and newspapers), aimed to find out if different levels of socialization in the urbanization process and different family structures (from conventional to a modern way of living) were influential in the individuals' orientation towards different media. 300 people from three different locations were asked to respond to the questionnaire.

"The Problem of Prestige in the Turkish Written Press" (1993)(Cemalettin Özdoğan), asked the respondents if they found the newspapers trustworthy. The survey conducted in different parts of the country but mostly (%70,5) in the three biggest cities (İstanbul,

Ankara and İzmir) reached 1558 people (public, journalists and MP's). The prestige problem of the Turkish media was on the agenda during the time because there was a competition between the newspapers over circulation by giving promotions besides selling the newspapers.

"The Impact of Newspapers on Political Behaviour" (1996)(Ahsen Armağan) examined the relationship between newspaper readership and political participation. A questionnaire was applied to 200 people in İzmir distinguishing the impact of frequent or non-frequent readers on active or passive political participation.

"The Profile of Turkish Movie Viewers"(1997)(Murat Ünal) reached 350 viewers in the cinemas in two cities (İzmir and Antalya) in order to define the profile of Turkish film viewers.

"The Reasons of Women Watching Soap Operas in Turkey" (2000)(Nesrin Kula), another survey applied to 100 women in İzmir from different social classes tried to understand if the reasons for watching soap operas change as the social status of the audience change.

This review over the existing research on audience in one of the universities in Turkey makes us conclude that actually very few media audience survey is done in the graduate studies and these surveys have a limited sampling.

The reasons for this result can only be an evaluation based on experience as a tutor in the social sciences institute. It can be said that researchers in the graduate studies are taken back from surveys because of financial constraints. And it is also true that they are aiming for less hardship in their research. The bureaucracy in taking permission from government officials can have a negative impact. On the other hand, the popularity of content analyses methods is also an important factor. Dissertations are studies of individual work therefore the researchers are aiming for smaller scale research mostly studying the content in mass media research.

Audience research in academic institutions can develop through group projects. One such project was done this year in the Faculty of Communication, Ege University. The title of the research is "Children Access and Use of ICT's in Turkey"(to be published)(Konca Yumlu et al.). A group of scholars worked together to reach 968 students from different social classes in three regions of İzmir between the ages of 10 to 14. The data of this survey is gathered and evaluated by a group of researchers working and discussing together.

CURRENT STUDIES ON THE NEW MEDIA AND AUDIENCE IN TURKEY

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In the recent years, the audience research in Turkey has began to be handled often in relation with the subject new media. To determine this situation, two recent developments seem to be good examples. One of them is the International Conference of New Media and Interactivity, which was held in April 2010 in İstanbul. Another important development is the foundation of a new university department of New Media. In this essay, more information will be given about this New Media Department, especially about its research fields, which are related to audience/user research, since this gives an idea about the development of the research trends in the coming years.

The first New Media Department in Turkey has started at Kadir Has University in 2009 with its undergraduate and graduate programs. The New Media Department offers a 4 years undergraduate and a two years graduate program.

The aim of the foundation of a New Media Department is to give students a perspective on the latest developments in media and communication technologies, new media organizations and their relation with culture and communication sectors. Another aim is to train specialist with the practical knowledge and experience i.e. qualified staff for the market, since there is a growing market in the new media field. In other words one of the goals of the department is to educate qualified personnel for the market in new media sector, where new professions are emerging and there is a big demand for qualified labor.

Kadir Has University New Media Department considers new media as a virtual, interactive, customizable and mobile field and it inquires into the new contents and communication forms the new media reveals.

The New Media Department of KHU is conducted in a close co-operation with the other departments of Faculty of Communication, such as Public Relations and Information, Communication Design, Radio, Television and Cinema and it offers courses, which are related with all these departments.

In addition to this the Department has courses, which are related to other faculties of the university, such as Engineering, Arts and Science, Economics and Administrative Sciences and Fine Arts.

In the first year of the undergraduate program of the New Media Department, the fundamentals of communication studies are thought. There is an emphasis on general vocational education in second and third years and in these parts of education there are also theory and praxis oriented courses. In the 4th year, the students learn more about the sector and they begin to contact with some of the firms, which take a relevant place in this market. The students create projects, do laboratory study and work part time in new media sector.

In the new media undergraduate program the students can choose some focus fields to research, such as E-life, E- Administration or New Media Studies.

The graduate program of new media department also consists of a theoretical and practical parts. In the first year the students take seminars on theory and practice and in the second year they write a thesis or they carry out a project.

In the KHU New Media undergraduate and graduate programs there is a wide range of themes, which concerne audience and/or user research. In the following lines, more details about some of the research topics on this issue will be given.

One of the main study area, both in undergraduate and graduate programs, is about the effects of some features of new media on the communication between individuals and on the mass communication, such as interactivity, virtuality and privacy.

Another area of study is the cyberculture. The main goal here is to understand the culture of the cyber communities and the dynamics of this culture, the relationship and differences between physical and cyber environment, the new forms of relationships between individuals, the nature of cyber organizations, cyber worlds, multi-player gaming, etc. The question of how cyber communication environment transforms the society is also a subject of interest.

The relationship between the democracy and the interactive media is another research area in the Department of New Media. The role of the online technologies in the public sphere and in the creation of a community identity is one of the possible research area in this field.

The relationship of human and machine is also an area of research. The question here is the nature of the interactivity between human and machine. The digital devices, which are used to access the cyber sphere, are inquired in relationship with the question, whether they have the functions, which are efficient enough to fulfil the physical, mental and psychological needs of human communication.

Social media is also an important research field in the New Media Department of KHU. The social networking in the cyberspace, the development of the social networks, the reasons of their spreading are the research themes. The effects of the virtuality of these networks on the individuals, new socialisation dynamics and the comparison of virtual and physical socialisation are the subjects of interest. New social movements, which are created in cyberspace and their effects on physical world are also discussed.

