

Förord

Den 14:e Nordiska Konferensen för Medie- och Kommunikationsforskning ägde rum i Kungälv, Sverige, den 14-17 augusti 1999, i ett strålande sommarväder. Vård för konferensen var *Föreningen för svensk medie- och kommunikationsforskning* (FSMK). Drygt 350 forskare från Danmark, Finland, Island, Norge och Sverige samlades vid Nordiska Folkhögskolan i Kungälv för att diskutera pågående forskning och forskningsresultat. I konferensen deltog också ett tiotal forskare från de baltiska staterna – Estland, Lettland och Litauen. Även en mindre rysk forskningsgrupp från St Petersburg fanns med under konferensdagarna.

Konferensen innefattade möten i arbetsgrupper, plenarsessioner och en rad sociala och kulturella programpunkter. Frågan *Var ligger forskningsfronten?* var tema för konferensen och framförallt de två plenarsessionerna präglades av denna frågeställning. För att få en internationell utblick hade två väl kända medieforskare i det internationella forskarsamhället inbjudits: professorerna *Sonia Livingstone*, Department of Psychology, London School of Economics and Political Science, och *Horace Newcomb*, Department of Radio-Television-Film, University of Texas at Austin. Ett antal nordiska medieforskare förmedlade också reflektioner kring konferenstemat.

De nordiska konferenserna är av stort värde för utvecklingen av medie- och kommunikationsforskningen i de enskilda nordiska länderna. Konferensens *arbetsgrupper* är i detta avseende särskilt viktiga. Drygt 170 papers presenterades och diskuterades denna gång i 20 olika arbetsgrupper:

Medier och global kultur	Receptions- och publikforskning
Mediernas struktur och ekonomi	Börn, unge og medier
Multimedier og Internett	Mediepedagogik
Lokala och regionala medier	Populärkultur
Mediehistoria	Film- og TV-fiktion
Public service i förändring	Bilden i medierna – verklighet och bildspråk
Radioforskning	Mediernas språk och retorik
Politisk kommunikation	Mediernas konstruktion av kön
Journalistikforskning	Public relations/planerad kommunikation
Nyhetsförmedlingens sociologi och estetik	Medierad risk- och kriskommunikation

Detta nummer av *Nordicom-Information* innehåller samtliga plenaranföranden samt redovisning av presenterade papers. På grundval av konferensen har ett antal papers omarbetats till artiklar för publicering på engelska i en särskild antologi, utgiven av Nordicom, i syfte att visa på den nordiska medieforskningens bredd och fördjupning.

Ansaret för genomförandet av de nordiska konferenserna är tredelat. Övergripande frågor som konferenstema, talare i plenum, arbetsgrupper samt deltagaravgift behand-

las av en nordisk arbetsgrupp, som inför konferensen i Kungälv bestod av Lars-Åke Engblom (ordförande) och Bengt Johansson, Göteborgs universitet, Henrik Søndergaard, Köpenhamns universitet, Raimo Salokangas, Jyväskylä universitet, Thorbjörn Broddason, Islands universitet, Ola Erstad, Universitetet i Oslo och Ulla Carlsson, Nordicom. Det är de nationella forskarföreningarna som utser representanterna i denna grupp.

FSMK (Föreningen för svensk medie- och kommunikationsforskning) var ansvarig på nationell nivå för arrangemangen medan själva genomförandet av konferensen låg på en särskild organisationskommitté bestående av Lars-Åke Engblom (ordförande), Bengt Johansson (sekreterare), Ulla Carlsson och Lennart Weibull, samtliga verksamma vid Göteborgs universitet, samt Lars-Åke Larsson (samordning av arbetsgrupper) från Örebro universitet.

Värd för nästa konferens, den femtonde i ordningen, är Islands medieforskare och konferensen äger rum i Reykjavik den 10-13 augusti, 2000.

Göteborg i maj 2000

Ulla Carlsson
Nordicom

On the Cutting Edge, or Otherwise, of Media and Communication Research

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Research at the forefront, new fields for research, the cutting edge? Given this rather ambitious and possibly grandiose brief, I began by asking around among my colleagues for their views, I kept my ears open at the recent ICA in San Francisco, so as to listen out for the new ideas in the air before they reached the always-delayed publication stage, and I scanned recent issues of the media and communication journals. But while the ICA was full of interesting ideas and people, I did not detect any major new orientations. Similarly, my colleagues looked rather blank when asked for the cutting edge in media research. And the journals are, by and large, publishing the same kinds of articles on the same kinds of subjects as they always do.

In this brief paper, I offer some general remarks about the state of media and communications research, using audience research as my example. These remarks focus on the disciplinary status and ambitions of media and communications research, and are certainly not intended as any kind of attack media and communications research or researchers: there is a huge amount of interesting, valuable, productive and thought-provoking research going on across many fronts, though in the main, I see it as contributing more to the task of consolidation rather than of innovation.

By contrast, if we consider how the study of media and communications fits into the rest of social and cultural debate, there are, I suggest, two widely acknowledged cutting edges, both of which have a strong interface with media and communications. One states that social theory is where the action is: obvious and important examples include the theory of late modernity, globalisation, the public sphere, individualisation, network society, post-Colonial theory and ethnic or cultural diaspora. Primarily but not entirely arising from the engagement between continental philosophy and sociological theory, this interdisciplinary enterprise is generating a new set of concepts for thinking about the importance of media and communications, among other things, in a globalised world (Giddens, 1991; Thompson, 1995). The other states that new technological developments in media, information and communication technologies now lead social research: hence the return of medium theory, the shift towards studies of users rather than of audiences, research on interactivity at the interface between interpersonal and mass

communication, on hypertext and the end of linear narrative; basically, research on the Internet.

These two cutting edges are, of course, increasingly related – the Internet is closely linked to globalisation, digital television promotes and is promoted by individualised consumerism, interactive video games depend on the pleasures of virtual participation, etc. – whether we see technology as shaping or shaped by cultural processes of late modernity. In short, it will hardly be news if I draw the conclusion that developments in social theory, and developments in technology, are now the key drivers of innovation within media and communications research and elsewhere.

While they are, as ‘cutting edges’, clearly very different kinds of influence on research, they are similar insofar as both undermine two premises on which much media and communications scholarship has been established. First, they challenge the view that media and communications should represent a discipline; i.e. not just an *ad hoc* collection of approaches addressing a common problem but a self-sustaining, theory-generating, data-accumulating autonomous discipline, institutionalised through journals, departments, conferences, careers. Instead, it looks at present as if other social sciences are driving media and communications.

Second, they challenge the view that media and communications should set its own agenda according to social and cultural considerations, rather than following the agenda set for it by technological developments, tracing the social changes brought about by technological determinants. Right now, it seems that we are tracking the new media, especially the Internet, being led by what’s technologically new rather than what’s socially new (Livingstone, 1999). Meanwhile, our main expertise looks rather dated, being concentrated on mass media, especially, television: we know most about mass culture, public service, national broadcasting, well-established genres, and so forth.

In other words, while both social theory and new technologies are posing exciting and productive questions for media and communications researchers, I am suggesting that the effect – in practice though not of necessity – supports the view that media and communications represents not a discipline but a diverse set of phenomena, informed by social theory, bounded by technology. Informed by social theory, bounded by technology: if this is a fair conclusion at least as far as the cutting edge goes, let me consider these two conclusions in turn.

Informing, or Informed by, the Larger Social Scientific Enterprise?

Forefront of what? Is acceptable for the theoretical innovations and impetus to come from outside media and communications? For if we accept this, then the cutting edge, the research at the forefront, though it may be conducted by its researchers, will be research at the forefront not of media and communications but of political science or psychology or history or anthropology.

Perhaps it may be considered that the benefits to media and communication research are sufficiently great: that this is the kind of interdisciplinarity which is exciting, not undermining, of media and communications (as a field), and that social theory does indeed offer the potential to overcome the traditional divides against which scholars have railed for so long – qualitative and quantitative, humanities and social science, theoretical and empirical, critical and administrative.

If so, I would ask, more ambitiously, whether we can make the argument stick that media and communications is not just another domain for the application of social

theory but one that actually plays a key theoretical role in the conditions and processes of late modernity identified by social theorists. In other words, that we cannot conceptualise the workings of the public sphere, or of cultural processes of individualisation, or of globalisation, or consumerism, or of information networks, without articulating a key role for the media? This, surely, would be research at the forefront, and research which might have a chance of making it clear to those outside media research why our analysis of the media is valuable, powerful, and not simply to be reinvented from the outside.

Yet at present, those working in fields bordering our own, from economics to political science to sociology and social theory, the media are little discussed and media research even less so, while attempts to generate more funding for media research in relation to consumption, leisure, identity, community, social exclusion, etc. are seen as low priority by national funders. For example, frustratingly for those of us interested in audiences, the 'implied audience' is generally rendered invisible within, say, discussions of which new media technologies will 'take off' or which public policies will 'be acceptable' or which political arguments will 'work' (Livingstone, 1998a). Yet none of this is seen as problematic.

Interestingly, this relative neglect of our field – especially noteworthy at a time of increased interdisciplinarity – is generating a crisis of confidence within the field. For example, the argument for radical contextualism in the field of audience research (Radway, 1988) has led to the curious charge of 'media-centrism' being levelled at media researchers, problematic in leading us away from texts and audiences though valuable for integrating us with others interested in people, or families or citizens more generally (Schrøder, 1994). Indeed, there is a sense in which many media researchers are genuinely not very interested in the media. Very often we find that when the research gets really interesting, it is because the issues at stake concern not media but democracy, or culture, or social exclusion, or gender, or just the endlessly fascinating practices of everyday life. Again the problem of disciplinarity arises: for concepts of democracy, or culture, or inequality, and so forth are often more effectively theorised elsewhere and we, as media researchers, may lack the expertise to do this, unless we are also, originally perhaps, a something else (psychologist, anthropologist, sociologist (- ever less the case as media and communications is becomes widespread at undergraduate level).

Media and Communications: Bounded by Technology?

Perhaps one reason which partly explains why we appear unconvincing to those outside, is that we appear to be stuck with the *ad hoc* collection of objects included in the category of 'media'. For what, apart from technology, holds together such diverse questions as regulating the BBC, integrating the Internet into schools, identifying the pleasures of video games for children, questioning the political agenda setting role of the press or recognising the role of music in peer culture? Hence, I would also ask, is it acceptable for the phenomena we study to be defined by technology, and thus to change as technologies change?

For if what holds our field together is defined in lay terms (and the public does not doubt what the media are though they may be surprised at how we study them), or in technological terms (i.e. technical innovations, with an associated cluster of institutional producers and regulators), then we should not be surprised that our starting point is often not theoretical but rather the desire to contradict public moral panics or to counter the technological (or sometimes, economic) determinism of inventors and policy-makers. Certainly, I observe that much media research relating to children and young

people often starts – sometimes with considerable frustration – with a repudiation of public anxieties or moral panics surrounding the issue. And similarly today, much work on new media begins by critiquing the technological determinist hype accompanying the introduction of these media. While such a repudiation or critique is often justified, it both distracts us from the careful construction of a theoretical starting point and leads us to underplay, or even reject, the valid expectation upon academic researchers that we should address issues of public concern.

This kind of starting point often leads us to assert, straightforwardly, that the media have never been so important, so all-encompassing, so all-pervasive, that the public are very concerned about their impact, and so we are working in the right field, our task being to chart how media are penetrating every aspect of life. Doubtless, this is how many of us open our lectures and articles. But this assertion remains agnostic about the significance of media studies or media science as a discipline. For when asked for our agreed theoretical premises, our standards and procedures for empirical methodology, our significant historical thinkers or, crudely, our unique selling point, we become less confident, and our guiding principles appear unresolved. Such a lack of resolution may itself be productive, and at times in media and communications research this in itself has been the cutting edge – bringing together qualitative and quantitative, humanities and social science, administrative and critical, text and audience, political economy and the culture of everyday life – but right now I think this excitement is fading.

If we try to rectify matters through the concept of the *media*, I suggest no real defence is possible. The study of media is a multidisciplinary collection of ideas, findings and middle-range insights which has a worthy history, which has produced a valuable body of knowledge, and which represents a legitimate specialism for an academic career or programme of study. But it is not a self-sustaining discipline. I say this in the knowledge that interdisciplinarity has also, in recent years, provided a cutting edge across the academy, making my concern with disciplinarity possibly old-fashioned (though I would argue that the case for interdisciplinarity has been somewhat over-blown and that it has proved somewhat less successful institutionally than the initial radical claims made for it).

However, in relation to *communication*, a defence can be mounted, and many have done this. In Britain, the term ‘communication science’ has relatively little meaning, but in America it is far more successful; perhaps the same is the case in the Nordic countries? The defence would assert, I think, that the key processes of communication – meaning, influence, interpretation, persuasion, relationship, institutionalisation, identity, and so forth – do refer to important debates, genuine intellectual histories, self-sustaining research programmes, and so forth. But necessarily, this includes interpersonal communication as central and only as a matter of contingency does it include the media.

Learning from a Past Cutting Edge: The Case of Audience Research

Perhaps one can only identify significant developments or emerging themes in retrospect. We might look back rather than forward, and ask what the previous cutting edges have been, and, when we identify them, whether they delivered what they promised and so turned out to be a good thing in the end. To illustrate some of these points, consider what has happened in audience studies.

Ten years ago, audience research – together perhaps with cultural studies, the public sphere, and feminist theory – was surely at the cutting edge of media and communica-

tions. It was exciting, innovative in theory and methodology, stimulating for researchers outside the field as well as inside. Thus I would contrast my presently rather gloomy view with the mood I observed in conferences during the 1980s, ICA among them, where audience research, particularly reception studies, was the focus of considerable interest, and also with conferences in the early 1990s, where the ethnographic turn had taken over and was the subject of excited debate. Today, many of the then-influential audience researchers have left the field. And when a colleague canvassed opinion on the merits of starting an academic journal on audiences the feedback was ‘no’, the heyday of the audience is over, and researchers hardly believe in the concept of the audience any more. It is a concept firstly tied to just one technology, namely broadcast television, secondly tied to a dated conception of mass society, thirdly so overextended as to have lost its value, and fourthly corrupted by the commercial and administrative agendas of media institutions.

While I disagree with this pessimism, the critical debate has been valuable (Livingstone, 1998b). I do not find it plausible that audiences have wholly transmuted into new media users, or wholly dissipated into the everyday contexts of domestic life, or never existed in the first place except as the malevolent invention of the broadcasting industry: yet somehow they have become, again, somehow optional. However, I would be more inclined to agree that insofar as recent audience research has not just been research on audiences – valid, interesting, informative – but also research at the cutting edge, its success contained the seeds of its downfall.

It seemed to be making claims about political resistance which caught the attention of political scientists, and then failed to impress. It seemed to be making claims about identity and the pleasures of consumption, which caught the mood of cultural studies but then became indistinguishable from consumption studies generally and no longer much to do with media specifically. And it seemed to be opening up an exciting interface with literary studies, but lost its purchase and now they – with at times a rather cavalier approach to empirical methods – are reinventing what we already knew about audience interpretation.

All these and other disciplines on the interface with audience research thrived on the excitement of a cutting edge, and possibly – the jury is still out – each gained from it within their own discipline. But none saw it as their task to build up, to inform or further develop, a core body of research on audiences *per se*. The result is that, after some years of vigorous activity, it is still not easy to refer clearly to audience theory (possibly a conservative ambition on my part) or to collect together the main empirical studies beyond those which have become canonical (Livingstone, 1998b). In the language of bureaucratic management, while more usually media and communications is a net importer (citing other disciplines but less cited ourselves), for the duration of the cutting edge moment in audience research, we became net exporters. I think the same is happening again over excitement with the Internet. But in the long run, neither does us much good, for both situations are unbalanced.

The Future for Audience Research

Where does this lead audience research? From a theoretical point of view, I think the stress should indeed be on communication rather than on media, as I suggested above. Instead of asking what audiences, conceived as an artificial reification of a particular technological interface, are really like, we could better conceptualise ‘audience’ as a re-

lational or interactional construct, a way of focusing on the diverse relationships among people mediated by historically and culturally specific technological forms (see Livingstone, 1998a). Our central concern would then be that of communication, and our media-centrism would represent a legitimate specialism in the context of other communication scholars looking at other forms of communication. On this view, the audience becomes a shorthand way of pointing to ways in which people stand in relationship to each other, rather than a thing of which people may or may not be a member and whose peculiar ways must be discovered. The advantage, from my point of view, is that this reading of audience research puts audiences at the centre of media and communication research, rather than locating them – or worse, deferring their study – as the last stage in a long chain of more interesting events.

The new media are changing this anyway. For example, in a paper about content analysis some years ago I thought I was being mildly challenging in arguing for audience-centred categories; i.e. for analysing texts in terms of audience reception rather than first analysing texts and then asking if audiences get it right or not (Livingstone, 1989). Now, as I face a new project on Internet users I find we have no choice but to do this, for to analyse the text in advance is impossible. We can only reach the text through an analysis of the user's selections, sequencing, generic classification and interpretation of contents, and even that is not easy.

Charting the possibilities and problems for communication, or relations among people, insofar as these are undermined or facilitated, managed or reconstituted by the media, does seem to me a challenging agenda, though maybe not a cutting edge. However, it might interface effectively with the many and diverse debates around social theory, where questions of communication can sit happily among discussions of information, public, identity, technology, risk, globalisation, and so forth. However, from the point of view of the field of media and communications as it negotiates its relation to neighbouring disciplines, funding competitions, evolving policy agendas and the public interest, I also think it legitimate to set our agenda according to the cutting edge of new media technologies.