The role of the information technologies in the daily life of the individual and their effects on social life is another research subject. The students can take seminars on socioeconomics of IT. In addition to this, there are seminars on the concepts of the information security. In these seminars the students can inquire into the cyber-crimes and the ethical, legal and socioeconomic aspects of them.

The technological development leads to transformation in the social communication processes. This situation makes it necessary to understand and interpret this transformation. In the department of New Media it is also discussed, what kind of an interaction takes place between technology and social transformations.

The emergence of new marketing concepts in cyberspace is another research area. The effects of interactivity of cyberspace and the possibilities of personalization in the marketing are investigated. The behavior of the audience/customers in Internet and mobile environment is also subject of research.

The question of identity is discussed in relationship with the identities in virtual and physical life. The conflict between the created virtual person and the physical person, the consequences of this for the individuals are researched.

As shown in these examples, subjects related to audience/user research have an important place in the newly founded New Media Department. It should also be mentioned that, all these subjects are also from a critical perspective researched. There are, of course, many practical courses in this department but the research areas mentioned above give an idea about the direction of the new media and audience research in coming years in Turkey.

MEDIATION OF CITIZENSHIP MELTS INTO POSITIVE REALITIES

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Keywords mediation of citizenship, audience research, reality shows, Turkish TV

This essay traces the orientation of Turkish media; the academical research and the marketing surveys altogether to review the audience pendulum between citizenship and consumership. First of all, I will begin with mentioning a current television show which inspired me for the title above:

A former journalist who is now a television producer and hosts one of the most annoying local reality show, Brother Yalcin (as he prefers to be called) changed the name of his show from 'Yüzleşme' (Confrontation) to 'Pozitif Reality' (Positive Reality) promising moral values to ensure ratings of the family audience. The cheap global format of the show bursting studio laid audience into screams and tears is still in fact neither positive nor real, not even a confrontation.

It was just about two decades ago when the public debates and talk shows (whether on prime time or midnights live TV) have been refreshing the academical discussions on the citizens' direct participation to media as I will mention further in this essay. By the time being, inserting the 'realities' into shows came within a regressive way of media abusing both participants and the viewers. Now it seems clear that: reality shows are definitely *fictional*; embedded audiences are *semi-casts* and therefore television studios are *not ideal* for public communication.

Mediation of citizenship

Looking back to the late 1920s, revolutionary cultural policy structured by the founding leaders of the Turkish Republic as a nation-state, led the emergence of a literacy campaign mediated by radio and newspapers accompanied by posters and banners throughout the country. Soon journalists served as the tutors in favour of the national citizenship by the increasing of the literate population. Citizens were surrounded by the duties internalized of constructing the new nation-state (1).

By the 1950s and 60s, newly-urbanized families were targeted as the big audience for the locally produced Hollywood style melodramas. The surrounding advertisements nearby the

movies were of daily and/or technological products from cosmetics to automobiles. This was the era of enjoying consumption mirrored by the faces and bodies of the radio and film stars (2).

The monopoly period of TRT (Turkish Radio and Television Corporation) modelled after BBC from 1970s to 1990s for the public broadcasting. News and studio debates served as cultural forums followed by game shows and serials/dramas (adaptations from Turkish literature) as domestic television products produced by former radio producers. Imported TV serials such as Star Trek, Fugitive, Dallas, Columbo, Charlie's Angels, etc. plus cartoons and animations of Walt Disney Company, the adaptation of Sesame Street and participating Eurovision song contest had great public attention. By the privatisation in broadcasting in 1990s, Turkish audience faced excessive global media formats of shows, games, contests and thematical broadcasting. The positioning of Turkish mainstream media from being a supporting agent of national development and modernization turned to be partners of global media flow. Today, TRT owns 11 TV channels. There are also 24 nationwide private, 16 regional private and 224 local private TV channels (3).

Academical research on audience

Early sociological and ethnographical research in the 1930s and 1940s focused on radio, folklore, and social interactions in Turkey. Empirical research methods were introduced into the field of communication in Turkey in the 1950s (this was also the era of established education of communication) with a focus on public opinion, women's studies and immigration which then transferred to social change and political communication. The diversification of the dominant and alternative paradigms in the 1980s led the scholars either embracing the 'critical social theory' or following the marketing surveys particularly sharpened on the field of audience research. The 'cultivation theory' of G. Gerbner and the 'discourse analysis' of T. Van Dyke were the common sources for the reference of methodology among many other Western scholars in the field. Early 1990s were the starting of talk shows on TV and soon examined by scholars introducing 'reception studies' into the field of audience research (4).

The schools of communications in Turkey publish biannual or quarterly academic journals (5). Subjects covered by the main journals include issues of modernity, identity, power and gender, broadcasting regulation and ICT's; focusing more on text, content, discourse, construction and system and rarely referring to audience.

A recent audience study is on popular daily women TV programmes as the televisual forums viewed by women audience who live in a poor urban area in Eskisehir (6). This field research has a focus on the urban poverty and women as the subordinates whose situations are reproduced by mainstream media. The conceptual study accompanied by the field work of Aksoy and Robins on the migrant audiences has a telling title as "banal transnationalism" (7) on the cultural tendency of Turkish spoken people who watch popular Turkish TV. My studies of 2000s Turkish TV allow me to interpret that the live studio programmes overtly carry the residuals of the feudal traditions in the mentality of the participants as they are encouraged to cause conflict to get attention while locally produced dramas may offer some progressive conflict resolutions in accordance with the modern narrative regarding the dramatical continuity.

Among hundreds of dissertations in the communication field in the 2000s, some has special focus on the audience study (8). Interestingly some of the recent research conducted as MA and PhD thesis, the media and the political communication strategies are scrutinised from the inside within a self-expressive methodology. A journalist and news editor reveals the operation of the professional media in his MA thesis on "War Reporting in Turkey" (2010). A PhD thesis named "Emerging concept of European Journalism" (2005) is written by an anchorman. There are also examples of research on radio by radio professionals, research on political communication campaigns by media strategists, etc.

Some of the NGO's and social networks in Turkey supported by communication scholars have special interest in human rights and women's rights with established workshops and seminars on media monitoring, media literacy education and civic journalism for the improvement of democracy and civil society (9).

Audience measurement for administrative and commercial purposes

Turkish Radio and Television Corporation (TRT) conduct systematic audience research for administrative purposes. The results of the field surveys of TRT claim that the most popular programmes are TV news and documentaries while the concurrent surveys of private research companies and ratings for advertising companies have the domestic TV serials and sports at the top list excluding any documentaries.

Radio and Television Supreme Council of Turkey (RTUK) which was founded in 1994 to regulate the broadcasting across the country also conveys research. The files of classified complaints addressing RTUK call center are published online as the audience opinion research. According to these calls, some of the domestic TV serial dramas (both romance and action) and some of the game shows with global formats are denounced as threat to Turkish family values and against protecting children from violence (10).

Some of the publications of statistical data compiled by Turkish Statistics Institution on the activities of radio and television in Turkey are available online. The purpose of these statistics is to give data of the national, regional and local broadcasting as an economic activity to trade and service sectors (11).

AGB Nielsen Media Research has been conducting TV audience research in Turkey since 1989. The query on the fairness of the audience measurement system has gone beyond academical interest. Accusing the joint industry committee responsible for measurement system for violation of competition regulations, the TRT recently announced that its channels will no longer be included in audience measurements provided by AGB (12).

Turkish audience and internet users are subject to global market research frequently with headlines such as “Turkey has the most engaged European Internet audience” of the data came out from private measurement service (13).

There is also a wide range of audience surveys to obtain a pseudo-scientific base for the media award ceremonies which I name as the “mediatic enumerating” as part of the strategical public relations to pop out in the prime time news announcements if not purely commercial.

Conclusion

As the term “audience research” refers to measurement and it is not a favourable field for academics that follow the intellectual roots of interdisciplinary communication studies, most of the Turkish scholars that actually study audience, prefer to name their study as ethnographical field work, television studies, etc. Still, academical studies related to the content, narration, genre, system and the process of media production and audience are aiming to understand the *people*, therefore should cover the entire environment of the social communication.

Notes and references

For sociological research, see: Füsun Üstel, *Makbul Vatandasın Pesinde: II. Mesrutiyet'ten Bugüne Vatandaslık Egitimi* (In Search of the Ideal Citizen: Citizenship Education from the Second Constitutional Monarchy until Today), (Istanbul: İletisim, 2004).

Among many publications on this melodrama period of Turkish movies produced in *Yeşilçam*, I picked up two dissertations in terms of this essay focused on the audience: “The relation of women audience with melodrama specifically with the film *Hıçkırık* from a feminist perspective”, Funda Can, MA, Anadolu Un. 2007 and “Yeşilçam in letters: A ‘cinema event’ in 1960s Turkey from the perspective of an audience discourse”, Dilek Kaya Mutlu, PhD, Bilkent Un. 2002. For a more integrated approach to the era: Nilgun Abisel, *Türk Sineması Üzerine Yazılar*, Phoenix: 2005.

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Kejanlioglu & Timisi (1993), “Talk Show ve Alımlama: Bir Örnek Olay Olarak ‘Laf Lafi Acıyor’,” AU, İLEF Yılık, 329-384, and Binark & Celikcan (1998), “Mahrem Alandan Pop-Mahrem Alana,” *Kültür ve İletisim*, 197-214.

Ankara University's Communication department has three journals: Culture & Communication <http://ilef.ankara.edu.tr/ki/>, Communication Research <http://ilef.ankara.edu.tr/dergi/index.php> and a recent Film Studies journal: <http://www.sinecine.org/>. The other foremost journals and their affiliations are: Yeditepe University, <http://www.yeditepe.edu.tr/7tepe/egitim/lisans/iletisim/>, Galatasaray University <http://iletisimdergisi.gsu.edu.tr/tr/>, Marmara University http://iletisim.marmara.edu.tr/marmara_iletisim_dergisi.php and Anadolu University <http://www.kurgu.anadolu.edu.tr/>.

Cangöz, etal, "Telegörsel Forumlarda Kadın" in *Medya ve Kültür*, ed. N. Turkoglu, Urban: 2009.

Asu Aksoy and Kevin Robins (2006), "Banal Transnationalism: The Difference that Television Makes" in *Media Communities*, Waxman-NY, 2006.

Recent dissertations conducted in Turkish universities on audience and the uses of ICTs are as follows: "Advertisements and audience studies, the case study: Ali Taran's advertisements", Sahinde Canbaz Yavuz, PhD, Ankara Un. 2004; "Consumption and choice of mass media in multiple choice media environment (audience research on Eskişehir sample)", Özgül Birsen, PhD, Anadolu Un. 2005; "Internet as a new public sphere in the age of global capitalism: the use of internet by new social movements" Gulum Sener, PhD, Marmara Un. 2006; "Radio producer-audience relationship: Radio production from the point of broadcaster-audience interaction", H. Serhat Güney, PhD, Marmara Un. 2007; "Television audience behavior -A theoretical and empirical study on preference and gratifications of television viewers", Abdullah Kocak, PhD, 2001, Selcuk Un.; "Television audience measurement and its role in programme planning" Basar Hatirnaz, MA, Marmara Un. 2006; "Television audiences and different reading positions: A case study on 'Çocuklar Duymasın'", Kiymet Bercis Mani, MA, Ankara Un. 2005; "The evaluation of the television discussion programmes with participation of the viewing in democratic debate atmosphere" Esra Fıratlı, PhD, Marmara Un. 2006; "The Reasons of watching soap operas by women audiences in Turkey", Nesrin Kula, MA, Ege Un. 2000.

These are the websites of the mentioned networks: <http://bianet.org/english> (network for monitoring and covering media freedom and independent journalism); <http://www.mediz.org> (women's media watch group against sexism in media); <http://www.ucansupurge.org> (FlyingBroom: communication network of women's NGO's).