Most simply, our concepts, methods and experience will serve perfectly well in the enterprise of tracking the ramifications in everyday life of changing media and communication technologies: it is near impossible to figure out what the Internet will be or will mean in a few years time, but describing its current forms and uses can only be valuable. But more ambitiously, as media and communication research comes to terms with the end of the dominance of mass communication and the growth of more diverse forms of communication technologies, our task changes commensurately, and we must ask how far we can draw on what we know of communication, especially of mass communication, in researching the new media environment.

In short, our job is no longer that of charting how the predictable mass audience gets on with the business of making sense of what it's given. In the early days of television, the household acquired a single television set, placed it in the living room, and negotiated how they were going to use it. On the screen you could view one, or perhaps a few, national channels, each intended to appeal to the entire public, each broadcast during much, but not all, of the day according to a fixed and familiar schedule. Under these circumstances, it was clear that the interesting questions concerned texts (as each nation transferred its cultural traditions onto the screen) rather than contexts (which were relatively homogenous and deeply familiar), just as it was also more interesting or pressing

to consider questions about ideology rather than conditions of production, and about effects rather than lifestyle.

Today, households are acquiring multiple television sets along with the capacity for multiple channels and, in lesser proportion, multiple video recorders, personal computers, telephones, and now the Internet. And we have shifted our focus so as to study the diversifying conditions of production, along with their economic and policy considerations, studying also the contexts of use and associated lifestyle choices. This means shifting from the mass to the interactive, from a single medium to inter-linked media, from public service to diverse, more commercialised forms of content delivery, from the national to both global and local, etc.

Does this invalidate our knowledge of the mass audience and the mass media? How far are we seeing a radical switch to the new, and how far are old and new co-existent, or even mutually transformative? And what about the audience? It seems fair to observe that in key ways, people are becoming users rather than just audiences insofar as new media and information technologies open up new modes of engagement with media – playing computer games, surfing the Internet, using the computer, etc, while the term, audience only really satisfactorily covers the activities of listening and watching. Yet this admission complicates rather than simplifies. For if the crisis over the concept of the audience focused on the apparent untenability of the central concept of watching television – how can we define it, measure it, place boundaries around it, and in whose interest is it if we do so anyway? – these problems are magnified in the face of an innovating and diversifying media environment.

However, what we know already about television audience reception may yet prove illuminating for new media, for example, allowing us to go beyond the ill-defined and excessively-hyped concept of ‘interactivity’ by applying well-established concepts which draw on semiotics, on theories of genre, narrative, openness or modality, on a history of the textual and social management of spectatorship, on a social psychology of interpretative resources, and so forth. Once again, if I may eschew the grandeur of a cutting edge, I will end by suggesting that these questions represent an interesting challenge.

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Searching for Landmarks at the Forefront of Media Research

HORACE NEWCOMB

Identifying innovative and commanding work that directs or redirects research and scholarship in communication studies is more difficult than for many other areas. This is so, I maintain, precisely because ours is not a discipline. Those of us who prefer the concept of a “field” to describe the broad focus of our efforts use the term in two ways. One is the common usage, the conventional sense of an area of study. The other, the one I prefer, is more metaphorical. Used in this sense our activity can be described as attempts to make our way across broad expanses.

Some areas are marked and fenced, clearly bounded. Sometimes these areas are even more severely restricted as in the culture of my youth. Hunters knew that land owners could place signs along the boundaries of their property, identifying it as “Posted.” This meant that no hunter could legally cross onto that land, or could do so only with special permission. (To pre-figure some of my later comments, I will suggest here that in intellectual activity, it is often the poachers, those who transgress such boundaries, who end up providing truly innovative scholarship and research.)

Other areas of “the field” are open, however, inviting all who would so attempt to explore, map, and measure. These open areas, of course, are not without their own dangers. Those who venture there may find themselves in swamps or bogs, buried forever in questions without answers. But other areas are well-defined, cultivated, planted, and fertilized. Here, planting and re-planting occurs in familiar furrows. For the most part, successful work in such areas is best described as improvement and refinement, and this is significant, because even here there is no such thing as a predictable harvest.

But our work is not defined by metaphors. Our focus is on hard problems, on issues related to the lived experience of citizens throughout the world. Communication technologies, the messages, meanings and issues carried within them, and the problems and promises attendant to those complex phenomena are among the most fundamental and important in societies and cultures everywhere. At one time, perhaps, many of us felt assured of how best to study those issues, problems, and promises. We could measure and evaluate the content of media messages, consider the effects of mediated material, the policies regulating practices, the economics, both classical and political, enabling and restraining communication. Later approaches challenged these boundaries. They focused

on variable responses as well as effects, on forms of expression as well as institutional practices, on cases rather than abstract economic or social functions. The newer approaches were, for the most part, defined by what some scholars considered deficiencies within existing modes of research and analysis. Work was often developed on the assumption that wrong (or put more generously), flawed, questions had been asked. These challenges to received approaches, contributed to what I would refer to as the “theory wars,” discussions and debates that wracked many fields of study throughout the 70s and into the 80s. These newer approaches vitally refreshed the intellectual soil in which many of us work, and by definition that is for me one kind of cutting edge.

But there is another way to identify such a boundary. From this perspective we must first acknowledge the existence of problems defined not by us, by the intricacies wound within our assumptions or methods, but rather by circumstances altering the very objects of our study. Shifts and changes in the development, application, and deployment of newer communication technologies now demand, I argue, new approaches in our work. I do not mean to suggest here that our tasks should be “determined” by technology. Rather, I am concerned with how we create truly new questions. For me, cutting edge scholarship and research are most often defined by the questions in which they are grounded. To be innovative we must clear a narrow path between questions defined by prior research and questions defined by those who control the industries, technologies, and applications we explore. Moreover, we must acknowledge that questions from both our own histories and from those working within industries are important aids to innovative work.

The new questions must address developments such as the massive expansion of distribution channels, the consequent shifts caused in both commercial and public service sectors of electronic communication, the policy challenges faced by regulators resulting from these changes, the global convergence of ownership and the creation of media conglomerates dominating the newer media environments. I also refer to potential convergences among technologies, most of which are linked in some fashion to digital transmission via the internet. We must re-examine and perhaps redefine what we mean by very familiar terms such as “mass,” “audience” or “media text” or even “media industry.” We must rethink what we mean by concepts such as “the public sphere.” We may have to invent new formulas for analyzing economic structures and certainly we will have to reconsider our approaches to “political economy.” Some aspects of all these factors surely remain the same, but some are new and the overall mix seems at the moment to be in constant transition.

“Cutting edge” research asks, depends on, or suggests the right questions about these changes and the material and conceptual implications resulting from them. This does not always mean, however, that cutting edge research is totally dependent on the “newest” work. Rather, it often indicates an appropriation and a new application of previous work now seen to have unexpected significance. Let me illustrate these propositions with examples related, for the most part, to my interests in television studies.

In order to develop suitable questions for a new wave or research it is necessary to describe and attempt to define the circumstances surrounding our work. This is especially difficult if one seeks to meld questions of technology and economics with complicated issues of aesthetics and expressive culture; story-telling, representation, narration, and technique. Both the difficulties and the promise of such attempts, however, can be found in two works that are, for me, ground breaking. The first is John Thornton Caldwell’s 1995 book, *Televisuality: Style, Crisis, and Authority in American Television*.¹ There

Caldwell develops his theory of “televisuality,” or “excessive style,” as a new mode of television production, narration, and programming. He presents televisuality as the outcome of the crisis noted in his title, a crisis caused by increasing pressure on American network television from greatly increased competition: new distribution systems such as cable, satellite, and home video, and other technologies such as the remote control device. Television producers and distributors, however, were fortunate that at the time of the crisis, they were also given access to new technologies of production with which to reinvent (or at least perform cosmetic surgery on) themselves. The Steadicam, lightweight field equipment, digital recording and post-production devices, digital compositing systems and many other machines made possible a stunning range of visual effects and narrational experimentation. Caldwell makes no claim that the “crisis” he cites has ended. Nor does he argue for shifts in the goals and intentions of U.S. network television – the creation of capital through the sale of audiences to advertisers. The point, however, is that he and others have defined fundamental changes in the U.S., and in my view, world television systems. *Televisuality*, then, presents what I consider one of the best descriptions of what Caldwell and others refer to as “post-network television,” a new industrial and cultural formation. One key aspect of televisuality is that we must acknowledge that practitioners, the makers of television, are often as theoretically informed about the consequences of these new devices as we are. This newer configuration of production, distribution, and reception of television alters most if not all aspects of what we have studied in the past and Caldwell’s assessment of the new situation is mixed.

So, too, is that of Michael Curtin who explores similar themes in a recent article in the *Journal of Communication*, “Feminine Desire in the Age of Satellite Television.”² Curtin is less certain than Caldwell regarding the passing of the network era, and prefers the term “neo-network television” to describe current conditions. His definition echoes Caldwell in outlining the problems we face and some of the ways in which we should explore them.

... two strategies are now at work in the culture industries. One focuses on mass cultural forms aimed at broad national or global markets that demand low involvement and are relatively apolitical (e.g., Hollywood films or broadcast television)... By comparison, those products targeted at niche audiences actively pursue intensity. They seek out audiences that are more likely to be highly invested in a particular form of cultural expression. These firms do not aim to change niche groups. They aim instead to situate their products within them. Among industry executives, these are referred to as products with “edge.” ...

We are therefore witnessing the organization of huge media conglomerates around the so-called synergies that exploit these two movements. This is what I refer to as the neo-network era, an era characterized by the multiple and asynchronous distribution of cultural forms.³

Curtin also refers to this situation as characterizing an era of “indeterminacy” within media and culture industries, and suggests that “We need to recognize that gaps, contradictions, and inconsistencies are much more characteristic of this era than what might be suggested by more common representations of highly integrated media juggernauts run by powerful moguls like Rupert Murdoch.”⁴ Curtin concludes with the argument that “An understanding of the neo-network era asks us to rethink our assumptions about the homogenizing power of global media conglomerates, pressing us instead to explore

this terrain as a site of contest, and a productive space within civil society. Such an approach neither denies corporate power or uncritically celebrates popular culture. Instead it suggests how scholarly criticism might help us identify locations in which to construct alternative images of feminine desire.”⁵ I would add that these newer material conditions also place communication studies in a similar “era of indeterminacy,” and that many topics – feminine desire is only one example – are now open to reconsideration in the age of new media formations. What these analyses also suggest is that we must reconsider not only our individual or cultural attention to television from the standpoint of representations and meanings, but also in more formal, political senses.

And this leads to my second set of cutting edge examples. One of the discussions I have found most interesting in recent years is that surrounding the topic of “Cultural Policy.”⁶ Most strongly put forward by Tony Bennett and other scholars in Australia, the call for a “turn” to cultural policy studies was narrowly focused at an early moment by a phrase Bennett later modified. I refer to his call for scholar/teachers to assist in the creation of “cultural technicians.” However unfortunate the phrase later proved to be, it did indicate a primary concern for researchers: how does our work have applied, immediate significance in public life? Addressing this question required a reconsideration of the history of “cultural studies,” a critique of cultural studies’s focus on “textual studies,” and a strong move into areas such as museum policy, arts funding, and so on, areas somewhat removed from the heavy emphasis on “media” that had informed much work done in the name of cultural studies.

The specific debates flowing around the “cultural policy” topic seem to me to have subsided somewhat, but they are, in my opinion, now more fully applicable than ever before in the realm of mass communication studies. They are necessary because of changes in both the European public service and in the commercial broadcasting systems in the U.S. and other countries. Just as the representations cited by Curtin have become unstable in an era of rapid technological developments, so too have policies and economic foundations. In many ways, for the first time, the two types of system are closer together than ever before, because both now face the fact that “policy” is being made not by governments but by corporations. This has long been the case in the U.S., of course, but new forces and events have made it more evident than ever. To deal with such a situation we must reconsider definitions of policy. If “policy” merely refers to governmental actions, there is little to say other than to chart responses and changes. If, however, policy is defined in terms of how boundaries are set, answers to those questions should be found on a cutting edge.

Little research exists in this area, but one probe should be cited here. Patricia Aufderheide’s *Communication Policy and the Public Interest* does not always define terms in new ways.⁷ But it is a thorough exploration of the implications of the U.S. Telecommunications Act of 1996. In showing how the Act becomes the site of struggle among competing definitions of “public interest” Auderheide begins a new approach to the analysis of policy in the present economic and technological contexts in the U.S. Moreover, that legislation has both implicit and explicit consequences for global communications industries as well.

A third set of questions pointing toward a cutting edge comes from geographic and cultural regions long taken for granted as entirely beyond the fringe, cultures and societies often framed narrowly as on the “receiving end” of mass communication, developing nations throughout the world. These locations have often been figured as victims of global media systems, ripe for homogenization and subjugation. Scholarship from

within those regions, however, challenges such easy notions. I will cite only a few examples here. Again, the examples are not particularly new, but the questions they frame have recently taken on new significance.

Néstor García-Canclini's *Hybrid Cultures: Strategies for Entering and Leaving Modernity*,⁸ was first published in Spanish in 1989, and translated only in 1995. Exemplary of a much larger body of his work in Spanish, this text explores specific situations in Mexico and Latin America. Some of the concepts he presents are developed even more fully in work I would add to his, that of Jesús Martín-Barbero whose concept of *mestizajes* captures my point best. First published in 1993, Martín-Barbero's study cites a time ten years earlier, a time when he and other researchers were entering a new stage of awareness as media researchers. His realization is worth quoting at some length.

We suddenly became aware that virtually nothing of the way people work out the meaning of their lives, the way they communicate and use the media, could fit into our predetermined schema. Put in another way, the social and political processes of those years – authoritarian regimes in almost all of South America, continuous liberation movements in Central America, enormous migrations of the leaders of politics, the arts and social research fleeing into exile – all tended to undermine the old certainties. For the first time, many people came out of the world of academia and government planning offices and had to confront the cultural reality of these countries: the new combinations and syntheses – the *mestizajes* – that reveal not just the racial mixture that we come from but the interweaving of modernity and the residues of various cultural periods, the mixture of social structures and sentiments. We became aware of the memories and images that blend together the indigenous Indian roots with a campesino culture, the rural with the urban, the folkloric with popular culture, and the popular with the new mass culture.⁹

The point I wish to assert here is that even in the single decade since 1989 newer communication technologies and configurations of those technologies have, to a degree, transformed all our cultures into hybrid cultures, that the mixtures described by Martín-Barbero in 1993, in countries and cultures far from where most of us experience our lives, are those we live among. Other evidence of these alterations and adjustments from other regions can be found in the work of David Morley and Kevin Robbins and of my colleague, John Downing.¹⁰ Focusing on Europe, especially on newer national and regional developments since the collapse of the Soviet Union, these scholars illustrate both the inadequacies and new directions for received media research. And lest the argument be raised that none of this cultural blending and mixing is the case for the U.S., I will assert that 50+ channels of cable television have increasingly led to the exhibition of the huge variations of cultural experience lodged in that geographical expanse, that the “edginess” cited by Curtin has become a defining feature of production design and programming strategy. But that is another paper.

Clearly, what I have tried to describe as the general configurations of media industries and contexts in contemporary settings is related to what some would refer to as postmodernism. I do not like the term and do not wish to enter debates regarding whether or not contemporary mass media cause, reflect, or exemplify a postmodern condition. I do, however, find it interesting that even one of the master theorists of postmodernism finds himself somewhat mired in paradox when facing changes in contemporary culture, changes intensified by contemporary mass media. In a recent article, “Notes on Globalization as a Philosophical Issue,” Fredric Jameson wrestles with con-

flicting views on the value of high art and mass culture, on the values of nationalism as a unified concept in light of the great variety of differentiated cultural experience enhanced by transnational mass media.¹¹ Defenders of “nationalism” he suggests often mount their cause, linking certain types of art and politics, in order to conceive of “a great collective or national political project such as was envisioned on the Left and on the Right during the modernist period.”¹² Such positions intend to oppose “the encroachments of the world market, of transnational capitalism along with the great capital-lending power centers of the so called first-world.”¹³ Then comes a problem for opposition:

That in the process [of mounting such opposition] it must also oppose the dispersals of a postmodern mass culture then places it in contradiction with those for whom only the activation of a truly grassroots culture of multiplicities and differences can oppose, first the national state itself, and then presumably what lies beyond it in the outside world (even though, paradoxically, it is often elements of that outside and transnational mass culture that are appropriated for such resistances: Hollywood films being sometimes the source of resistance to internal hegemony as well as the form external hegemony ultimately takes.)¹⁴

Jameson resolves his quandary to some degree with a turn to Hegel and an application of the dialectic. Still, his concluding comment, calling on all of us to make a similar turn, exhibits some of the problems we face in the study of communication. I have included this example primarily because it points to the necessity for defining precise questions in order to map our search for cutting edge scholarship. I believe Jameson indicates an excellent set of questions, even if his answers are, if not predictable, somewhat familiar.

Another essay in the same collection offers a related perspective, but also provides, in my estimation, a more powerful indication of the cutting edge.¹⁵ It is not coincidental that the author, Alberto Moreiras, is a Latin Americanist and that his essay returns again to issues echoing those explored by García-Canclini and Martín-Barbero.