RTUK publish some of their studies in English at <http://www.rtuk.org.tr>

<http://www.turkstat.gov.tr> gives access to a free download of statistical data

(14 January 2010); <http://www.todayszaman.com/tz-web/news-198431-101-state-owned-trt-channelswithdraw-from-rating-system.html>

<http://www.bizreport.com/2009/06/>. Also for the website of the Turkish Association of Researchers and the links to business research companies in Turkey <http://www.arastirmacilar.org.tr/en/default.aspx>

UNITED KINGDOM

EXISTING AND EMERGING AUDIENCE RESEARCH IN THE UK

A review for the Transforming Audiences, Transforming Societies COST Action, August 2010

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Overview (Sonia Livingstone)

The story of audience research in the UK is often told in terms of a rivalry between two institutions, two men even – Stuart Hall, the inspiration behind the radical yet influential **Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies**, and James Halloran, architect of the key training ground for media researchers worldwide, the **Centre for Mass Communication Research** at the University of Leicester. Influenced by the legacy of Raymond Williams and Richard Hoggart with their shared yet different vision of importance of understanding the everyday practices associated with popular culture texts, as part of the critical analysis of the circuit of culture and influenced both by Marxist theory and by the visit to Birmingham from semiotician Umberto Eco, Stuart Hall (1980) gave his ‘encoding/decoding’ paper at Leicester to squash the ‘administrative’ uses and gratifications approach once and for all.

Although this was far from the end of **uses and gratifications research** world wide, Hall’s approach effectively displaced both uses and gratifications research (the ‘minimal effects’ tradition), also spearheaded by Jay Blumler at the University of Leeds Institute for Communication research, and the experimental research on media effects - influential in Germany, America and other countries - with which it, in turn, was in dispute (cf. the familiar adage, ask not what media do to people but what people do with the media). Ever since Hall’s students (David Morley, Dorothy Hobson, John Fiske, Dick Hebdige, Angela McRobbie, Paul Willis, and more) promoted **encoding/decoding** not only a theoretical framework but also as an empirical programme of research, audience reception studies have dominated audience research in the UK, with a significant influence also in Europe, America and elsewhere.

This is not to say that the **critical study of audience reception** is the only tradition in Britain – for studies of media effects, news comprehension, audience ratings and more have all continued. Nor is it to say that all who follow the Birmingham tradition have taken the same direction. But the attack on the authority of elite textual analysts to know the implied reader or sutured subject (cf. Screen Theory), the respect for the micro-tactics of everyday appropriation that forces recognition of marginalised voices, and the challenge to political economic theories of media imperialism by revealing reappropriation, counterflow, glocalisation and resistance to media power – all these remain a distinctive feature of British audience studies.

The present and future state of audience research, reflecting a very considerable diversification of, and deviation from, these early preoccupations, is the focus of the remainder of this essay.

Audience studies in the national subject conference, *MeCCSA*⁹¹ (Tamara Witschge)

Academic conference papers can provide a good and current overview of research in the field of media and communication. Looking at the last annual conference (6-7 January 2010) of the *Media, Communication and Cultural Studies Association* (MECCSA), we see that audience studies in the tradition of media ‘reception’ or ‘consumption’ analysis does not feature as a major research agenda. Employing a **broader definition of audience studies**, viewing it as widely as possible –including those works that examine the changing role of audiences in news *production* – audience studies is still a small part of the overall programme.

Twenty-two papers (out of 166 papers, or 13%) in some way focussed on audiences, including seven that looked into the role of the audience in producing content online. Those examining **media consumption** focus on specific groups: transnational and diaspora audiences (3), young people (2), and fan groups (1). In the 48 sessions of the conference, eight papers (compared to 6 in 2009) and one panel (‘Audiences and Media Representations’) explicitly mention the word ‘audience’ in their title. Two papers provide us with a reflection on audience research, respectively reviewing the politics of music consumption research and revisiting feminist audience research. Last, two papers focus on methodological and conceptual considerations for examining audiences in the current mediascape, including considerations on media literacy.

⁹¹ The Media, Communication and Cultural Studies Association.

Overall, there is **considerable diversity** in the papers presented at the annual UK conference in the field. However, audience studies seem to form only **a marginal part** of the programme, and within that only few provided a meta-analysis, discussing the future of audience studies or focussing on methodological innovations.⁹² Perhaps not surprisingly, the largest category of papers dealing with the audience, looked at its role as **producers of content**. However, given research suggesting that only few members of the audience actually actively produce media content (for a critical reflection, see van Dijck, 2009), we should consider whether this focus is at the cost of other ways of understanding audiences.

Audience research in the UK journal, *Media, Culture & Society*⁹³ (Ranjana Das)

If audience research is defined as research on **the active, interpretive and sometimes critical work performed through engagement with the media**, then boundaries around what is to be included and what is to be left out, become difficult to draw. On the other hand, if one follows the trajectory of empirical audience reception studies – developed primarily around mass media although extended now into the age of the internet e.g. Livingstone, 2004, 2008) – then one can locate priorities around a shared conceptual **framework focused on interpretation, critique and resistance** and a value attached to empirical work with real, lived practices of interpretation among communities (as well as individuals). But, a review of the UK's premier journal, *Media, Culture and Society* shows few instances of these priorities, although 'the audience' continues to feature in the journal in conceptually and empirically significant ways. Notably –

- **Empirical research with audiences** continues to be valued in the journal. These range from research that focuses on the role of affect in elite audiences of financial markets (Davis, 2006), in depth empirical accounts of the social experience of cinema-going (Srinivas, 2002), media consumption practices of Asian women (Kim, 2010) to media consumption amongst alternative media audiences (Rauch, 2007)
- Audience research in the journal is **international**. Articles span a range of empirical locations from broadcasting audiences in Korea (Kim, 2001), to French radio audiences (Glevarec and Pinet, 2008), Indian metropolitan film audiences (Srinivas, 2002) and radio talk-back audiences in Australia (tebutt, 2006).
- The term 'audience' has been employed, conceptually and empirically, across **a range of media forms**. So, we find essays on mass media audiences, including radio, film (e.g. van Zoonen, 2007; Srinivas, 2002) and television (Kim, 2001), on user-generated content that link in some significant ways the active audience and the new media user (van Dijck, 2009) and on ways in which the mass of mass media audiences diverges from a new mass of new media users and their 'work' (Napoli, 2010), essays on alternative media audiences and readers (Downing, 2003) and articles that address the trans-media work done by audiences of trans-media drama (Evans, 2008).
- Significantly for **an interdisciplinary field** of research, the audience features in the journal in a diversity of formulations, which ties it in with other field of research. We see the audience appear as publics – see for instance the sketch of media publics studied through fan letters written in response to a chat show (Ryfe, 2007), as participants in the media (e.g. Griffen-Foley, 2004; Lunt and Stenner, 2005), as consumers in a changing market (Glevarec and Pinet, 2008) as well as the politics of being measured within markets (Tudor, 2009), as classed – for instance as traced through working class writing and audience participation (Woodin, 2009), as working-class readers of ethnic media (Shi, 2009), or as people witnessing global suffering (Hoijer 2004).
- **Methodology** receives attention, especially in two recent articles. Wood (2007) proposes a new methodology of texts-in-action where co-viewing is studied in parallel with the text to

⁹² Of course, this is only a snapshot of the work in the field, conducted on the basis of titles alone.

⁹³ Journal issues surveyed here span the period 2000-2101. See <http://mcs.sagepub.com/> Note that in the past decade, the UK has also produced a successful journal, *Participations*, 'devoted to developing the broad field of study of cultural and media audiences'. See <http://www.participations.org/index.htm>

reveal the 'discursive potential of viewers' in interpreting the mass media. Buckingham (2009) argues for necessity to respond to the methodological and conceptual challenges posed by emerging trans-media environments.

A new UK conference, *Transforming Audiences*⁹⁴ (Annette Hill and Anastasia Kavada)

Transforming Audiences (2007, 2009) is an international conference for audience research, which takes place at the University of Westminster, London, every two years, showcasing British research alongside global trends. The conference attracts around a hundred speakers, chosen from twice as many proposals, indicating the vibrancy of this area. It asks the open-ended question, **what is an audience?** This is a challenging question since audiences and publics constitute a diverse range of people watching, reading, listening, playing, making and re-making a multitude of media in society and culture. Audiences are not only associated with texts or artefacts, but also technologies, events, spaces and places, and social, cultural and political experiences.

The definition of **audiences as people, publics, viewers, users, participants, producers** has been explored in the conference presentations and keynote lectures – instances include the definition of audiences in policy documents (e.g. media literacy reports from regulatory bodies) or based on historical analysis (e.g. nineteenth century theatre goers or twentieth century radio listeners) or from empirical observation of young people's creative practices in new media environments. In these and other ways, participants have related media practices with the negotiation of identities, the consumption of news, political campaigning and notions of citizenship.

By enlarging the capacity of individual users to create and distribute content, blogs, content-sharing and social network sites are now challenging the clear-cut distinction between producers and consumers of content. Terms such as **'produsers' or 'prosumers'** have been devised to refer to this new type of user, but this theorization is far from complete. Rather than succumbing to technologically deterministic explanations, audience researchers' firm focus on people's everyday media practices offer a nuanced understanding of both change and continuity. Some scholars have drawn parallels between current practices with those of the past. Others have pondered on the meaning of interactivity, since interactivity does not always mean participation, participation is not always empowerment and empowerment does not always lead to social change. This depends on a number of factors, including skills and new media literacy, institutional arrangements and socioeconomic conditions, which enable some uses of media technologies while constraining others.

Theorising audiences is another theme. Researchers at *Transforming Audiences* adopt a made to measure approach emphasising multidisciplinary analysis - for example the use of social psychology and social theory to understand how audiences understand the genre of talk shows as part of ongoing debates about social and personal relations; or, the use of anthropology and cultural studies to explore the cultural practices of weddings. For researchers to critically analyse the genre of reality TV and popular audiences they need to use theories from documentary, social psychology, or politics and economics, alongside the sociology of emotions, or performance studies. For researchers to audiences as citizens, they require theories of civic engagement from political science combined with anthropology and participant observation to elucidate people's engagement with news.

This **made-to-measure approach** to audience research seems vital in a media environment where new applications blur the boundaries between interpersonal and mass, private and public communication. In this way, research can examine the diverse forms of audience engagement as audiences create, remix, upload, and distribute content in ways that not widely available before. Since evidence shows that rather few people exhibit sophisticated multi-platform activity, a made-to-measure approach also aids investigation of the disengaged - those who for lack of resources, skills or interest are disconnected from such practices.

⁹⁴ See <http://www.transformingaudiences.org.uk/>

Special focus: radio audiences (Lawrie Hallett and Guy Starkey)

Although the UK community of radio researchers is relatively small, it should not be supposed that all audience research focuses on television and, now, new media. The **Radio Studies Network**, since January 2010 a network within the *Media, Communications & Cultural Studies Association (MeCCSA)*, provides regular fora in which academics share their research and individual members are involved in national and occasionally international initiatives. An example is the current project researching on-line radio use, *Generations and On-line Media*, led by Paula Cordeiro in Lisbon, in which Guy Starkey at the University of Sunderland is a partner.