Although he is not primarily a media scholar, much of his commentary on relations among regions, nations, and cultures speaks directly to the situations in which we seek a new compass for our field. The problem, as put by Moreiras, is to find a way to discover the “outside” of the global. For if there is no outside, then pessimism – the drowning of cultural distinction in the homogenized ocean of indifference – is the only conclusion. But Moreiras and the scholars and researchers he follows will not accept such a negative conclusion. Instead, they turn the negative critique back onto the dominant order, they locate, create, and map interstitial or peripheral spaces from which to respond, appropriate, and contest. He refers to these cultural spaces as “folds” within the larger global culture, not outside it exactly, but folded into it as valleys are folded into the heavy terrain of mountains, as arroyos and gullies are folded into the flatness of the prairie, as alleyways are folded into urban grids. “This would be a thinking of historical disjuncture,” Moreiras says, “where a dialectical relationship between negation and affirmation may not quite obtain. Globality may not be overcome or arsoned by ‘interstitial sparks,’ but spaces of coexistence may be implemented, folds within the global system, where an exterior to totality emerges as the site of a possible, concrete freedom...”¹⁶

I will assume that all of us hope that mediated communication and our studies of it will somehow contribute to fields cultivating sites of possible, concrete freedom. I believe we are now at a moment when opportunities for those sites might be realized, though it is also a moment when more and more of them could be closed off. The works I have cited here offer strong pointers for exploring our fields in new ways but few pre-

cise markers guide us. We have no detailed maps of the folded landscapes of our cultures. I believe scholarship and research on the forefront should always be like this. The grand moment is always the one when we cannot quite see over the next hill or around the bend in the road – because we know, in spite of uncertainty, that is where we still must go.

Notes

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3. Ibid., p. 60.
4. Ibid., p. 62.
5. Ibid., p. 68.
6. See among others, Bennett, Tony, *Culture : A Reformer's Science*. London; Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage, 1998. Cunningham, Stuart, *Framing Culture: Criticism And Policy in Australia*. Allen & Unwin, 1992. McGuigan, Jim, *Culture and the Public Sphere*. London; New York. Routledge, 1996. Miller, Toby, *Technologies of Truth: Cultural Citizenship and the Popular Media*. Minneapolis; London: University of Minnesota Press, 1998.
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8. García-Canclini, Nestor. *Hybrid Cultures Strategies for Entering and Leaving Modernity*. Trans. By Christopher L. Chiappari and Silvia L. Lopez; foreword by Renato Rosaldo. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995.
9. Martín-Barbero, Jesús. *Communication, Culture and Hegemony: From the Media to Mediations*. London, Newbury Park, New Delhi: Sage, 1993, pp. 1-2.
10. Morley, David and Kevin Robbins. *Spaces of Identity: Global Media, Electronic Landscapes, and Cultural Boundaries*. London: Routledge, 1995. Downing, John. *Internationalizing Media Theory*. London, Newbury Park, New Delhi: Sage, 1996.
11. In Fredric Jameson and Masao Miyoshi, editors, *The Cultures of Globalization*. Durham, North Carolina and London: Duke University Press, 1998.
12. P. 75.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid.
15. Moreiras, Alberto. "Global Fragments: A Second Latinamericanism." In Fredric Jameson and Masao Miyoshi, editors, *The Cultures of Globalization*. Durham, North Carolina and London: Duke University Press, 1998, 81.102.
16. Ibid., p. 94.

On the Edge

A Meta-Analysis of the State of Media and Communication Research

KLAUS BRUHN JENSEN

In 1983, the *Journal of Communication* published its now famous theme issue, entitled 'Ferment in the Field,' which took stock of approximately three decades of media and communication studies, and outlined an agenda for further research. One of the contributions summed up a skeptical position in its title: "What Ferment?" (de Sola Pool, 1983). The author, Ithiel de Sola Pool, went further:

I wish there were some ferment, but I fail to find it. Fermentation is a productive process; the enzymes produce a feisty brew. Is current communications research in ferment, or is it at a dead end? Is anything new and productive being done, or are we treading water? My answer is an optimistic one, but more because of what the world is doing to the discipline than because of what is happening within the discipline. (p. 258)

These questions serve as a reminder that, whatever metaphor one chooses, the notion of research in 'ferment,' at 'the forefront,' or on 'the cutting edge' is inherently controversial. The answers, whether optimistic or not, similarly carry theoretical as well as political premises. For example, de Sola Pool assumed that "we" are an established "discipline," rather than the *ad hoc* "field" referred to in the title of the journal issue. But, is there a 'we'? And, is there even a 'field'? What ferment? What field?

Before one begins to identify singular exemplary studies, let alone entire theories or methodologies that might represent the wave of the next millennium, while assigning others to historical oblivion, I propose to examine some of the premises of such an evaluative enterprise. In the first and main portion of this presentation, I take the opportunity of the conference theme to engage in a meta-analysis of what is 'a cutting edge,' with reference to prototypical examples from previous research. Second, I begin to confront the question of where the cutting edge of media and communication research might be in the future – if the edge and the field both exist.

My own premises for examining those of others, in brief overview, are as follows (see further Jensen, 1995: chaps 9-11). Media and communication researchers established

themselves initially as two distinctive academic subcultures, recalling C.P. Snow's (1964) sensitizing simplification regarding arts and sciences. Much effort has gone into theoretical and methodological reintegration and 'convergence,' particularly since the time of the 'Ferment in the Field' issue, in order to tap the best of both worlds for the production of more, more valid, and more socially relevant knowledge. The current end result of that complex historical development, at least in the Nordic countries, is a 'field' which is on the verge – on the edge – of becoming a 'discipline.' At the core of the field are the various media technologies, their social institutions and characteristic textual genres, even while countries and universities may cut up the field differently: Is film, for example, one medium among others? Is journalism a privileged area of research and professional training, or one of many genres? In terms of the frameworks that produce scientific continuity – departments, journals, conferences, and consultancy to public and private clients – the field of media and communication research is now a *de facto* discipline in the Nordic countries, boasting academic presence as well as public legitimacy. The edge is no longer departmental status, nor even convergence of formerly antagonistic traditions within and between departments, although struggles, not least over the conditions of convergence, remain part of the ongoing business of research (e.g., Rosengren, 1996; Jensen, 1996).

In his 'Ferment' article, Ithiel de Sola Pool (1983) had referred to the common distinction between forces which are internal, respectively external, to scientific research, suggesting that he was optimistic because of "what the world is doing to the discipline" (p. 258), rather than vice versa. While I go on to question the distinction between basic and socially relevant research, this distinction provides a familiar frame in which to assess competing conceptions of 'the edge.' In this first part, I critique four earlier interventions, two each from basic and applied perspectives, returning in the second part to a less critical, more reconstructive discussion of where the field might find its next edge.

What Is a Cutting Edge?

In basic research, a key issue, even the main justification for the existence of the field as such, has been the study of 'effects.' An important resource in this area has been the volume, *Milestones in Mass Communication Research*, subtitled 'Media Effects' and edited by Lowery and DeFleur, whose title explicitly associates it with the notion of a 'cutting edge.' For my present argument, its most interesting aspects are, first, which 'milestones' have been left out and, next, which milestones were moved along the way of its three editions. From the first to the second edition, from 1983 to 1988, the main, relatively uncontroversial change consisted in the addition of two milestones, namely, agenda-setting research (McCombs & Shaw, 1972) and the 1982 status report on television and social behavior from the US National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH, 1982). By the end of the second edition, an interesting reference occurred to what the authors called "the meaning paradigm" (Lowery & DeFleur, 1988: 455). Although their account primarily referred to classical sociology and anthropology, rather than critical and Continental theory, their exploration of 'meaning' in the context of "the social construction of reality" (p. 456) signaled an openness to a variety of theoretical sources and their potential convergence, which was gaining momentum in the 1980s. By the opening of the third edition, however, Lowery and DeFleur had changed their course, with little explanation of what had happened to 'the meaning paradigm':

It is clear [...] that the dominant mode of inquiry – the major methodology – that has been moving the cutting edge of [the] discipline forward is quantitative research conducted within the theoretical perspectives and methodologies of social science. [...] it is the accumulation of quantitative research completed within the guidelines of the scientific method that has made the most significant contribution to our emerging understanding of the process and effects of masscommunication. (Lowery & DeFleur, 1995: xi)

This voice, from deep within American mainstream social science, also echoed in the milestones added to the third edition. Besides a belated recognition of early uses-and-gratifications research on radio soap opera (Herzog, 1944), the addition was “a relatively obscure study of Iowa corn farmers, and the way they took up a new kind of seed,” which arguably led to “a theory of the adoption of innovation” (p. xiii). Whereas this last study might be said to contain seeds of theoretical and methodological innovation, the argument recalls, when seen in the big picture of the past several decades, Jeremy Tunstall’s complaint 30 years ago that “too many American studies are about the magazine reading habits of 50 pig farmers in S. W. Iowa” (Tunstall, 1970: 32). A volume-length review of audience research, employing milestone and cutting-edge terminology, and updated from 1983 to 1995, which lacks coverage of any or all of, for example, *The ‘Nationwide’ Audience* (Morley, 1980), *Reading the Romance* (Radway, 1984), or “The Social Uses of Television” (Lull, 1980), is not on, but over the edge.

If the ‘milestone’ volumes thus are symptomatic of a persistent methodological fundamentalism in their (now self-nominated) dominant paradigm (see also Gitlin, 1978), an equally deep-seated type of limitation has been produced by the theoretical relativism that has been widespread in the other main subculture of media and communication research. A representative position statement from audience studies is Ien Ang’s *Desperately Seeking the Audience* (1991) (see further Jensen, 1991a). Like much of the cultural-studies tradition, Ang aligns herself with the position of Michel Foucault. His seminal work is frequently construed to imply that the very production of scientific knowledge is an act of social violence and that, accordingly, the purpose of critical research must be to show that knowledge, as commonly understood, is literally impossible, in the process deconstructing any other position that dares to know anything specific. This politics of research normally involves a moral condemnation of those who exercise power over their ‘others’ by claiming to know something specific about them. Ang, for one, wanted to rescue television viewers from peplemeters, a new ‘technology of surveillance’ in 1991, which she wanted to replace, not complement, by ethnography, because:

[...] ‘television audience’ is a nonsensical category, for there is only the dispersed, indefinitely proliferating chain of situations in which television audiencehood is practised and experienced – together making up the diffuse and fragmentary social world of actual audiences. (p. 164)

Far from offering the kind of ‘concrete’ understanding of ‘actual’ audiences being promised, this position tends to produce a different kind of reification than the dominant paradigm, this time through abstraction. Meaghan Morris (1990) has pinpointed such a self-serving rhetoric that prides itself of its own reflexivity:

[...] people in modern mediatized societies are complex and contradictory, mass cultural texts are complex and contradictory, therefore people using them produce complex and contradictory culture. (pp. 24-25)

Unless critical researchers are willing to commit themselves also scientifically, by committing virtual violence as they categorize and interpret reality, the likely outcome is an 'endless ethnography' in which the map is as large as the territory – a form of research which has been unable to deliver on its social commitment to counteract real-life violence.

My first two examples, identifying the dual danger of basic research – methodological fundamentalism and theoretical relativism – were drawn from other European and American scholarship, which, to a great extent, has set the agenda for Nordic media and communication research. Beyond the attempt to think globally in its basic studies, the Nordic research community has also acted locally in its applied studies.

Six years ago, the present company had another opportunity, the twentieth anniversary of these Nordic conferences, to take stock of the field through the eyes of younger scholars in dialogue with scholars well-established since 1973. One of the most notable contributions was Frands Mortensen's (1994) personal statement on his itinerary from being a classic intellectual committed to revolution, in part through media research, to being a pragmatic defender of public-service media as the last ditch of social commitment. Apart from being a clear and courageous intervention in itself, his article will be a valuable source when the early history of the field in the Nordic countries is to be written, hopefully before too long. The last few lines of the article, however, could be said to repeat history. Having traced the political and theoretical retreat of 1970s critical studies, Mortensen now turned his own defensive to an offensive against other, especially younger scholars at the same conference, asking "What is *your* project?" (p. 48, my translation KBJ). My own response, then as now, is that I do not have *a* project, and I do not think that I should have *one*, but several projects, depending on where my research orients me, and how it may address the given historical and social context. In my view, the sense of intellectual as well as political retreat stems, in large part, from the momentous miscalculation, now acknowledged by Mortensen and others, of what practical difference critical research might make. I would, additionally, want the procedures of research to be an insulation of sorts from such miscalculations in the future. Although I agree entirely with Frands Mortensen about the value of public-service principles in the current cultural environment, and believe that I, too, can offer evidence to that effect from my own research, I fail to see why this should become *the* project. History might prove Mortensen wrong once again. Even if the purpose of research is to change, rather than describe, the world, what distinguishes research as a reflexive practice from political practice, is that it allows its practitioners to examine several hypotheses, and to be proven wrong, without resorting to a tragic position, personally or professionally. Two disproven hypotheses may ultimately do more for society than one good cause.

Alongside critical activism, research may hope to make a social difference by institutionalizing its efforts around special issues. A recent example of such efforts is the International Clearinghouse on Children and Violence on the Screen, financed by UNESCO and the Swedish Government, organized by Nordicom, and located at the University of Gothenburg. The implicit premises of the organization appear to be that the impact of media representations of violence on children could hardly be anything but negative and, further, that research can document, and should counteract, such adverse impact. In the words of its director, Ulla Carlsson, the Clearinghouse will inform various user groups about "measures and activities which aim to limit gratuitous violence in the media" (Carlsson, 1998: 10), whatever "gratuitous" might mean. Despite the cautious rhetoric of its newsletter and yearbook, the Clearinghouse taps into the broad social concern about media impact, not least on children, which, in past public

debate as well as research, has repeatedly swelled into moral panics (Cohen S., 1972). Furthermore, the Clearinghouse constitutes a marked departure from the original role of Nordicom in documenting and disseminating media research and, more recently, media statistics – a role which has deservedly generated international respect, and which may now benefit the Clearinghouse. To me, the shift raises two concerns. First, although the findings are complicated and mixed, some seventy years of research have not, in my assessment, documented more than marginal effects of media violence on the opinions and behavior of audiences, when all is said and done. Second, a further unstated premise of much work in this area is that the impact of media violence on children should be avoided at almost any cost. By contrast, I find it necessary to state that a severe negative impact on, perhaps even the death of, a number of children may be a price to be paid for media, as for other modern technologies, to be weighed against the benefits on several parameters. One twentieth-century parallel is the automobile, whose effect is far from marginal, and unequivocally documented. The fact that cars kill hundreds of people on Nordic roads every year is accepted in practice as a cost of modern living. My aim is not to be cynical about human suffering, whether on public roads or in private homes, but to suggest other dangers in pretending that, if only more research were available, politicians as well as citizens would know which priorities and value judgments to make in this area.

From one perspective, then, the Clearinghouse amounts to a way of thinking too locally, just as the one-project critical activism constituted a mistaken attempt to act globally. Like the theoretical provincialism of the ‘milestone’ and ‘endless ethnography’ positions, these political provincialisms are not likely, in my opinion, to bring media and communication research to any edge.

Where Is the Cutting Edge?

If one can agree that media and communication research is now a *de facto* discipline, or at least a well-established field, I want to argue, in this second part, that its cutting edge is located neither in specific theoretical debates, nor in socially committed research as traditionally understood. Rather, the cutting edge may be found at the interface of the field with other disciplines, departments, and, to a degree, other social institutions outside the academy. My premises for this argument are as follows, again in brief overview. The field has drawn on a variety of sources from the social sciences as well as the humanities in order to describe, interpret, and explain the main cultural forms of the twentieth century. Indeed, media and communication research can be taken as a characteristic case of how twentieth-century scholarship has frequently turned ‘interdisciplinary,’ as the terminology goes, to be able to account for new social realities. In this respect at least, all research is applied, and is itself a form of social action that feeds back into media and society, what Giddens (1984) has called the double hermeneutic. Media are hermeneutic vehicles, what I have called institutions-to-think-with (1991b), paralleling Claude Lévi-Strauss’ (1962/1991) notion of objects-to-think-with in anthropology. Universities and other research entities are second-order institutions-to-think-with, enabling reflexivity about the nature and purpose of media, among other subjects. What distinguishes the present historical juncture as a particular phase of modernization, is the intensified role of ‘information’ and ‘communication’ for the purpose of imagining new realities, both in material production and in politics and culture (Harvey, 1989). It is at this juncture that media and communication research assumes a new position, in-

side as well as outside academy, and it is a position whose potential has barely been identified, let alone systematized, in the published literature, except perhaps in reference to 'IT' buzzwords.

In the consolidation of the field still to come, the traditional issues of classic scientific quality and social relevance, like those raised by my four prototypical examples, certainly remain important items on the research agenda, to be debated as a matter of course. My brief analysis of the examples was designed to identify some obstacles to consolidation which arise from an insufficient measure of, in one word, professionalism. With respect to scientific quality, the 'milestone' position seemingly remains willfully ignorant of well-publicized theoretical alternatives which do not fit a predetermined methodological matrix. In its turn, the 'endless ethnography' position shies away from conceptual clarity and methodological rigor to the extent that theoretical relativism becomes the logical conclusion: 'You can have your theory, and I'll have mine,' or, worse, 'let's each tell our complex and contradictory story.' With respect to social relevance, the critical vanguard of the 1970s was excused, in part, by its limited professional experience, but a refusal to incorporate past lessons into present research strategies bears witness to a subordination of professionalism as a global requirement to local, provincial commitments, as does the implication of the UNESCO Clearinghouse that research on children and media violence is continuously making significant advances with concrete consequences for policy.

The opportunity for media and communication research, I submit, is to build on past theoretical and methodological progress, as the field begins to question present disciplinary lines in the study of communication and culture generally. Whereas I realize that some colleagues see the very idea of scientific progress as an expression of discursive power, I believe that the field as such has advanced, not only institutionally, but substantially and professionally. To exemplify the state of the field (see further Jensen, forthcoming), since the 1950s, survey methodologies have shown assumptions about massive and direct media effects on opinions to be untenable; since the 1960s, cultural theory has expanded the notion of what 'texts' and 'cultural forms' may legitimately be studied; since the 1980s, qualitative reception studies have redefined the role of textual analysis as a source of hypotheses to be tested empirically; and from the 1990s, cognitive studies of film and other media have begun to undermine the stronghold of psychoanalytic metaphors in studies of audiences as bodies in the flesh (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999).

The time may be right for translating these contributions into a reconfiguration of the academy. Media and communication research increasingly overlaps with a variety of humanistic and social-scientific subspecialties, not just because of what de Sola Pool (1983) referred to as internal and external factors respectively, but also because the field was a latecomer and, perhaps, a late starter. The natural conclusion to the dramatically revised understanding, since the 1960s, of the phenomena of culture and communication across disciplines from literary theory and linguistics to sociology, anthropology, and geography, to me, is a revision of the institutional frameworks. Accordingly, media and communication research should become neither a field, nor a discipline, nor a department, but a faculty with a number of departments and other constituents. I anticipate much opposition to any such plan for financial, intellectual, as well as biographical reasons, certainly in other departments, but also among bureaucrats and within the field itself. In favor of the realization of this plan counts not only the history that I have retraced summarily, but also a social context in which both the political establishment and the population at large are tending to see culture and communication through the con-

cepts and terms of this field. Among the benefits of a Faculty of Media, Communication, and Culture could be a more thoroughly modernized approach to the study of human cultures, a more differentiated training of a central, expanding profession, and a reconsideration of what forms of culture and communication should be preserved for the future in museums and archives. The edge of the field, in sum, is its boundaries with other fields and institutions, which are ready to be moved.

Conclusion

In 1993, the *Journal of Communication* again took stock of 'The Future of the Field,' ten years after the 'Ferment' issue. By coincidence, all three speakers in this plenary session were among the contributors to two issues of continuing debate about fields and disciplines, scientific quality and social relevance (Jensen, 1993; Livingstone, 1993; Newcomb, 1993). I presume that stock-taking will take place again in 2003, with or without the participation of this panel, and my best guess is that a Faculty of Media, Communication, and Culture will not yet be in place in 2003. Nevertheless, in the longer term, my prognosis is that it can materialize. Compared to the otherwise trend-setting American context, where the outcome has been two separate subdisciplines of interpersonal and mass communications (Rogers, 1999), the Nordic contexts of media research are smaller as well as more homogeneous. In addition, both Europe and the US offer examples of 'schools of communication' with component departments and sections, even though I know of no reconfiguration on the scale imagined here. Moreover, those who remember previous conferences of the present company, and of the IAMCR (International Association for Media and Communication Research), recall that the reference used to be to 'mass communication research.' Now, in the Nordic context beginning with this very conference, we refer to 'media and communication research.' As Raymond Williams (1983) has reminded us, changes in such keywords are indicative of major changes of practice. One background to the new terminology has been the coming of the computer as an intermediary between interpersonal and mass communication, and as a meta-medium integrating previous media on a single platform. Another background to the fall of the 'mass' terminology, paradoxically, has been the consolidation of (mass) media research as a distinctive field which, as noted, has begun taking over the study of culture and communication from established disciplines.

Finally, it seems appropriate to credit the music which has accompanied the first phase of media and communication research. Despite the fact that music remains one of the most underresearched aspects of media, rock 'n' roll has, arguably, inspired new ideas about culture and communication also among the first generations of media and communication researchers. Leonard Cohen (1988) commented a decade ago:

They sentenced me to twenty years of boredom
for trying to change the system from within.
I'm coming now
I'm coming to reward them.
First we take Manhattan,
then we take Berlin.

First we took a Department, then we take a Faculty. Ladies and gentlemen, you can be an active audience. Let's 'take Berlin.'

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Media Research Cutting Edges

All Quiet on the Nordic Front?

ANKER BRINK LUND

*Massmediaforskaren forskade fram att av massmedia
tyckte högertidningar mest om högern medan vänster-
synpunkter
framfördes oftast av vänstertidningar, vilket blev klarlagt
med siffror och ståtliga kurvor i tabell på tabell.
Allas vår tanke om saken, som endast var grundad på
lös förmodan,
har därmed förvandlats till vetenskapligt vetande.¹*
(H, Dagsvers i DN)

Three decades ago my Swedish colleagues, Hadenius and Weibull, opened their prominent book on press, radio and television by presenting the above quoted quotation from *Dagens Nyheter*. It is hardly flattering that reactions from our skeptical audience indicate how media researchers primarily produce commonplaces. But let's face it: We usually inform the public about subject matters that informed citizens already believe they know very well in advance.

The mockers then (and their many followers) are perfectly right in saying that media and communication research rarely creates revolutions in terms of breathtaking sensations. But I strongly believe that Nordic media research – trivial as it may be – has been cutting edges of prejudice and ignorance in spite of the fact that many researchers live in splendid isolation and that specific projects only marginally influence the bulk of folklore about media and society. Against all odds we must go on patiently explaining to the outside world that the run of the mill is the rule of the game. Sensational results are dubious and exceptional – in mass communications as in most areas of academic scholarship.

This ongoing battle against prejudice is fought in the trenches of tedious “bread and butter research”. Like journalists, of course, most researchers fancy the original in tireless quest for the scoop, that collection of data so great and wild, you never have to other applying for another research grant. No Nordic media researcher lives a full academic lifetime on one such spectacular cut. And that's fine: A few celebrities do not constitute the true front line forces fighting ignorance.

“All quiet”, consequently, is indeed an expectable and respectable battle-cry, neither an alarming sign of crisis, nor a symptom of lacking brainpower among our rank and file. It is true, no doubt, that much research in this area lacks originality and depth, reproducing me-too designs rather than producing new angles and insights. In our line of work this is the price to be paid for normal science in the Kuhnian sense: After all, breakthroughs and new paradigms are not to be expected at a regular basis, according to sociologists of knowledge. By reviewing current (Carlsson 1998) and classical (Berg et al. 1977) contributions, however, three aspects of Nordic efforts in this field may be identified as particularly important when approached from a cutting edge point of view:

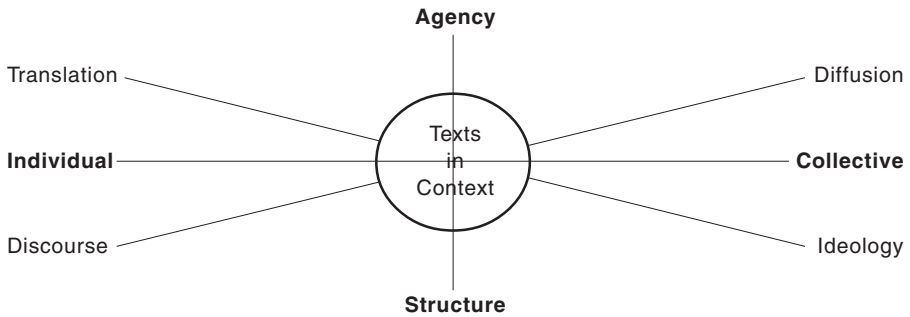
First of all, Nordic media research has contributed original insights by transforming and translating European ideas to the dominant English speaking (and American thinking) world of the mass media. Our mediating activities do not merely involve our local and national fonds of knowledge, but also include informed reading of the intellectually more profound contributions from French and German thought. The multilingual qualifications of Nordic academics have proven to be a very valuable asset when we set out to do front line services – be it in the capacity of commanding generals, liaison officers or simple privates.

Secondly, the Nordic research in mass communication has been strengthened by a notable tradition of cross border cooperation not only between different countries and languages, but also between the social sciences and the humanities. In contrast to specialized research tradition (particularly conspicuous in the USA) most Nordic departments of communication draw heavily on competing fields of scholarship combining methods, theories and skills from disciplines such as sociology, history, rhetoric, semiotic, ethnology, computer science etc.

The third accomplishment of Nordic research in mass communications has been gained through the continual competition between theoretical frames of reference. By cultivating an academic atmosphere of critical pluralism, e.g. keeping these biannual conferences in the *glasnost* spirit of NORDICOM, only a minority has become casualties of simple empiricism or barren dogmatism. The fierce fighting on the theoretical barricades of the 1970s did not result in few winners and many losers, but rather in a peaceful co-existence inspiring most Nordic mass media researches to be well read in competing schools of theory. This, in turn, has inspired many of us to combine apparently incompatible frames of reference thereby bridging unnecessary conflicts caused by academic vanity and petty rivalry.

Why this is so, and how this has been done, may be presented in terms of two basic schisms of international research: the dichotomies of the individual versus the collective, agency versus structure. The very center of attention has been massmediated texts in social context. Calling attention to such basics of our trade may illustrate the genealogy of Nordic mass communication research from the 1960s up to the coming end of the millennium.

The frontier of the 1960s may be characterized as attempts to comprehend mass media as agencies diffusing collective, textual action. In the 1970s the concept of agency was played down regarding mass communication as collective action in a structural framework. Context was everything – individual texts mere illustrations of structural trends. Ideology (and critique of same) were the names of the game. In the 1980s the structural focus was gradually moved from the collective to the individual level. Specific texts were primarily regarded as products of individual efforts (tabloid versus serious media, press versus television etc) framed by structural restraints, e.g. semiotics and political correctness. Discourse and hegemony became catchwords of the time.



In the 1990s we have experienced a move from structural frameworks towards new concepts of agency – particularly stressing the active part played by the individual user of mass mediated texts: Reception studies and focus on intertextuality made headlines in research journals. The construction of meaning is primarily seen as a negotiated translations and open question rather than a preconditioned content framed in structural context.

I could list a considerable number of learned colleagues who have been fighting battles along these lines. For every one mentioned, however, I would easily risk forgetting a dozen others. So instead of producing an incomplete lists of names and research projects, I have chosen one single illuminating example to illustrate how the three fundamental points of high quality research may inform further study in the future. The example chosen is The Swedish research programme *The Roles of Journalism* and the subsequent project *Media Societies around the Baltic Sea* initiated by sociologist Jan Ekecrantz and historian Tom Olsson.

The fundamental premise of these projects has been that mass communication in general (and journalism in particular) constitutes society, not only in terms of reinforcing social power relations, but more basically by editing institutional relationships, e.g. time and space in the public sphere of the welfare state. These social concepts are researched with reference to an empirical material consisting of national texts in regional and historical contexts. By combining elements from social science and the humanities, quantitative and qualitative methods, the authors wrestle with the crucial problems of rationality and modernity: How is society edited by mass media in different historical situations? How are forms and contents structured by individual and collective action?

By approaching journalism as texts in context Ekecrantz and his coworkers research mass communication as institutional practice. The crucial point, well taken, is that mass mediated texts must be regarded as individual as well as collective actions, instrumental to the construction and maintenance of the welfare state – in Sweden called “Folkhemmet” (the home of the people). On the other hand society and its citizens cannot be comprehended as social agents unless we regard “media society” as a contextual structure enveloping texts in the making.

It must be noted that this approach should not be mistakenly equaled to the textual fetishism of so called post-modernism. Ekecrantz and Olsson are neither social constructivists nor historical determinists. We may call them post-structuralists in the sense that they have moved through and beyond the structural and historicist front lines of media research of the 1970s and 1980s. The approach chosen may be regarded as an intelligent way of saving the qualities of critical theory without prescribing to a dogmatic ideology critique in order to take a stand outside the ongoing practice of text production.

What Ekecrantz and his co-workers do in theory and practice is to study texts not only because texts are where structured actions of modern society can be explicitly traced and intelligently criticized, but also because texts not only do things with one another: Society do things with texts, and texts do things to society. The result is cross-disciplinary strategies informing basic concepts of mass communication research:

As components of social acts, the texts help shape their own conditions – an “iron cage” of institutional truths. It is up to critical discourse analysis to reinstall the journalistic texts in their social context, and also to demonstrate how these contexts themselves are constituted in social interaction and gradually turned into institutions driven by a logic of their own. (Ekecrantz 1997:410)

One may characterize this line of research as genealogical – not only because *genre*-bound communication is in focus, but more fundamentally because the research objects are primarily studying subject matters taken for granted by mass and media. By studying such commonplaces in their making, Ekecrantz and his associates show us how things have been (and may again be) different from the rationality of today. Editing mass mediated texts is regarded as a continuous process of discursive translations – neither a linear diffusion of a given of material, nor the result of ideological determinism.

Regarding texts in contexts in this fashion produces important insights informing a number of concepts taken for granted in mass communication research. Ekecrantz and his coworkers have primarily perused this line of thinking in terms of the global joker “media society” used frequently by journalist as well as researchers, to describe a conglomerate of conflicting trends of late modernity.

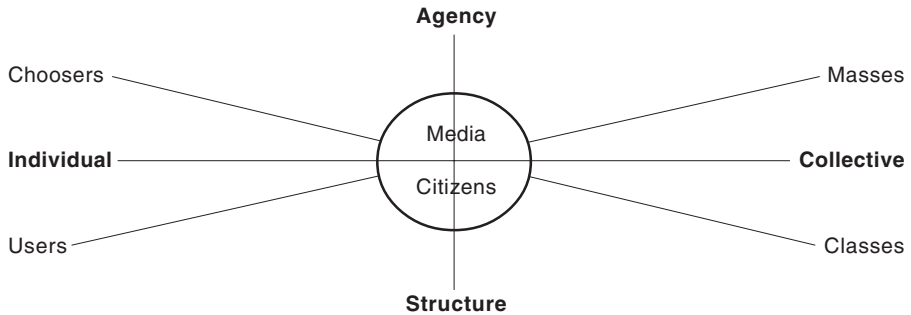
From a text-in-context perspective “media society” should not merely be regarded as technologies and infrastructure. It must be regarded as an institutional order consisting not only of polity based on individual agencies in the organizational sense, but also as an integrated part of a cultural system structured and structuring the rationality and dramaturgy of media outputs. Continuous battles over rationality are performed discursively and cannot be singularly accredited to technological change or acts of specific institutions. On the other hand there is no omnipotent class structure in play that can be specifically identified as “the invisible hand” of economic, political, or cultural forces.

More specifically Ekecrantz and Olsson have convincingly demonstrated this development by analyses of text produced in the Swedish press 1925-1987. They now propose to go on by researching the concept of “media society” by comparing the changes in Nordic welfare states with transitions of Eastern European countries around the Baltic sea in the years succeeding the fall of the Berlin wall. It is claimed that the social transformations in the aftermath of 1989 call for reassessment of central premises of social theory and media research.

Before I comment on one such reassessment let me briefly return to the quote from *Dagens Nyheter*: After the fall of the Berlin wall what seemed to be a banality in the 1970s is no longer such a commonplace: Left and Right are no longer simple matters of fact – neither in the mass media nor in society writ large. What was once taken for granted and regarded as a commonplace has turned into an intricate point of textual action ripe for front research in order to show how ideological concepts become taken for granted, and how the taken for granted may loose this taken for grantedness again.

This – in my opinion – is exactly where the vital research front of Nordic mass communication research is situated right now: We must practice conceptual hygiene reassessing basic concepts taken for granted in our specific field of study. I only have

time and space to point to one such reassessment, and have chosen the social construction of “the media citizen” – the very nucleus of communication research in the years to come. In doing so, I move beyond the frontier homesteaded by Ekecrantz and his coworkers, but I do so in line with the mind maps they have so convincingly produced.



If we put the concept “media citizen of the media society” into the clinical bench of agency-structure, individual-collective, I will argue that the front line in Nordic media research has moved several times over the last decades. In the 1960s the audience was primarily studied as “mass” – a passive and lonely crowd. In the 1970s many of us changed focus from mass to “class”, but in the 1980s and the decline of neo-marxism “class” became individual “users”. Finally, the trend of the 1990s have been to regard the public of segmented users as independent “choosers”, i.e. turning the powerless members of the lonely crowd into all powerful zappers of marked driven media. During these front line maneuvers what happened to the central concept of “citizen” in the classical sense of liberal democracy and critical theory of the public sphere once so popular as frame of reference for Nordic mass communication research?

To-day, at the threshold of the new millennium, research based puns are made upon the word “citizen”, e.g. *netizen* (for world wide web users) and euphemism for “reflexive man” – a theoretically ill defined inhibitor of the so called “global village”. In spite of the impressive efforts by communication research we tend to forget that “citizen” is fundamentally a concept related to local community and national space. While citizenship and civil society become increasingly artificial and virtual in mass mediated texts, we tend to forget the genealogical context reminding us that to be a citizen requires naturalization and recognition by an authority. This affiliation of citizens to society, however, is usually taken for granted, rather than regarded as an integrated part of public service in the BBC-sense of the word: Citizenship should be regarded as an ongoing interpellation of individuals involved in public discourse – placing mass media center stage in the conflicting tendencies of the contemporary modernity.