The UK radio industry funds **an official audience research body**, *Radio Joint Audience Research (RAJAR)*, under joint equal ownership of the public and private sectors respectively. This enables it to produce a single, largely uncontroverted 'gold-standard' survey of radio ratings, including demographic data and, increasingly, valuable reach and share data on platform use in the digital and analogue domains. The research carried out by RAJAR is quantitative, seeking to identify trends in radio listening, which stations are listened to, when, for how long and by how many individuals. Interestingly, a number of smaller-scale commercial broadcasters choose not to take part in RAJAR surveys, and the not-for-profit Community Radio sector is specifically excluded from it.⁹⁵

UK radio broadcasting legislation is very much concerned with the **twin issues of quality and diversity** (HMG UK. 1991, 1996 & 2003). A few exceptions, the majority of non-BBC broadcast radio licences are awarded as the result of a "beauty contest" assessment process, under which competing applicants are judged in relation to the degree to which each meets a variety of licensing requirements, including content provision requirements attached (Ofcom 2008). Thus, it is perhaps not surprising that the current UK broadcast radio regulator, Ofcom (The Office of Communications), along with its predecessors (The Radio Authority and the IBA) conducted qualitative research over the years. Regulators need, for example, to know what content is likely to cause harm or offence, just as they need to understand the changing tastes and interests of the listening public in order to be proactively able to license relevant services. Broadcasters, however, are less interested in such qualitative research (although the BBC has carried out its own in-house qualitative research since as far back as the 1930s).

The UK's **Community Radio Sector** has been the subject of considerable research since its first experimental licensing back in 2002. Both the Radio Authority (Everitt 2003 & 2003(1)) and Ofcom (2004) have commissioned various qualitative research, with similar research being completed by DCMS (Goatley 2006), as well as a number of academics. In terms of content delivery, the sector is very heavily regulated to ensure its distinctiveness (HMG 2004). The weakness for the community sector is its lack of robust quantitative audience measurements: it knows why individuals listen but it lacks figures for the numbers of listeners it attracts. Some stations, such as Future Radio in Norwich, have been working with academics (Ward 2008 & 2010), also drawing upon previously published research, notably in Australia, to develop practical low-cost but statistically robust approaches to obtaining such information. It is hoped that over the coming months, this model will be finalised and made available to other Community Radio broadcasters, both elsewhere in the UK and in other parts of the world.

Conclusions: the diversity of audience research in the UK (Peter Lunt)

As this review of UK research on audiences reveals, there has been a **diversification in theories, methods, empirical focus and normative projects**, following the earlier division between cultural studies and effects research. Partly this reflects changes in the media and broader social changes: digitization is producing a plethora of radio and TV channels, changes in models of production from in-house production by major players to a diversity of smaller scale production companies, the development of commercial broadcasting and new media in the context of an increasingly global mediascape.

These changes have had a profound effect on the media available to audiences, modes and contexts of reception and content, which have had equally profound impact on academic

⁹⁵ See: http://www.rajar.co.uk/content.php?page=how_to_subscribe_stations (accessed 20/8/10).

audience research. In response, audience researchers are now rethinking the meaning of ‘audience’ itself. It seems to have become **an umbrella term** for a diversity of approaches rather than a paradigm that commits us to a particular world view or consensual approach. Below we note some of the “thousand flowers” of contemporary audience research.

Social theory and the media: four contributions led to new thinking about audiences:

- Thompson’s *The Media and Modernity* emphasised the developing relationship between **reflexive** institutions and individuals, with the media so intertwined with the social that we should talk of **mediation**;
- Cultural sociologists; Abercrombie and Longhurst’s conception of the **dispersed audience**;
- Silverstone’s appropriation of the concept of **appropriation** from the sociology of consumption to analysis the **material conditions of everyday life**;
- Palmer’s adoption of Foucault’s ideas of media’s implication in subtle processes of **social control and governmentality**.

The active audience: although much contested, this concept first challenged presuppositions in media and social theory about passive audiences and has since stimulated new lines of research:

- **Participation, public connection, the public sphere and civil society**, focusing on the increasing **visibility** of people in the media and how this links to changing conceptions of political culture and the mediation of public life. It pushes forward the idea of **mediation** and the role of the media in political participation and public engagement, including the blurring with entertainment (e.g. fandom studies);
- **Audience ethnography** examines the dispersal (sometimes, the apparent disappearance) of audiencehood across the times, spaces and cultural practices of everyday life;
- **New media, mobility and audiencehood**, as audiences are carried yet further away from the screen into engaging with a mediated public life;
- **The phenomenology of audiencehood**, as theorised through the relation between audiences and **users**;
- **Popular culture**, a theme revitalised as new and interactive genres enhance audience involvement, participation and visibility;
- **Identity**, focusing on reflexive concepts of the self and the role of the media in identity work, especially in relation to cultural or ethnic diversity and diaspora or, contrastingly, the critique of identity can be seen as a site of social control through which “good citizens” are constructed and governed;
- **The regulated audience** – the growing connection between media policy analysis and audience studies in which the articulation of the public interest plays a critical role in understanding how public service broadcasting meets the changing needs of its audience and the role for the state in the relation between commercial and public service media.

There abundant ways of thinking about audiences and their relation to media, everyday life and social practice raises the critical question, is this a productive elaboration of audience studies as befits the changing nature of media, culture and society, or is this fragmentation beyond the point of a coherent field of study? This question returns us to Sonia Livingstone’s introduction, for two themes that run through these elaborations of audience research are the possible interpolations of the social and the cultural through audiencehood and the difficulties of holding both of these conceptions together in an increasingly diverse but interconnected mediascape.

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CONCLUSION

AUDIENCE RESEARCH IN EUROPE A.D. 2010

A HISTORICAL CROSSROADS OF DIVERSITY – ROADS TAKEN AND NOT TAKEN

The view from Action members as expressed in 'country essays' submitted to the Lisbon Meeting, 11-13 November 2010

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The country essays⁹⁶ enable us to put together part of a mosaic that allows us to see the contours of European audience research, in a historical perspective, with implications for future research avenues.

The essays are different in scope: Some are panoramic, others are close-ups – historical, thematic, disciplinary. Nevertheless they are homogeneous and comprehensive enough to make it possible to distinguish some **landmarks** of audience research over the last decades, to discern some **patterns** across countries, and to highlight some **differences** between them.