I shall conclude my sightseeing at the cutting edge of media research by asking for more efforts of this kind aiming at better understanding of “the media citizen” as the key to better knowledge on the community of fragmented audiences, public service media, and changes in the functions of the public sphere. Other taken for granted concept should in a similar fashion be critically cut on the edge of media research, e.g. “public service” and “market-driven journalism”, “the global”, “the national”, and “the local”, i.e. implicit and taken for granted contexts of current research in media and mass communication.

This important task of basic research is ignored by most of our learned colleagues around the world preoccupied with ever more specialized detail studies. Hopefully, scholars of the Nordic countries shall continue to do tedious conceptual hygiene along these lines crossing borders in terms of nationality, discipline, and frame of reference. In other words, let's go back to the trenches – and may your grand theory be with you!

Note

1. [The media scholar could finally show that among media Conservative papers liked Conservatives best whereas Leftist views tended to turn up in rags to the Left. This he supported with figures and tables and elegant curves. What we'd thought all along, 'though no more than a hunch, has therewith been elevated to a matter of fact.]

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The Future of Nordic Media and Communication Studies

The End of Splendid Isolation?

TERHI RANTANEN

My first reaction, after accepting the invitation to attend the panel on the future of Nordic media and communication studies in Kungälv, was sheer panic: how could I possibly present Finland there? Although I am a Finn and have been a member of the Finnish community of media and communication researchers for two decades, I have done little research on Finnish national media, but on foreign media instead, including post-communist countries. Even further, I am about to become an expatriot who has voluntarily decided to become the Other by not living in her home country, but in the UK instead.

My second reaction was a little less panic, because I thought that this in-between status I am now living would actually give me an opportunity to look at the situation not only as an insider but as an outsider as well. What is happening in Finnish media and communication research bears a great resemblance to that in the UK. We are talking here not only about the globalization of media, but about the globalization of media and communication research.

There are some rewards in becoming global, but also losses. One of them is that I have already personally lost one of the languages of my home country that would enabled me to present my paper in a Scandinavian language – once considered the most important asset in Nordic co-operation. Instead, I am using English, the language I was taught at school, but which did not have much presence in my country before the arrival of mass media and culture. But this is the language I increasingly use with my “new” Nordic colleagues who do not speak Scandinavian languages as their first or second language. My new colleagues are, of course, from Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, and I am very much for including their countries under the appellation “Nordic”.

As media and communication scholars, we often refer to the role of the media in globalization, but we seem to forget that media and communications scholarship and its scholars are also a part of it. Whether we want to acknowledge it or not, we are agents of globalization. Curiously when Appadurai (1990, 297) talks about “ethnoscape, the landscape of persons who constitute the shifting world in which we live”, he mentions tourists, immigrants, refugees, exiles, guestworkers and other moving groups, but not scholars. We are not a significant group, but do our part by filling up economy class when

there is a conference somewhere in the world. And there always are: international and regional conferences around the world in which media and communication scholars, like other professional travellers, meet each other. We also do research and live in other countries for shorter or longer periods of time, although often but not always do come back to our home countries.

But we contribute to ideoscapes as well. We read books in foreign languages, absorb ideas and use them in our own countries. Media and communication studies, partly because it is so young, is very much influenced first by the US and then by the UK. In many ways, it has been a one-way street in which most of it has been imported without much reciprocity. I shall shortly outline the development of media and communication studies and give examples from Finland, which I know best; I believe that these developments also have relevance to the situation in other Nordic countries.

Four Periods of Finnish Media and Communication Studies

In my earlier work (Rantanen 1997, 127) I have divided the development of Finnish media and communication studies into four different periods according to the main sources of influence. They are: (1) The German influenced journalism studies from the 1920s until 1950s; (2) The US influenced communication studies from the 1960s until 1970s; (3) The Eastern European influenced marxist wave in the 1970s; and (4) The Anglo-American influenced media and communication studies from the 1980s onwards. I shall shortly describe each of these periods and the ethno- and ideoscapes in them.

As we all well know, communication studies as a discipline was founded in the US after World War II. Before that time, for example, journalism was taught outside universities in Finland, since 1925 at *medborgarehögskola* (*kansalaiskorkeakoulu*). Journalism studies consisted mainly of professional training and of the history of the press and was very much influenced by German *Zeitungswissenschaft* and such scholars as Groth, Löbl, Dofivat and Diez, to mention a couple of names. The period of the German influence lasted until the early 1960s when US communication research, invented almost twenty years earlier, was imported to Finland.

In 1963 a paradigm shift took place when a newly appointed professor, Raimo Vehmas, declared that the German *Zeitungswissenschaft* was old-fashioned and unfruitful, and wanted to change it into communication studies to follow the example of Wilbur Schramm. Importing US communication research to Finland was greatly assisted by Fulbright and other scholarships that enabled researchers from different fields to get acquainted with communication studies in the US. Osmo Wiio, Kaarle Nordenstreng and Ullamaija Kivikuru all went to the US to learn more about communication research there. They all played a part in the ethno- and ideoscapes of Finnish mass communication research.

The US period lasted until the 1970s when it was partly taken over by the Marxist wave. In Finland, in contrast to many Western European countries, this was mainly imported from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Marxism was a counterreaction to the mainstream communication research made in the US, but it simultaneously relied heavily on US scholars such as Herbert Schiller. This time very few scholars actually went to Communist countries to study, but books by Lenin and Kuusinen appeared in the study requirements of Helsinki and Tampere universities.

Again, this wave broke when British cultural studies landed in Finland in the early 1980s. A Finnish researcher, Leena Paldan, was the first Finnish media scholar who went to the UK instead of the US in the early 1980s. Finnish media scholars have in-

creasingly turned to seek inspiration in the UK not only in cultural studies, but in media studies as well. Here we can refer to the influence from the centres of communication studies in Leicester and Westminster, from feminist media studies, as well as the Glasgow media group, Giddens, Fairclough, Tomlinson etc.

Research Assessment Exercise. New Standards for Research?

This is not the full story of the import of ideas. It seems to me that at least the University of Helsinki is also going to absorb the academic standards found in the UK. Research Assessment Exercise, RAE, that dominates the life of British universities has now been introduced to the University of Helsinki for the first time. Research is being evaluated and compared. Curiously, this happens at the same time when it is questioned in the UK whether the Research Assessment Exercise is the most efficient way to create a dynamic, innovation-oriented research culture. (Thompson 1999).

According to the guidelines for evaluation at the University of Helsinki (Research Assessment Exercise 1999), the highest rate (7) is given when “the majority of the submitted work are at a high international level and virtually all others at a good international level”, while the lowest rate (1) is given when “none, or virtually none, of the submitted works are at a fair international level”. A *high international level* means “work which is apt to arouse serious interest within international academic communities and which in principle could, if offered, be published by the leading international publishers or in the leading international journals with the most rigorous editorial standard standard”. A *fair international level* means “work which is of possible relevance for international academic communities and which has been published abroad or by well-known national publishers or in well-known national journals”. The best departments, with the most publications either published by prestigious publishers or journals, win “seven stars”, and more research money and fame until the next RAE.

What are these well-known journals? They are, of course, journals that use a referee system. The journals that do so in media and communications studies are mainly international journals, either European or American such as the *European Journal of Communication*, *Media Culture & Society*, the *Journal of Communication* and *Critical Studies in Mass Communications Research*. With the introduction of RAE it is not enough to publish in your national language in your own country, but it has become more and more important to publish in English elsewhere. Farrell Corcoran, an Irish media scholar and former president of the public broadcaster RTE, raised the question of the functions and disfunctions of introducing RAE into non-British countries at the IACMR panel on the future of European communication and media research in Leipzig in July 1999. He asked whether it is absolutely important to publish in international journals. If this is the case, what happens to our self-confidence in languages? All of us in the audience who had received the letters “thanking for considering one of these journals an outlet for your scholarship and regretting the outcome of the review process”, remained silent. It was our personal failure, and language did not play any role. Media and communication research seems to have accepted the market economy and competition almost unanimously.

We are not yet as far as in the UK, but on the basis of previous development we soon will be. Paula Saukko (1999, 71), a Finnish media and communication scholar, recently wrote about her experience when she was trying to get information about an academic job in the UK. The question of “What’s your four?” (meaning the four publications she needed to present for the next RAE) was asked before she could even start a telephone

conversation inquiring about a new job. Obviously, some foreign academics like Saukko (who is now a lecturer in the Centre for Mass Communications Research at Leicester University) have been successful: foreign academics employed by British universities have doubled to 11,314 between 1994 and 1997. According to a recent study, competitive exercises such as the Research Assessment Exercise, may also encourage universities to employ staff from abroad. The new vacancies are partly a result of hundreds of British scholars leaving the UK because of the disastrous academic policy of the Thatcher government, a government that also introduced RAE ('Looking for a slice of the American pie,' 1999; Swain 1999). Will this be the future in the Nordic countries as well?

The End of Splendid Isolation?

So here we are, after almost four decades of mainly absorbing Anglo-American communication, media and cultural studies. It seems to me that we have not only taken theories, concepts and research methods, but have even adopted the standards of academic life from abroad. There are several tendencies that are already visible in Nordic media and communication research. They are contradictory by nature, but so is globalization.

First, there is considerable influence from Anglo-American media and communication studies. It has mainly taken place by borrowing "research tools" and using them on national data. It has also meant that English has become an obligatory second language for scholars in our field: a media and communication scholar without a knowledge of English is as impossible as a computer without a screen. Recently, there have also been signs that the standards for research have been adopted from the UK. This does not only concern media and communication studies, but academia in general.

Second, there is also considerable exchange of ideas inside Nordic media and communication studies through shared language, culture and traditions that has lasted much longer than Anglo-American influence, and still has some traits of early German influence. Increasingly, it is in competition with Anglo-American media and communication studies. Also, the enlargement of the Nordic community to include the Baltic countries and European Russia brings inevitable, and I would say, welcome changes into it: it has to redefine itself and rethink the questions of shared language, culture and traditions. The former Other is now one of us. And, as Epp Lauk and Tom Moring both observed in Kungälv, the opening up does not only mean of including the Other, but learning from the Other as well. We who have been so eager to adopt Anglo-American media and communication research now face a new challenge: to learn from the countries that were once isolated by the Iron Curtain, that prevented *us* from seeing what was behind it. As Ricoeur (1965, 278), quoted by Morley and Robins (1995, 25) puts it:

When we discover that there are several cultures, instead of just one, and consequently, at the time we acknowledge the end of a sort of cultural monopoly, be illusory or real, we are threatened... [by] our own discovery. Suddenly it becomes possible that there are just *Others*, that we ourselves are an 'other' among Others.

Third, there are some signs that Nordic media and communications scholars do not only leave their home countries for a short study leave, but the long period of Anglo-American influence has actually provided them with skills that make it possible to compete in job markets outside their home countries. The EU, of course, makes working in Europe much easier than before. On the other hand, non-Nordic scholars are like wise now able

to seek jobs in the Nordic countries. This is the occasion in which the Research Assessment Exercise can actually bring a change with its standardized requirements. As Saukko (1999, 70) writes about the UK: "Unlike in Finland, internal and national prearrangements can be badly disturbed when, for example, an Australian black horse [with her/his four or even more prestigious publications] appears in the job interview." In a country like Finland, in which departments of media and communication studies mainly hire their own people, the RAE could have a positive outcome.

Fourth, traditionally Nordic scholars did research on their own countries, but they cannot monopolize them anymore. Researchers outside the "Norden" will now have a chance to become experts on its mass media. Recently, for example, Elena Vartanova, a Russian media and communication scholar from the Faculty of Journalism at Moscow University, has published two books on Nordic media (Vartanova 1997, 1999). She describes the current phase of the Nordic mass media system, when the Nordic media need to adjust to global developments, as "the end of splendid isolation" (Vartanova 1997, 183).

If Nordic media and communication research ever experienced a period of splendid isolation, then it is definitely coming to an end. This is the globalization of media and communication research in practice. What are the advantages and what are the disadvantages? And how well are we prepared for it? As agents of globalization it is up to us to think about these issues.

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Kulturkognitiva perspektiv – den tänkande människan

BIRGITTA HÖIJER

“I believe that cognitive psychology provides one of the main sources of insight for explaining culture” skriver antropologen Dan Sperber (1996:3). “A culture is best conceived as a very large and heterogeneous collection of models or what psychologists sometimes call schemas”, skriver en annan antropolog, Bradd Shore (1996:44). Och det finns flera antropologer än de här som anammat kognitiva perspektiv i sina analyser av och teorier om människor och kulturer, som har tagit kognitiv teori till hjälp i sitt intresse för mänskliga idéer, tankar och föreställningar som kulturella grundstenar. Det kan röra sig om allmänna föreställningar om vardagslivet och samhällen, religiösa föreställningar, normer, myter och symboler.

Kognitiva perspektiv har också influerat andra vetenskapliga discipliner – psykologin är självklar eftersom det är där sådana perspektiv har sin upprinnelse och sin naturliga hemvist. Jag tänker på pedagogik, lingvistik och på statsvetenskap där bland annat forskare som studerar beslutsprocesser applicerar kognitiva perspektiv – det kan gälla politikens eller myndigheters beslutsutövande (Stern, 1999; Sundelius, under utg.)

Man brukar tala om den kognitiva revolutionen och då avser man dels hur sådana teorier kommit att avlösa de behavioristiska stimulus-respons perspektiven inom psykologin men också det faktum att kognitiva teorier haft ett inflytande på andra discipliner än psykologin. Men medievetenskapen har ännu i mycket liten utsträckning tagit del av den kognitiva revolutionen. Kanske beror det på att psykologi på ett överdrivet negativt sätt har kommit att stå för individualism, mentalism, psykologism – allt som inte passar in i dagens ortodoxi där vi ju helst ska betona det kollektiva, det sociala, det kulturella, det kontextuella och det situationella.

Ett intresse för kognitiva perspektiv har dock börjat göra sig gällande, inte minst inom den nordiska medieforskningen. Se exempelvis Nordicom-antologin *Cultural Cognition. New Perspectives in Audience Theory* (Höijer & Werner (red), 1998) där såväl publikens meningsskapande som medieeffekter diskuteras i förhållande till vuxna (Hagen; Höijer; Waldahl), ungdomar (Erstad) och barn (Rydin; Seip Tønnessen). Även andra nordiska medieforskare har pläderat för kognitiva perspektiv, dels inom den empiriska publikforskningen (Findahl, 1997), dels inom den gren av filmforskningen som på det teoretiska planet intresserar sig för åskådarens tolkningar (Grodal, 1997). I an-

dra sammanhang dyker också "det kognitiva" upp som ett perspektiv som efterlyses utan att det nämnvärt utvecklas. Det kanske kan uppfattas som ett tecken på att alltför inser behovet av ett kognitivt paradigm.

Ett aktuellt exempel kommer från svensk opinionsforskning. Strömbäck (1999) redovisar i en artikel dels nya data om medborgarnas misstro mot politiker, dels sammanställer han och diskuterar tidigare forskning på området. Traditionella demografiska variabler som kön, ålder och utbildning har i rader av undersökningar visat sig ha mycket begränsat förklaringsvärde och det får Strömbäck att efterlysa "misstrons kognitiva rötter [...]". De kognitiva variablerna rymmer ett betydligt större förklaringsvärde än de demografiska, ekonomiska och de medierelaterade", är hans slutsats (sid. 40-41). Jag delar nu inte Strömbäcks definition av kognitiva variabler som närmast medfödda kognitiva strukturer (sid. 23), och jag finner hans försök att empiriskt mäta sådana variabler i form av intresse för politik eller hur tråkigt man finner politik är, ganska missvisande. Men själva grundtanken, att vi behöver uppmärksamma den kognitiva nivån, är viktig.

Vad är det då för slags kognitivt perspektiv som vi som medieforskare behöver? Frågan måste ställas eftersom det inte finns *en* kognitiv teori eller *en* teoretiker som man kan hålla fram på det sätt som man kan hålla fram en Bordieu eller en Habermas. Kognitiv teori är ett stort fält av delvis mycket olika teorier. Att plocka fram en lärobok med titeln kognitiv teori låter sig ganska enkelt göras, men det är inte alls säkert att man därmed får fatt i en lämplig teori eller ens får en tillfredställande överblick över det teoretiska fältet.

En del kognitiva teorier är verkligen alltför individualistiska, asociala och akulturella, jag tänker exempelvis på forskningen kring artificiell intelligens där man med hjälp av datorer simulerar mänskligt tänkande, eller den neurofysiologiska hjärnforskningen. Termerna "cognitive science" och "cognitive neuropsychology" signalerar oftast dessa inriktningar. Inom det så kallade informations-process paradigmet studerar man mänsklig uppmärksamhet, minne eller problemlösning i psykologiska laboratorier och många har, med rätta, ifrågasatt validiteten i dessa studier.

Det som görs inom dessa områden är inte helt irrelevant för oss, men inriktningen på generella kognitiva processer och åsidolämnandet av det kulturella innehållet är problematiskt. Det finns andra, social- eller kulturkognitiva, inriktningar som är mer relevanta om vi intresserar oss för det sammansatta kulturella meningsskapandet där medierna ingår. Jag ska ge ett par exempel på sådana inriktningar men först säga något om vad det kognitiva står för och varför vi behöver det.