Research history

A double movement can be discerned: on the one hand different research traditions have spread throughout Europe; on the other hand there are the localised authors who have played a key role in a specific country but who remain unknown outside that imaginary (academic) community.

The seminal role played by American research traditions (sociology, social psych.) and/or British traditions (cultural studies, Birmingham) is apparent, but as a rule these traditions have been translated into indigenous scholarly traditions (e.g. Italy). While many essays emphasize the historical dominance of a research tradition (figure 1), the key oppositions in the field (social science vs humanities, quantitative approaches vs qualitative approaches, media psychology vs cultural studies) are not equally salient across all the essays. It seems that certain oppositions are structural to the field in certain national contexts but not in others.

It can also be observed that the emergence and the shaping of audience research seems to have been influenced by national contextual factors: the “building of a nation” (Israel), changes in the demographic composition and social changes (less homogeneity, migrations and social mobility) as well as new “media landscapes” (new commercial and international channels, new forms of entertainment; see also below the issue of the status of the media in the socio-political system), audience fragmentation, technological innovation, ethical concerns with new media (recently the internet...), linguistic, cultural or historical proximity (or distance) with influential countries in the field, national science policies and availability of funding, the development and structure of higher education in media and communication. In some cases the participation of national researchers in international projects or networks has contributed to the launching of national research efforts on audiences (i.e. Ireland).

⁹⁶ The essays are accessible on the project website at: <http://www.cost-transforming-audiences.eu>.

Figure 1: Patterns of historical dominance (the different essays did not all warrant this kind of country positioning)

| <i>US, Quant.</i> | <i>British, Qual.</i> | <i>Balance of the two</i> |
|-------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| Italy (->) | Denmark | (<-) United Kingdom |
| Croatia | Portugal | (<-) Norway |
| Netherlands (->) | | (<-) Sweden |
| Israel (->) | | Estonia |
| Spain (->) | | Belgium (Flanders) |
| Bulgaria | | |
| Germany | | |

A feature of audience research that emerges from many essays is that it is a rather small field within media and communication research, which is described as being more interested in media content analysis and socio-economical analysis of media institutions. However, beyond this widely shared impression, the essays reveal quite a diversity of national situations, as certain countries have stepped in audience research since a longer time than others, or have been researching audiences in a more sustainable way than others. In some countries like Austria and Israel, there seems to be a long-standing tradition of audience research (going back to the 30s and the 60s respectively). In Central and Eastern Europe, audience research is said to be “a widely unexplored area” (Slavnic, Serbia).

Research field definition

What do we mean by the term ‘audiences’, and what is included under the term ‘audience research’? Is it a meta-perspective? And is it a term which is just now undergoing many transformations and complexifications with the coming of digitization, convergence, etc. On the basis of the communicative roles they play with media technologies and media content, audiences comprise people, viewers, users, participants, producers, prosumers, and produsers. But audiences have also been differentiated depending on what they use media for, especially as citizens and publics who use media for political ends, and as consumers who use media for leisure and entertainment purposes.

In most cases the essays do not define ‘audience’ explicitly, but it can be deduced what kinds of audiences they have in mind. In terms of Klaus Bruhn Jensen’s (2010) model of mediated communicative relations, audiences can be distinguished along two axes, first according to the number of people at the sending and receiving ends of the communicative exchange, secondly depending on whether the communication is synchronous or asynchronous (figure 2).

Figure 2: Jensen’s model of mediated communicative relations (2010)

| | Asynchronous | Synchronous |
|---------------------|--|-----------------------------------|
| One-to-one | Email text message | Voice, instant messenger |
| One-to-many | book, newspaper, aud/vid. recording, Web 1.0 | Broadcast radio and television |
| Many-to-many | Web 2.0, wiki, social network site (SNS) | Online chatroom |

According to the essays, both the one-to-many media, and the many-to-many media have audiences. The essays seem to take for granted, in the kinds of audience research they mention, that these media have audiences, who sometimes just make sense of semiotic materials created by others, and sometimes participate and create content themselves.

In some essays, one-to-one communication mediated by new information technologies (such as mobile telephones) is also listed as audience research. Here mobile 'phones' seem to be conceptualized as technologies, or multimedia tools, not as one-to-one facilitators, and the term 'user' seems to take over from the term 'audience'. The kind of research which explores the uses of mobile phones and mobile communication would be difficult to align in terms of the 'audience' concept with Bruhn Jensen's model. On the other hand, with the gradual change of the mobile phone to a 'smart phone', which enables people to access, broadcast media and to be online and follow their peers on twitter, facebook, etc. a new aspect has come up, which makes 'users' more 'audience'-like.

Research institutions

The question here is: Where does audience research take place? Again, the essays provide several locations, mainly:

- In **academic institutions**: all essays from all countries describe such research. Increasingly international fundings of audience research is important, for example projects such as the *EU Kids Online*, *Mediappro* and others.
- **Commercial institutions**: Especially prominent are readership/listener/viewer/internet user surveys. In all countries media users are monitored very closely, for the benefit of advertisers and media/program planners.
- **Media institutions/companies**: In some countries the Public Service Media have a strong historical tradition for conducting their own audience research, esp. quantitative, and in some countries qualitative studies.

Audience research is also funded or even sometimes carried out by **regulatory bodies**, **associations of viewers and listeners**, and **media education associations**, as mentioned in several essays.

A few essays also mention a **collaborative tradition**, which developed historically between academic and applied research, e.g. French-speaking Belgium and Israel. But even in these cases, the relationship between academic audience research and media research department is often discussed in terms of an **increasing gap** between them, to the extent that some can observe "a constant decline in the influence of audience research on social and cultural policies" (Adoni et al., Israel). Only in a few countries like Finland there seems to be a flourishing collaboration between academic and applied audience research.

Status of media in the socio-political system

What kind of audience research appears to be most relevant and urgent seems to depend to some extent on the kind of society in which audience research takes place. In Croatia, for instance, audience research is concerned with "the state of democratic development of the media system", and therefore people's trust in the media looms large on the research agenda. This is on a background of recent political transition from authoritarian, government and party-controlled media to media that are independent of the state.