"Mind" – språklig, visuell och emotionell

"The Cognitive Revolution [...] was intended to bring "mind" back into the human sciences after a long cold winter of objectivism" skriver psykologen Jerome Bruner (1990:1). Det kognitiva handlar just om "mind" – det som vi inte har något riktigt bra nordiskt ord för. Det är det inre mentala planet där våra tankar och föreställningar, våra begrepp och våra uppfattningar, våra inre bilder, fantasier och drömmar, våra tolkningar och upplevelser genereras. Det är våra minnen, vår omvärldsuppfattning, våra perspektiv, vår uppfattning om oss själva och om andra – allt som omfattas i den mänskliga tanke- upplevelse- och föreställningsvärlden. Det är en värld som är språklig, visuell och kroppslig. Jämfört med de mer renodlat diskursteoretiska perspektiven, som sätter det språkliga yttrandet i centrum, inkluderar kognitiva perspektiv således också det visuella (se exempelvis Eysenck & Keane, 1995).

Det har ibland funnits en tendens att särskilja kognitioner och emotioner och se det kognitiva som ett rationellt begreppssystem och emotionerna som irrationella kroppsliga tillstånd. En förklaring kan vara att datasimuleringar av "mind" dominerade under en period – datorer har inte känslor. Idag anser de flesta psykologer att det emotionella och det kognitiva hör samman (se exempelvis Power & Dalgleish, 1997). Det finns alltid en känslomässig komponent i en föreställning, ett minne eller en tolkning och kognitioner kan vara irrationella och emotioner kan var synnerligen rationella. Känslor hjälper oss att se vad som är viktigt, vad vi ska välja att uppmärksamma, hjälper oss att göra vettiga bedömningar. Forskning om olyckor och katastrofer visar exempelvis att i de flesta fall reagerar människor adekvat trots att de är oroade och rädda, de söker upp information, t ex. via medierna, och följer rekommendationer för hur man ska bete sig (Nohrstedt & Nordlund, 1993).

Analytiskt kan vi skilja kognitiva och emotionella dimensioner men i praxis fungerar de som en helhet och vill vi säga något om vardagslivets tolkningar måste vi inkludera känslorna i det kognitiva tolkningsperspektivet. De bildar en enhet också på det sättet att känslor har riktning och kognitivt innehåll. Glädje och smärta uppstår i situationer och om någon ber oss tänka på en känsla som glädje tänker vi på situationer eller företeelser som ger oss eller andra just denna känsla. Tänker vi på smärta framkallar det helt andra föreställningar inom oss.

Yttre och inre – erfarenhetens två sidor

Varför ska vi överhuvudtaget intressera oss för mentala processer? Räcker det inte att vi konstaterar att meningsskapandet är ett resultat av våra yttre sociala och kulturella erfarenheter, av den kontext som omger meningsskapandet och av samtalen människor emellan? Jag tycker inte att det räcker och jag ser flera skäl till att uppmärksamma kognitiva och för all del också andra psykologiska perspektiv, som de mer psykodynamiska.

All mänsklig erfarenhet har två sidor. Den ena vetter utåt, mot det yttre sociala och kulturella livet och aktiviteterna. Den andra vetter inåt, mot vårt inre mentala eller psykiska rum. Det yttre och det inre är förstås nära relaterade men de kan inte reduceras till varandra. Det mentala reflekterar inte bara den sociala verkligheten utan tolkar och rekonstruerar den. Kognitiv teori erbjuder oss möjligheter att förstå dessa tolknings- och rekonstruktionsprocesser, hur yttre erfarenhet omvandlas till inre föreställningar som sen i sin tur bildar referensramarna för vårt framtida tolkande, och så vidare i en "oändlig" process.

Vårt handlande bestäms också i stor grad av våra kognitivt internaliserade handlingsmönster och hur vi tolkar omvärlden, hur vi tolkar situationer, händelser och människor. När så få svenskar röstade i EU-valet – bara 38 procent (R&D nr 19, 1999) – så är det inte i första hand bekvämlighetsskäl eller bristande intresse som ligger bakom utan den tolkning och mening folk tilldelar EU och EU-parlamentarikerna, meningar som man i det här fallet främst skapat sig utifrån mediernas rapporteringar.

Om vi bara ser till materiella, sociala och kulturella omständigheter när vi försöker förstå meningsskapandet hamnar vi lätt i social eller teknologisk determinism. Genom att se att de yttre erfarenheterna verkar via inre kognitiva processer skapar vi ett dynamiskt utrymme för individen och det är kanske särskilt viktigt i vår postmoderna tid där kollektiva livsmönster bryter samman och identiteterna blir mer variabla och oförutsägbara. För att ta ett exempel från opinionsbildningen: Unga människors politiska uppfattning bestäms inte längre av föräldrarnas åsikter, och människors uppfattningar är

inte lika stabila över tid som tidigare. Valforskarna konstaterar att “opinionsbildningen sker i allt mindre utsträckning inom en kollektiv ram där socioekonomisk klass, bostad, fritid etcetera förstärker varandra som determinanter” (Karvonen, 1999: 16).

I en komplex värld där vi möter allt fler olika slags kulturella uttryck, där informationsmängden är överväldigande och upplevelsediskurserna många, uppstår en större potential för variation i tolkningar. För att förstå vilka tolkningar som uppstår kommer vi att behöva mera av psykologiska kunskaper om meningsskapandet.

Genom att se att de yttre erfarenheterna verkar via de inre ger vi också utrymme åt förändring och utveckling. Om individen enbart är en spegel av yttre omständigheter så får vi slutna oföränderliga system som bara kan upprepa sig själva och människan blir utan intentionalitet och kreativitet. Vem tänker nya tankar och kommer med nya idéer?

Med detta vill jag inte säga att vi ska ersätta sociala och kulturella förklaringar till meningsskapandet med psykologiska. Människan och den kultur hon skapar är produkter av både yttre och inre krafter, av historiska, sociala och psykologiska omständigheter. Det är samspelet mellan dessa som är viktiga. Kulturen formar människans medvetande men människan formar också kulturen med sitt medvetande. Dubbelheten är viktig men de psykologiska perspektiven har blivit underteoretiserade inom mycket av dagens medievetenskap.

Det kan i det här sammanhanget vara intressant att blicka tillbaka på den tidiga medieforskningen som inte bortsåg från den psykologiska nivån. För att gå ända tillbaka till Walter Lippmans klassiska bok *Public Opinion* från 1922: introduktionskapitlet har titeln “The world outside and the pictures in our heads” och här framhåller han att människan skapar föreställningar av verkligheten och att dessa bilder i våra huvuden är med och bestämmer vårt handlande. Opinionsforskarens första uppgift är, enligt Lippman (1922/1950: 16-17), att uppmärksamma “the triangular relationship between the scene of action, the human picture of that scene, and the human response to that picture working itself out upon the scene of action”. Psykologisk teori kom sedan att spela en viktig roll i den publikinriktade medieforskningen, men det blev efterhand inte de kognitiva aspekterna – bilderna i våra huvuden – som kom att sättas i fokus utan de mänskliga behoven.

Cultural Studies

Till skillnad från den tidiga medieforskningen har “cultural studies”, märkligt nog, inte alls sett något behov av psykologisk teori i samband med att man började intressera sig för publikens meningsskapande. Ändå definierade Stuart Hall t o m ideologi på följande sätt 1986:

By ideology I mean the mental frameworks – the languages, the concepts, categories, imagery of thought, and the systems of representation – which different classes and social groups deploy in order to make sense of, define, figure out and render intelligible the way society works. (Hall, 1986:29).

Hall pratar om mentala referensramar men tar inte konsekvensen av det och säger att vi behöver en teori om “mind” och kulturstudietraditionen har inte gjort några som helst försök att uppmärksamma kognitiv teori vars studieobjekt är just mentala referensramar. Det har däremot en diskursteoretiker som van Dijk (1998) gjort i sin bok *Ideology* där han diskuterar relationen mellan kognition, samhälle och diskurs.

Inom kulturstudietraditionen har istället intresset för tolkningar fått ge vika för ett intresse för vardagslivets praktiker och rutiner, helst kollektiva sådana, exempelvis inom

familjen. Under inflytande av den mer neobehavioristiska socialkonstruktivismen har publikens meningsskapandet reducerats till konversationer om medietexter där situationella variabler blir avgörande för konversationens innehåll. Det kan förvisso vara intressant att studera människors medierelaterade prat, men det kan inte göras till det enda eller det viktigaste sättet för meningsskapandet.

Många fakta talar emot detta. Empiriska studier visar exempelvis skillnader i TV-relaterat prat mellan såväl familjer som mellan män och kvinnor. Övre medelklassfamiljer rapporterar att de sällan diskuterar TV-program (Andersson & Jansson, 1998), och andra studier visar stora individuella skillnader mellan familjer (Holter, 1998). Männen i Morleys (1986) ofta omtalade studie, förklarade att de ville ha tyst när de såg på TV och att de, med undantag för sport, mycket sällan pratade om något de sett på TV med arbetskamrater och vänner. En brittisk observationsstudie visar på väldigt lite prat under TV-tittandet (Gunter, Furnham & Lineton, 1997) och andra fakta visar att kollektiva mönster håller på att luckras upp. Alltfler hem är ensamhushåll; alltfler familjer har flera TV-apparater så att var och en numera i ensamhet kan se sina egna favoritprogram; mångfalden av TV- och radiokanaler gör att färre än tidigare tar del av samma program.

Av alla de medietexter som publiken tar del av är det sannolikt bara en mycket begränsad del som blir omhandlat i prat och konversationer. Det kan vara intressant att studera vad det är människor plockar upp från medierna i sina samtal, men det mesta av medieupplevelserna omvandlas till det som Polany (1967) omtalade som tysta kunskaper. Dessa föreställningar bär vi med oss och de bildare tolkningsramar – ibland stereotypa och andra gånger mer dynamiska – för den verkliga och symboliska värld vi möter.

Kognitiva teorier på olika nivåer

De kognitiva teorierna rör mycket olika mentala nivåer, från lägre neurofysiologiska nivåer där mycket enkla ljud och bildintryck identifieras, till kategoriserings- och begreppsnivåer, till ännu mer holistiska nivåer som rör vår förståelse av sammansatta kulturella fenomen som sociala situationer eller olika slags diskurser. Det är, tror jag, de sammansatta kulturella nivåerna som är mest intressanta för oss som medieforskare.

En del teoretiker talar här om våra inre föreställningar av kulturella fenomen som *mentala modeller* (Johnson-Laird, 1983; Shore, 1996), andra om *mentala scheman* eller *sociala scheman* om man vill betona dess sociala ursprung (se exempelvis Fiske & Taylor, 1991), det finns de som hellre talar om mentala eller *sociala representationer* (Moscovici, 1984) eller om *frames* (Minsky, 1975) eller om *scripts* (Schank & Abelson, 1977). Vi kan lika gärna också bara tala om *kognitioner* eller *tankekategorier/strukturer* eller *inre diskurser* (Harré & Gillett, 1994).

Jag tänkte nämna ett par teoretiker som jag tycker är särskilt intressanta.

Jerome Bruner (1986; 1990) menar att människan kognitivt strukturerar sina vardagliga erfarenheter narrativt. Vi skapar inre berättelser om oss själva, om andra, om världen vi möter och vi använder den berättande formen för att förstå omvärlden. En intressant aspekt av den narrativa formen som han tar upp är att den är specialiserad på att forma länkar mellan det exceptionella och det vanliga. Dess bas är de vanliga kulturella konventionerna – allt det som upprepar sig, följer normer och är accepterat – men den hjälper oss också att finna mening i det ovanliga.

Ett incitament för att vi ska berätta något för andra är ju ofta att något ovanligt har skett och det gäller ju också mediernas nyhetsrapporter och fiktionsberättelser.

“Min historia definierar vem jag är” säger en annan psykolog, Dan McAdams (1993:5). Han har intervjuat människor om deras liv och om hur de uppfattar sig själva

och sedan ingående analyserat detta material. Även han talar om “the narrating mind”, i hans fall om hur vår identitet konstrueras som inre berättelser om oss själva. Vår identitet kan innehålla flera berättelser, ibland mycket motsägelsefulla. Jag tycker att hans syn på identitet behövs som motvikt till dem som bara vill vikt lägga yttre sociala faktorer i konstruktionen av identitet, exempelvis Goffman (1959/1990) som ser människan som en varelse som har sin identitet främst genom att spela olika yttre roller. Här är en teoretiker som Giddens (1991:53) mer nyanserad när han framhåller att identiteten “includes the cognitive component of personhood”.

För att återgå till Jerome Bruner så teoretiserar han också om en argumenterande tänkandeform – som han ibland omtalar som den paradigmatiska. Det är det mer logiska, begreppsliga tänkandet där argument och faktapåståenden är centrala. Den lär vi oss senare i livet, skola och utbildning spelar här stor roll.

Som medieforskare kan det vara intressant att fråga sig dels vilka berättelser om kulturen, samhället och den egna identiteten som människor konstruerar med hjälp av medierna dels vilka argument man tolkar som betydelsefulla och i olika former införlivar i sin föreställningsvärld.

Moscovici (1984; 1988) är en fransk psykolog som använder begreppet “social representations” för sådana tankar och föreställningar som människor i bestämda sociala grupperingar delar, en slags common-sense föreställningar om den sociala världen. Det låter ju som Durkheims kollektiva representationer men Moscovici betonar själv att de är mer dynamiska och föränderliga, de utvecklas och förvandlas på olika sätt. Gamla föreställningar dör ut och nya tillkommer och det sker genom två typer av kognitiva processer: förankring (anchoring) och objektifiering (objectification). Förankring är när vi klassificerar och namnger nya företeelser genom att jämföra dem med sådant vi redan känner till – är det likt eller olik? Är det ganska likt kan vi införliva det med gamla föreställningar, är det mest olik måste vi skapa en ny. Objektifiering innebär att vi gör om det som är abstrakt och svårbegripligt till något konkret och mer lättförståeligt. Själv har han bland annat studerat hur psykoanalytiska begrepp blivit införlivade i människors vardagstänkande och då fått en mer konkret innebörd. “Han är deprimerad” kanske vi tänker och säger om en person som inte har lust att göra något. Det här knyter an till den kognitiva tendensen att förenkla. Metaforer är ett annat sätt att förenkla och i komprimerad form förstå ett sammansatt socialt fenomen.

Moscovicis teori om sociala representationer har bland annat använts i en del studier av hur expertkunskaper förvandlas till vardaglig common sense (för en översikt se kapitel 7 i Augoustinos & Walker, 1995). Här spelar ju medierna en viktig roll och det kan vara intressant att studera relationen expertvärld – common sense i tre “kognitiva” led: experternas föreställningar om sitt kunskapsområde; journalisternas uppfattningar om detta område och självfallet också de journalistiska produkterna som publiken sen tar del av. Det tredje kognitiva ledet är publikens tolkningar och föreställningar. Det skulle bli ett slags diffusionsstudier som skulle tränga på djupet i olika föreställningsvärldar.

Det finns många fler kognitiva teoribildningar som är intressanta för oss som medieforskare och som delvis också har uppmärksamats. Det gäller exempelvis den Vygotskyinspirerade inriktning som betraktar medvetandet i ett sociokulturellt utvecklingsperspektiv (Cole, 1996; Wertsch, 1991). Attribueringsteori (“theories of attribution”), som omhandlar hur vi tilldelar orsaker till händelser och sociala fenomen är en annan intressant teoribildning (se kap 4 i Augoustinos & Walker, 1995).

Tankens frihetsgrader

I kulturstudietraditionen övergav man decodings- eller tolkningsteorin när man fann att det var mer komplicerat att förklara publikens receptioner än att enbart hänvisa till demografiska och sociologiska variabler och man har kommit att allt starkare betona yttre situationella kontexter i försöken att förklara samspelet mellan medierna och publiken. Vardagslivet har blivit liktydigt med rutinmässiga praktiker där medvetandet lämnas utanför. Det finns onekligen ett behavioristiskt inslag i detta där den besvärliga frågan om "mind" återigen har trollats bort.

Det som räknas är vem som har makt över fjärrkontrollen och det människor säger till varandra i samtal och dialoger. Jag vill inte förringa språklig interaktion om t ex TV-program, men det finns en mycket större inre tanke- och upplevelsevärld hos människan.

Den inre världen är också den en kulturell produkt i så måtto att även våra fantasier bygger på och hämtar näring ur kulturen. Men den inre världens frihetsgrader är större. Våra tankar är inte lika styrda av regler och kulturella mönster som vårt yttre beteende. Vi behöver inte vara artiga och vänliga i våra tankar, inte lika förnuftiga, vi kan tänka det förbjudna, våra tankar kan vandra hit och dit medan beteendet och den yttre kommunikationen mycket starkare följer sociala och kulturella konventioner.

Jag tror att det är en mycket viktig del av medieerfarenheten att den griper fatt i vårt inre som tillåts vara friare är vårt yttre.

Förbindelselänk mellan yttre och inre världar

När det gäller medierna och publiken tror jag att det är särskilt viktigt att framhålla dynamiken mellan det yttre och det inre planet, mellan den yttre sociala verkligheten och de inre tankarna och upplevelserna också av andra skäl än den diskursiva föreställnings- och tolkningsnivån och jag ska avsluta med att säga något kort om det.

Varje människa brottas med problemet att vara en individ i en kultur, med problemet att förena det som vi upplever som krav från omgivningen med inre tankar, önskningar och behov. Medieupplevelsen kan bli en förbindelselänk mellan yttre och inre världar och mediera i dilemmat att överbrygga omgivningens krav och våra fantasier och drömmar.

Medieforskningen har i Habermas anda skrivit mycket om hur medierna är en förbindelselänk mellan offentligheten och individen, kulturstudierna har fokuserat på medierna som förbindelselänk mellan människor, exempelvis inom en familj eller social grupp.

Allt detta är viktigt men vi behöver också se närmare på en tredje förbindelselänk – den mellan yttre och inre världar inom individen, mellan den sociala anpassningen och de personliga drömmarna. Jag tror inte att människor skulle vara beredda att ägna medierna så mycket tid som de gör om det inte funnes något som rör vid dessa inre strängar.

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Tekstproduksjonsstudier som medievitenskapelig forskningsområde

ESPEN YTREBERG

”Tekstproduksjon” kan man kalle området for medievitenskapelig forskning som kombinerer et studium av produksjons- og tekstleddet teoretisk, metodisk og/eller empirisk. Innenfor medie- og massekommunikasjonsforskningen har tekstproduksjonsforskning en nokså tvetydig status. På den ene siden er antallet medievitenskapelige arbeider som kan kalles tekstproduksjonsstudier beskjedent, iallfall dersom man sammenligner dem med den betydelige aktiviteten som resepsjonsstudiene har utvist i å kombinere et studium av teksten med et studium av resepsjonsprosesser. Men samtidig er det å kombinere produksjons- og tekstleddet en sentral del av medievitenskapens større enhetsprosjekt. Når er det riktignok meget problematisk å overhodet snakke om noen ”enhet”. Det er vel så vanlig blant forskere å beskrive medievitenskapen som en løs ansamling av fagområder rundt felles forskningsobjekter. Det er imidlertid et faktum at medievitenskapens fagutvikling er nert bundet sammen med tanken om et integrert perspektiv på massekommunikasjonsprosesser. I den grad medievitenskapen kan gjøre krav på noe felles grunnlag, står forestillingen om en kontinuerlig prosess som binder sammen produksjon, tekst og resepsjon helt sentralt. Her ligger samtidig mye av grunnlaget for medievitenskapen som et tverrfaglig prosjekt. I likhet med resepsjonsstudiene setter tekstproduksjonsstudiene i scene et møte mellom humanistiske tekststudier og samfunnsvitenskapelige studier av kontekster og institusjoner. Integreringsprosjektet er institusjonelt sementert gjennom dannelsen av en rekke forskningssentre og -institutter med en tverrfaglig tilnærming til medier og massekommunikasjon, ikke minst i Norden.

Denne artikkelen diskuterer tekstproduksjonsstudiene i lys av disse større forskningsagendaene: ønsket om å *se massekommunikasjonen som én integrert prosess, og tanken om en integrering av humanistiske tekststudier og samfunnsvitenskapelige kontekststudier*. I drøftingen kommer eksempler stort sett til å bli hentet fra fjernsynsforskningen. Om medieperspektivet på den måten blir begrenset prøver artikkelen til gjengjeld å trekke på fjernsynsforskning som er gjort innen forskjellige medievitenskapelige fagtradisjoner. For om antallet tekstproduksjonsstudier er begrenset er de samtidig spredte til flere av mediefagets underdisipliner; Man finner dem i journalistikkforskningen, i det som gjerne kalles produksjonsstudier, og i forskningen på medieinstitusjoner.

Felles for mange av de ”klassiske” fjernsynsstudiene som bruker både et produksjons- og et tekstperspektiv er at sammenhengen mellom de to framstår som noe løs og uavklart. Som eksempler kan nevnes Herbert Gans’ klassiske journalistikkstudie *Deciding What’s News* (1980) og den bredt anlagte studien av serien *Coronation Street* (Dyer/Geraghty/Jordan/Lovell/Paterson/Stewart 1981). I begge tilfeller dekkes både produksjons- og tekststadiet med analyser. Men det skjer ikke ved at forskerne kartlegger konkrete produksjonsprosesser og sammenstiller dem med de spesifikke tekstene som er resultatet av dem. Isteden gjør de intervjuer og observasjoner som er rettet mot en mer generell karakteristikk av produksjonen. Og de gjør en relativt frittstående kvalitativ tekstanalyse av en eller flere tekster. Resultatet både i *Deciding What’s News* og i *Coronation Street* er at undersøkelsen metodisk og analytisk faller i to. De to delene kan nok sies å bidra til et felles totalbilde; De demonstrerer at metodikkene ikke er uforenlige, og de stiller sammen empirisk materiale på en måte som i høyeste grad er fruktbar. Men selve sammenhengene mellom produksjon og tekst blir i liten grad drøftet teoretisk i disse arbeidene, og de blir ikke fulgt opp på det metodiske og empiriske planet.

Selv om disse studiene er tverrvitenskapelige i sitt oppslag, avspeiler de dermed samtidig en tendens til spesialisering som har foregått innenfor medievitenskapens felles papir, og som i stor grad har virket mot integreringsambisjonene. Ikke minst finnes skillet mellom samfunnsvitenskap og humaniora fremdeles der i medievitenskapens metodikk og analytiske praksis. Medieorganisasjonenes strukturer, forholdet mellom dem og produksjonen i dem er blitt etablert som tre distinkte samfunnsvitenskapelige forskningsområder (med journalistikken som et slags eget, fjerde område). Og på den humanistiske siden finnes et spekter av tilnærminger til tekst; sjangerstudier, fortelleanalyse, semiotikk, tekstlingvistikk, for å nevne noe. Den metodiske utviklingen og de konkrete utformingene av empiriske undersøkelser skjer i overveiende grad innenfor disse underdisiplinene. Det sier seg selv at tekstproduksjonsstudier da lett vil arte seg som relativt løse sammenstillinger av to eller flere slike tradisjoner. Men hvis det er dekkende å si at metodisk og empirisk *samordning* av produksjon og tekst er et relativt lite utforsket område, hva kan årsakene være?

Kritikk av intensjonalitetsbegrepet

En mulig grunn er at de teoretiske drøftingene ikke har vært tilstrekkelig uttømmende i behandlingen av forholdet mellom produksjon og tekst. Sentral i denne sammenhengen er den medievitenskapelige kritikken av intensjonalitetsbegrepet. Det finnes en vel utbygd litteratur med kritikk av individentsentrerte, elitekulturelt avledede forestillinger om det ene verket og skapelsen av det ved hjelp av individuell, kreativ intensjon (blant andre Alvarado 1982, Bruun Andersen 1988, Murdock 1993, Newcomb/Alley 1983). På en overbevisende måte argumenterer disse forskerne for at teorier om fjernsynsteksters tilblivelse må være teorier om kulturindustriell produksjon. Dermed må hierarkiseringen, arbeidsdelingen og det kollektive i tekstproduksjonen stå sentralt. Men utover den kritiske diskusjonen av intensjonaliteten ser det ut til at produksjonsstadiet i liten grad har blitt relatert til den bredere massekommunikasjonsprosessen gjennom teoretisk drøfting. Det er iallfall konklusjonen i Manuel Alvarados britiske oversikt over feltet, skrevet på et tidspunkt da det meste av den toneangivende britiske forskningen var gjort. Hans konklusjon er harsk: ”As far as theoretical work on film and television is concerned I would venture to suggest that *nothing* has been published on production” (Alvarado 1982: 2, forfatterens kurs.). I amerikanske produksjonsstudier har utviklingen om noe gått mot en

viss rehabilitering av forestillinger om individuell intensjon og kreativitet innenfor fjernsynsorganisasjonens rammer (Newcomb/Hirsch 1994, Thompson/Burns 1990).

Når det så gjelder de empiriske undersøkelsene som gjøres innenfor produksjonsstudiene, er flertallet av dem studier bare av selve produksjonen, eventuelt studier der tekstlige perspektiver heftes på som lite utviklede vedheng. Videre finnes det en klar tendens til konsentrasjon rundt produksjonen av enkelte programmer og rundt den kreative kjernen i produksjonsteamene. Både de programpolitiske overlegningene som foretas på toppledernivå, og den programskjema-konstruksjonen som foregår samme sted, er i relativt liten grad kartlagt (unntak er Caldwell 1995, Gitlin 1983). Hva er det så som har hindret produksjonsstudiene i å utvikle begreper, modeller og konkrete analyser av produksjonens samspill med teksten? En mulig forklaring er at den toneangivende litteraturvitenskapelige kritikken av intensjonaliteten, som nyter en stor grad av aksept også innenfor medievitenskapen, ikke legger til rette for noen integrering. Siden de anti-intensjonalistiske synspunktene til nykritiske teoretikere som W. K. Wimsatt og Monroe C. Beardsley (1989) innledet en historisk-biografiske metoden i litteraturvitenskapen, har det vært et dominerende syn at en teksts mening verken kan eller bør tilbakeføres til noen intensjon på avsendersiden. En slik tilbakeføring oppfatter Wimsatt og Beardsley som en uholdbar, psykologiserende projeksjon, en "intentional fallacy". Den anti-autorale posisjonen har vært rådende både innenfor nykritisk og strukturalistisk basert tekstanalyse, og innenfor dens poststrukturalistiske etterfølgere. Der har den om noe blitt skjerpet ytterligere, som i Roland Barthes' sene arbeider, der han demonstrativt skriver om "forfatterens død" (Barthes 1977; se også Foucault 1977). Poststrukturalismens tekstforståelse har blitt gjenstand for kritikk fra medievitere som kritiserer den for helt å ville sjalte ut handlings-aspektet på produksjonssiden (blant andre Gripsrud 1995, Tulloch 1990). Graham Murdock (1993) har ment at Barthes' formuleringer om forfatterens død helst skal forstås som en tidsbetinget polemikk mot visse tradisjonelle oppfatninger innenfor litteraturvitenskapen. Dersom man sørger for å holde en viss avstand til de mer individsentrerte og romantiske forestillingene om hva intensjon er, kan man fastholde tanken om en sammenheng mellom produksjon og tekst, ifølge Murdock. Han leverer en sterk argumentasjon for at et integrert tekstproduksjonsstudium er både mulig og ønskelig. Men han sier ikke hvordan man skal komme videre, fra det som er teoretisk mulig og ønskelig til det som er teoretisk begrunnet – og han sier ikke hvordan man skal komme videre derfra til det som er metodisk og analytisk gjennomførbart.

Den relative autonomiens problem

Stuart Halls artikkel *Encoding/decoding* (1992) representerer et av de mest innflytelsesrike forsøkene på å gi en teoretisk og begrepslig ramme for relasjonene mellom tekst og kontekst, både i fjernsynet og i massekommunikasjonsprosessen generelt. Den har avfødt en atskillig mer omfattende drøfting av relasjoner mellom tekst og resepsjon enn av relasjoner mellom tekst og produksjon. Artikkelen er imidlertid sentral også i tekstproduksjonens sammenheng, med sitt begrep om innkoding (*encoding*). Gjennom dette begrepet og pendanten *dekoding* forsøker Hall å ta vare på både det rettede i kommunikasjonsprosessen (fra en avsender til en mottaker) og måten prosessen involverer et meningsaspekt. Hall låner en formulering fra Marx og karakteriserer prosessen som "a passage of forms" (:128). Halls drøfting er formulert i opposisjon mot lineære forestillinger om kommunikasjonsprosessen, og deres tendens til å ignorere kommunikasjonens *diskursivitet*, som han formulerer det. I artikkelen prøver Hall å formulere en teori som innarbeider semiotiske innsikter. Den beskriver tekster som tegnstrukturer, og tar med

det diskursiviteten i betraktning. Ifølge Hall kjennetegnes både innkoding og dekodning av en kombinasjon av *determination* og *relative autonomy*. I overgangen mellom produksjon og tekst oppstår elementet av autonomi, når teksten oppstår som en *meaningful discourse*.

Med begrepet *relative autonomy* introduserer Hall et element av grunnleggende usikkerhet i forholdet mellom massekommunikasjonens tre instanser. Men i sine grunnleggende trekk er Halls "encoding/decoding"-modell samtidig en kontinuerlig modell, der produksjon, distribusjon og resepsjon sees som ett lukket system. For Hall er det et overordnet mål å gjøre rede for den selvopprettholdende logikken i kapitalistisk vareøkonomi. Det kan derfor sees på som et forsøk på å sette grenser for usikkerheten når han skisserer det velkjente spektret av tre mulige "dekodinger": *dominant, negotiated* og *oppositional*. Tredelingen tar høyde for det usikre i forholdet mellom tekst og tolkning, men søker samtidig å begrense den, slik at elementet av determinering fremdeles kan dominere. Hall går derimot ikke videre i å drøfte hvordan sammenhengene mellom produksjon og tekst kan begrepssettes. I det hele tatt virker denne siden av modellen mindre utviklet. Hall tenderer mot å underbetone det diskursive nivået på avsendersiden og overbetone det på tekstsiden, der han bare sn akker om "programme as meaningful discourse", og ikke om tekstens materielle aspekter. Det er et problem hos Hall at etableringen av "meaning structures" ser ut til å skje idet produksjon blir til tekst, altså etter selve produksjonsprosessen. Hall nevner riktignok at også produksjonen har et diskursivt aspekt (:129), men han relaterer ikke denne observasjonen til selve *encoding/decoding*-modellen. Dermed kommer Hall ner opptil å oppfatte produksjons/tekst-forbindelsen som en passasje fra et materielt produksjonsnivå til et nivå av immanent tekstmening. Selv om *Encoding/decoding* er skrevet i uttalt opposisjon til lineære kommunikasjonsmodeller, inviterer den dermed til å se tekstproduksjon som en lineær prosess, i den forstand at produksjon der kommer "først", tekst "etterpå".

Det som er underbeskrevet i Halls modell er altså avsendersidens diskurser og den måten de bidrar til prosessen på. Her finnes det muligheter til å utvikle diskusjonen av tekstproduksjonens sammenhenger videre. Forskerbidrag serlig fra de senere årene har på forskjellig måte satt søkelyset på hvordan tekstproduksjon forutsetter en teksttolkende aktivitet på avsendersiden (blant andre Cottle 1995, Dornfeld 1998, Ekstrom 1998, Helland 1992, Jacobs 1996, Schudson 1995). For å kunne sette i gang en tekstproduksjonsprosess, må aktørene ta del i en felles forståelse av de typer tekster produksjonen gjelder. Vi står med andre ord overfor et kretsløp der tekstproduksjon forutsetter at aktørene tolker tidligere tekster, for så å forhandle og samordne disse tolkningene. I dette kretsløpet er tekstproduksjonens aktører hele tiden samtidig teksttolkere, som Allan Bell (1991: 99) har påpekt. Vekselvirkningen mellom produksjon og tolkning er rett og slett et grunnvilkår for tekstproduksjonen i det hele tatt. Bare gjennom produksjonsprosessen kan en tekst tre fram, og bare gjennom erfaring med tekster kan en produksjonsprosess finne sted.

Innenfor en slik modell blir resepsjonsprosessen og produksjonsprosessen atskillig mer homologe enn hva tilfellet er hos Stuart Hall. Tanken om et samvirke mellom det produktive og det tolkende elementet er like viktig for studiet av tekstproduksjon som for studiet av tekst-resepsjon, noe Ronald N. Jacobs (1996) har pekt på. Både tekstproduksjon og tekst-resepsjon involverer subjekter som bygger opp et sett med forventninger til framtidig teksttolkning – en forventning som i sin tur er basert på tidligere teksttolkninger. Dette er verken mer eller mindre enn et spørsmål om grunnleggende hermeneutiske mekanismer. Enhver teksttolkende handling må bygge på et sett med forutforståelser av den aktuelle teksten – samt av de klasser av tekst den tilhører. Selve

teksttolkningen fungerer så delvis til å konsolidere, delvis til å revidere subjektets fordommer. Det er altså verken nødvendig eller riktig å postulere at teksten "kommer før" tolkningen. Slik foregår det åpenbart ikke i produksjonen, og slik foregår det heller ikke i resepsjonen, siden teksttolkning som nevnt forutsetter fordommer. I produksjon som i resepsjon er elementet av produktivitet, av subjektets menings-skaping, avhengig av et tolknings-element. I Hans-Georg Gadamer's tenkning om hermeneutiske prosesser er det et generelt poeng at "interpretation is probably, in a certain sense, re-creation" (sitert i Wilson 1995: 46). For å gi et eksempel: Før en hvilken som helst nyhetssending kan bli produsert, må journalistene og de andre yrkesgruppene komme til produksjonen med en noenlunde utviklet forståelse av nyhetssjangeren de skal arbeide i generelt, og de aspektene av teksten de skal arbeide med spesielt. Både fagutdanning og praksis kan dermed i stor grad sees på som redskaper for å opparbeide et slikt tolkningsrepertoar.

Det å se tekstproduksjon og teksttolkning som gjensidig konstituerende, innebærer ikke bare at man betoner tolkningens konstruktive preg, men også dens kontinuitet. Produksjon av nyhetsprogrammer er for eksempel planlagt som en kontinuerlig pågående aktivitet, på tvers av hver enkelt nyhetssending. Den har dermed ingen egentlig definierbar begynnelse og slutt, men holder ved like et samspill av bekreftelse og revisjon, av repetisjon og forskjell. Denne kontinuerlige og gjensidige påvirkningen mellom tekster og tolkninger kan forankres i Charles Sanders Peirce's forestilling om meningsproduksjon som en uendelig semiose. Peirce ser denne prosessen som en "series of successive interpretants" som i prinsippet er uendelig (sitert i Nith 1995: 43). Kulturindustriell produksjon kan sees på som en form for disiplinering av sosial semiose, som utnyttes i tekstproduksjoner for å sikre kulturindustrien en planmessig og kontinuerlig strøm av tekster. I slik kulturindustriell produksjon oppstår det uvegerlig konflikt og maktkamp når individuelle tolkninger skal bringes i takt for å tilfredsstille tidsfrister, ressursrammer, policy og strategi. Og her er det produksjonens semiose skiller lag med resepsjonens. Mens massemedieresepsjon er konstruksjon av mening ut fra tekster som tolkeren i hovedsak er uten innflytelse på, er produksjonens semiose et sett med forhandlede prioriteringer som nedfelles i massekommunikasjonens tekster, og som dermed er valg gjort på vegne av publikum. Nok en viktig forskjell ligger i den organiserte rammen som tolkning i produksjonsleddet skjer i, en ramme som fordeler roller og makt ulikt mellom aktørene.