This concern is characteristic of audience research in (some) Eastern European countries (Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Lithuania, Bulgaria), where the objective of scholars is to facilitate the process towards professionalizing journalism and ensuring the freedom of the press from the state (and other powerful agents). The audience research dimension often has to do with monitoring the public's evaluation of journalism practice and citizens' understanding and expectations of journalism.

In Western Europe, the issue of trust in the media is also on the agenda, but from another perspective, to do with the blurring of boundaries between private/public, news/entertainment, rationality/emotion – in other words: Tabloidization. – Do audiences trust tabloidized news media?

In the Northern countries there is a concern with the role of the Public Service Media in the new media landscape and the concurrence with commercial media (e.g. Finland)

Therefore, as a more general point to be addressed by future audience research, some scholars suggest that we should situate audience research theoretically in the social formation and media system in which it takes place. That is, audience research should take account of the cultural and contextual factors that position audiences differentially in different European countries.

This kind of sociocultural foundation of audience research can be accomplished by situating audience research in a theoretical model of media systems (Hallin & Mancini) and/or mediatization (Strömbäck 2008). Audience researchers should ask in what ways media and their uses have been cross-influenced by the economic, political and cultural histories in different countries or regions within Europe (Hallin & Mancini), and to what extent different countries have developed through different stages of mediatization?

While the 'mediatization' phenomenon is receiving many different theoretical inclinations, one candidate for such a model could be Jesper Strömbäck's 4 phases of mediatization, in which mediatization depends on the degree to which:

- the media constitute the **dominant source of information** on politics and society.
- the media are **independent from political institutions**.
- **media content is governed by a political logic or by media (commercial) logic**.
- **institutional actors** – such as political parties – are **governed by a political logic or by media logic**.

Presumably the roles and practices of audiences will vary, and should be theorized and analyzed, in accordance with such criteria of mediatization.

Interdisciplinarity

With the advent of information and communication technologies as vehicles of audience engagement with mediated communication it has become increasingly necessary to cross-fertilize the social and cultural approaches to audiences with insights originating in the technological and engineering sciences, not least design studies, informatics and computer science.

Beyond the extensions of audience research occasioned by technological developments, audience researchers often adopt a made to measure approach emphasising multidisciplinary sociological and cultural analysis - for example the use of social psychology and social theory to understand how audiences understand the genre of talk shows as part of ongoing debates about social and personal relations; or, the use of anthropology and cultural studies to explore audiences' sense-making of the mediated cultural practices of media events like royal weddings. For researchers to critically analyse the genre of reality TV and popular audiences they need to use theories from documentary, social psychology, or politics and economics, alongside the sociology of emotions, or performance studies. For researchers to audiences as citizens, they require theories of civic engagement from political science combined with anthropology and participant observation to elucidate people's engagement with news. The increasing influence of education sciences on audience research is also emphasized in several essays when it comes to media literacy and media-supported learning.

Common research areas

The research areas mentioned most frequently in the essays are the following:

- Audience theory
- Children/media literacy/media and learning/effects
- Minorities, migrants, diasporas
- Gender
- Television viewing/active audiences
- Internet users/participants, digital media users, networked users, media use in cross-media/multiplatform environments
- Mobile media use

- Mediated social relationships
- Audiences as citizens, civic agency, public sphere
- Access, interaction, participation
- Media genres
- Fans
- Transformations of media institutions, transformations of journalistic practices, challenges and future of Public Service Media
- ICTs
- Transnational comparisons of audience behavior and sense-making (soaps/telenovelas, children and the Internet, *Lord of the Rings*)

Without surprise, audience research as reflected in the essays is mostly focused on television and the Internet (especially Web 2.0 technologies, not only as objects of study but also as research tools). A substantial part of audience research is also devoted to mobile technologies (for instance in France, Norway and Italy) and video games. The radio and the printed press are not very well covered, apart from quantitative surveys on media use and an increasing strand of research on cross-media use. A few essays mention museums, libraries and more broadly cultural heritage, around issues like participation (e.g. Estonia) and learning (e.g. Denmark). This strand of audience research might augur new developments that would go beyond the study of people's relation with (new) media in order to encompass all kinds of (public) institutions responsible for the transmission of culture and knowledge.

A Coherent field of study?

Echoing one of the national essays, we may ask if - witnessing the rich and diverse ways of studying audiences and their relation to media technologies and media content, to everyday life and social practice - this is a productive elaboration of audience studies as befits the changing nature of media, technology, culture and society, or is this fragmentation beyond the point of a coherent field of study?

The diversity of audience research as reflected in the essays expresses the now common (non-)status of the notion of audience in media and communication research: a *discursive construct* (Anderson, 1996; Carpentier, 2004) that we usually do not discuss as such, a convenient empty shell that we fill in our writings and presentations with our own interests and meanings. On the other hand, the essays as a whole support the idea that beyond the interpretation of audience research as a discursive field, one can also approach it as an *interfield*⁹⁷, i.e. a field which is both interfaced and interfacing, tying together a series of topics that are often considered as opposite but which, brought together, constitute a unique research agenda (figure 3).

Figure 3: Audience research as an interfield

| | |
|--------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Text | Technology |
| Interpretation | Use |
| Reception | Production |
| Consumption | Participation |
| Old media | New media |
| Mass communication | Interpersonal/group communication |

This brings us back to the question raised above. The tentative answer could be that while as audience researchers we have to face the complex ways in which humans as individuals

⁹⁷ As used here, this notion should not be understood in the sense of Bourdieu, although an analysis in these terms would be fully relevant.

and groups are navigating in and making sense of an increasingly diverse but interconnected mediascape, we do seem to find it rewarding to engage in the *collective* effort of our imagined community of ‘audience research’, striving with other ‘audience researchers’ to increase the explanatory power of our understandings of the mediatized society.

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