Mening i kontekst

I de senere årene har altså forskningen på tekstproduksjon i stigende grad inkludert bidrag som knytter sammen produksjonen og teksten ved å sette søkelyset på hvordan produksjon involverer tolkning, forhandlinger og kompromisser om tekst. Dermed integres innsikter om meningsproduksjon og tekststrukturer med innsikter om beslutninger og prioriteringer som gjøres av aktører i en sosial og institusjonell kontekst. I flere medievitenskapelige fagdiskusjoner de senere årene har det blitt etterlyst forskning som gjør nettopp dette. En av disse fagdiskusjonene har tatt opp forholdet mellom politisk økonomi-tradisjonen og de såkalte kulturstudiene (cultural studies). Debatten har blant annet dreid seg om tendensen til en form for arbeidsdeling der politisk økonomi-tradisjonens forskere undersøker de økonomiske, politiske og institusjonelle strukturene som former massekommunikasjonens beslutningsprosesser, mens kulturstudiene tar for seg meningsproduksjonens område, altså tekstens strukturer av meningspotensiale og de meninger som realiseres i tolkningen av dem. Arbeidsdelingen har hatt som konsekvens at politisk økonomi-tradisjonen har konsentrert seg om massekommunikasjonens produksjonsside

og lagt vekt på de determineringer som gjør seg gjeldende der. Kulturstudiene har på sin side kartlagt forholdet mellom tekst og tolker på en måte som ofte synes å implisere et betydelig element av forhandling av og motstand mot determinerende elementer (for en gjennomgang og drøfting, se Ferguson/Golding 1997). Flere forskere har ment at denne arbeidsdelingen er uheldig, og har tatt til orde for at produksjonens determineringer i større grad bør drøftes opp mot sosiale, kulturelle og teksttolkende prosesser i produksjonen (blant andre Born 1993, Curran 1996, Murdock 1997).

Fordi disse initiativene kommer i etterkant av en sterk forskerinteresse rundt resepsjon på 80- og 90-tallet, blir de av og til formulert i opposisjon til denne forskningens agenda, som polemisk betegnes som "revisjonisme" og "populisme". I nyere tekstproduksjonsstudier blir det imidlertid gjerne lagt vekt på hvordan tekstproduksjon i har viktige felles trekk med tekst-resepsjon, og derfor på mange måter kan trekke på denne forskningen (Dornfeld 1998, Jacobs 1996). Dessuten betoner de hvordan en slik forskning krever en samordning av tilnærminger til tekst og tilnærminger til (institusjonell) kontekst. Betydningen av slik samordning er blitt framhevet av Jan Ekecrantz. I drøftinger som tar utgangspunkt i nyere sosiologisk teori (Ekecrantz 1998a, 1998b) har han etterlyst medievitenskapelig forskning som utforsker samvirket mellom strukturer og aktører, mellom materielle og symbolske nivåer, mellom voluntarisme og determinisme. Middelveien mellom disse polene kan ifølge Ekecrantz best nås i medievitenskapen gjennom en forskningstilnærming som integrerer tekstlige og kontekstuelle aspekter – og som samtidig bygger bro mellom tradisjonelt humanistiske og tradisjonelt samfunnsvitenskapelige tilnærminger. Ekecrantz legger vekt på at dette ikke bør ende opp som et teoretisk postulat, mens tekst og kontekst i realiteten står uformidlet ved siden av hverandre i de faktiske undersøkelsene. Han går derfra til å peke ut visse begreper i nyere medievitenskap som kan peke mot en type forskning der tekst og kontekst reelt integreres, blant dem "meso-nivå", "diskurs", "sjanger" og "institusjon". Her stiller han seg på linje med andre forskere som har tatt til orde for studier som viser hvordan tekst og kontekst samvirker i konkrete, tids- og stedsbestemte, institusjonelle og sosiale kontekster (blant andre Corner 1997, Fairclough 1995, Schudson 1991).

Teoretisk sett er dette en posisjon som i og for seg ikke er spesielt kontroversiell i nyere medievitenskap. Som tidligere nevnt oppstår problemene kanskje først og fremst når prinsippene skal realiseres i konkret forskning, siden tekstproduksjonsforskningen rommer vitenskapsteoretiske problemer som vil forplante seg til det metodiske og empiriske området. Når Jan Ekecrantz (1998b) framhever nyere nordiske, vitenskapelige arbeider som skal vise slik reell integrering av tekstlige og kontekstuelle perspektiver, er det da også snakk om arbeider som empirisk og metodologisk er konsentrert om tekster, og som med "kontekst" primert forstår diskursiv, institusjonell og/eller sjangermessig tilhørighet. "Kontekst" kan imidlertid også forstås som de konkrete produksjons- og resepsjonsprosesser som tekstene inngår i. Hvordan kan så de metodiske og empiriske utfordringene løses i forskning av denne siste typen?

Tre strategier for tekstproduksjonsforskning

Tekstproduksjonsforskningens konkrete metodiske og empiriske prioriteringer vil i stor grad avhenge av hvordan forskeren velger å hankses med tidsaspektet. Siden kulturindustriell produksjon (og fjernsynsproduksjon i utpreget grad) preges av det serielle og det kontinuerlige, byr den på prosesser som utfolder seg over lang tid. Åtviklingen av sjangere, formater, organisasjonsstrukturer og profesjonskulturer skjer over måneder og år. Dersom man ønsker å gjøre slike komplekse, langvarige prosesser til gjenstand for

undersøkelse, vil det vere naturleg å undersøke hvordan produksjon og tekst samspiller i en medieinstitusjon over tid. Når det gjelder en utpreget kontinuerleg form for produksjon som fjernsynsnyheter, kan man for eksempel følge planleggingen og implementeringen av en nyhetssending, med særskilt vekt på de forhandlingene og kompromissene om tekst som de involverer. Deretter tar man tak i det neste initiativ til å forandre formatet i vesentlig grad. Man undersøker hvordan denne endringsprosessen annett involverer endringer i aktørenes tolkninger av de forutgående programmene. Disse endringene forplanter seg til forhandlingene i produksjonen, og til et nytt, forhandlet kompromiss. Forskeren kan her søke å få fram hvordan disse forhandlingene på samme tid dreier seg om tekstvurderinger og om endringer i profesjonskulturen, i profesjonslegitimeringen, i den overordnede programpolitikken, i organisasjonens strukturer og ressursprioriteringer. Kompromisset er så i sin tur med på å danne grunnlaget for en endret tekst.

Ved å følge denne prosessen slik den knytter sammen produksjon og tekst over lengre tidsperioder, kan man altså få et bilde av hvordan for eksempel sjangere og profesjonskulturer holdes ved like og revideres. Dette kan man kalle en *vekslingsstrategi* for forskning på tekstproduksjon. (Blant arbeider der den er realisert helt eller delvis er Anderson 1990, Djerf Pierre 1996, Tulloch/Alvarado 1983, Ytreberg 1999). Fortrinnet ved vekslingsstrategien er at den omsetter ny innsikt om tekstproduksjonen i et konkret forskningsopplegg som gjør det mulig å knytte forhandlinger og konflikter i produksjonen til tekstlige trekk, slik at man ser sammenhengene mellom prioritering og resultat. Dermed kan vekslingsstrategien hjelpe forskeren til å gjøre kulturindustriens ofte utpreget langsomme endringsprosesser til gjenstand for empirisk undersøkelse. Man kan blant annett gå fra å behandle sjangerens prosess-preg som et teoretisk postulat (Neale 1980) til også å undersøke den som et empirisk fenomen.

Hovedproblemet med vekslingsstrategien er at den forutsetter en empiri som lett blir stor og uhandterleg. Det er en meget omfattende jobb å fange inn samspillet mellom de forskjellige nivåene og stadiene i tekstproduksjonen over lengre tid. I tillegg vil det gjerne dukke opp et behov for å si noe om samspillet mellom institusjon og samfunn, og mellom tekstlig utvalg og sjangerens/formatets bredere utvikling. Samtidig innebærer vekslingsstrategien at undersøkelene gjøres med en grad av nyanse og detaljering, slik at prosessens framdrift, dens forhandlinger og konflikter, trer tydelig fram. Men det er vanskelig å gå inn for den type "thick description" som antropologisk metode gjerne foreskriver – delvis av kapasitetsgrunner, delvis på grunn av begrensninger i metodevalg. Vekslingsstrategien vil gjerne kreve at man kartlegger et antall produksjonsprosesser som ligger bakover i tiden. Da kan observasjonsmetodikk i høyden gi et allmennt orienterende bilde av prosesser i dag som ligner de aktuelle prosessene av i går. Forskeren er henvist til å rekonstruere det konkrete forløpet i tekstproduksjonen gjennom intervjuer og dokumentanalyse. Den som går inn for en vekslingsstrategi, blir derfor gjerne henvist til å balansere mellom hensynet til å være konkret om samspillet mellom produksjon og tekst, og hensynet til å sammenfatte analysen av mange prosesser over lang tid. Da vil gjerne analysen måtte bli bygd opp rundt viktige vendepunkter i tekstproduksjonsprosessen – for eksempel en omorganisering som endrer profesjonenes stilling, eller en policyendring som krever betydelig endring av tekstforventningene. Den som følger en vekslingsstrategi må derfor vokte seg for å overrepresentere endring og underrepresentere gjentakelse.

Det tradisjonelle alternativet til vekslingsstrategien er *separeringsstrategien*. Som nevnt innledningsvis inneberer den at man behandler produksjon og tekst metodisk og analytisk separat, men presenterer dem i en samlet framstilling. Problemet her er mangelen på noen egentlig analyse av samspillet mellom produksjon og tekst på det metodiske

og analytiske planet. En tredje strategi er det man kan kalle *tilblivelsesstrategien*; forskeren følger Cn tekst, et program eller en serie fra det første initiativet via konseptutformingen og selve produksjonen til det tekstlige resultatet. Problemet her er det lineære og avsluttede preget som slike studier lett får; Tilblivelsesstrategien synes å passe bedre til elitekulturelle verk enn til den kontinuerlige produksjonen av tekster som preger så mye av kulturindustrien. Det finnes imidlertid gode grunner til at denne tilnermingen stadig har fotfeste. Først og fremst er den empirisk overkommelig. Videre er den godt egnet for observasjonsmetodikk. Det gir et rikere og mer nyansert empirisk tilfang enn dokumentanalyse og intervjuer, samtidig som det kan kombineres med disse. I denne typen empiriske undersøkelser er det dessuten fullt mulig å sett fokus på forståelse, forhandling og kompromisser om tekst (en serlig vekt på dette legger bl. a. Dornfeld 1998, Ekstrim 1998, Helland 1995, Saferstein 1992).

Mellom felles forskningsobjekt og enhetsvitenskap

Bak drøftingene i denne artikkelen ligger det som et premiss at større grad av faglig integrering er ønskelig i medievitenskapen generelt, og i tekstproduksjonsstudiene spesielt. Det er imidlertid verd å drøfte hva slags mål det er meningsfullt å operere med i denne integreringsprosessen. Mye tyder på at det er fåfengt å operere med forestillinger om en enhetsvitenskap, en faglig "kjerne" som andre fag tenkes å ha, og som medievitenskapen bør strebe mot. Som det ble pekt på i drøftingen av Stuart Halls "encoding/decoding"-modell, utgjør den "relative autonomien" mellom kommunikasjonsprosessens instanser et teoretisk hinder som det er vanskelig å tenke seg skulle falle bort. På mange måter har teoriutviklingen gått den motsatte veien. Den tradisjonen som har sitt utgangspunkt i Shannon & Weavers informasjonsteoretisk baserte modell, domineres av et sterkt lineært element, og av en tanke om direkte overføring av informasjonen fra en avsender via et budskap til en mottaker. De fleste senere modeller modererer påstandene om en lineær og direkte overføring i massekommunikasjonen. Stuart Halls innkodings/dekodingsmodell gjør det ved å tilføre en semiotisk menings-dimensjon. Resultatet er at både det punktet der meningen innkodes og det punktet der den avkodes blir grunnleggende *usikre*, idet de suspenderes mellom "determination" og "relative autonomy". Dersom man godtar at denne usikkerheten er et permanent og ikke-reduserbart element i massekommunikasjonen, har man samtidig satt en grense for integreringsprosjektet. Den drøftingen av utvekslinger mellom produksjon og tekst som gjøres i denne artikkelen, kan da i høyden regnes som et slags forsøk på å *oversette* mellom to instanser. Men det vil ikke kunne *overskride* skillet mellom dem, på den måten som tanken om en enhetsvitenskap ville kreve. Kanskje er det dermed slik at medievitenskapen vil måtte henvise forskerne til ukomfortable pendlinger mellom massekommunikasjonens instanser. Men det betyr ikke nødvendigvis at det er noe fåfengt ved den måten medievitenskapen har institusjonalisert integrerende forklaringer om massekommunikasjonen gjennom tverrfaglighet. Status innenfor tekstproduksjonsstudiene tyder på at dette langt fra er et fullendt prosjekt, verken i teoretisk, metodisk eller analytisk forstand.

Det innvendes imidlertid ofte mot tverrvitenskapelighet at den går på bekostning av den faglige fordypningen. Dessuten risikerer medieviterne å miste kontakten med kunnskapsutviklingen i "moderfag" som psykologi, sosiologi og litteraturvitenskap. I et foredrag ved den 13. nordiske konferansen for medie- og kommunikasjonsforskning tok Jostein Gripsrud til orde for at medieforskernes oppmerksomhet i større grad burde rettes mot historiens, estetikens og filosofiens fagtradisjoner, under mottoet *ad fontes!*

(Gripsrud 1998). Det er ingen grunn til å benekte verken at det finnes problemer med tverrvitenskapelighet eller at lesning av Kant kan være nyttig kunnskap for medievitere. Spørsmålet er om en orientering tilbake til fagtradisjonene vil føre integreringsprosjektet videre, eller legge det på is. Når tverrvitenskapeligheten er institusjonalisert i medievitenskapen, har det ikke bare skjedd fordi medier er moteriktige forskningsobjekter. Tverrvitenskapeligheten har vært knyttet til en vitenskapelig agenda, til utforsking av kommunikasjonsprosessens sammenhenger mellom produksjon, tekst og resepsjon. Det å slå seg til ro med at medievitenskapen bør være et samlokalisert sett av forskjellige fag med felles forskningsobjekter, vil innebære en retrett fra denne agendaen. Det vil samtidig være en retrett fra konsekvensene av en institusjonalisering som uansett går sin gang. Blant annet produserer den etter hvert en generasjon av forskere uten "moderfag"; integrerings-agendaen er kanskje det nærmeste de i det hele tatt kommer en faglig plattform.

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NEWSPAPERS • ARTICLES • HEADLINES • CONTENT

Thorsen, Tønnes: *EU-kampen i fjernsynsnyhetene: en sammenlikning av kildepreferanser og balanse i NRK Dagsrevyen og TV2Nyhetene i 1994*. Stavanger, 1999, 23 p.
TELEVISION NEWS • EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES
• INFORMATION SOURCES • PREJUDICE

Valtonen, Sanna: *Stories of recession, stories of work*. Helsinki, University of Helsinki, 1999, 19 p.
JOURNALISM • RECESSION • WORK • CONTENT

Åker, Patrik: *Möten på toppen – ett uttryck för folkets makt?: två statsbesök sommaren 1989 i svensk och internationell press*. Södertörns hög-

skola, Medie- och kommunikationsvetenskap (MKV), 1999, 24 p.

PRESS • POLITICS • POWER • CONTENT

Grupp 12 Receptions- och publikforskning

Ordförande: *Mirja Likkanen*

Vice ordförande: *Thomas Tufte*

Findahl, Olle: *Is there a moment we can call reception?* Umeå universitet, Institutionen för kultur och medier, 1999, 10 p.

TELEVISION • RECEPTION • COGNITION
• COMPREHENSION

Gjedde, Lisa; Ingemann, Bruno: *In the beginning was the experience: the experimental reception studies.* Roskilde, Roskilde Universitetscenter, Kommunikationsuddannelsen, 1999, 22 p.

PRESS PHOTOGRAPHY • MAGAZINES • RECEPTION
• RESEARCH METHODS

Grodal, Torben Kragh: *Video games and the pleasures of control.* København, Københavns Universitet, Institut for Film- og Medievidenskab, 1999, 26 p.

COMPUTER GAMES • INTERACTIVE MEDIA • FILMS
• COMMUNICATION EFFECTS

Jansson, André: *A matter of attitude: outline to a phenomenology of media culture.* Göteborgs universitet, Institutionen för journalistik och masskommunikation (JMG), 1999, 17 p.

MEDIA • AUDIENCE RESEARCH
• CULTURAL STUDIES • EVERYDAY LIFE

Mayer, Paul A: *The multiply described user: a role for reception studies in the development of computer media?* København, Københavns Universitet, Institut for Film- og Medievidenskab 1999, 16 p.

COMPUTERS • USER INTERFACES • RECEPTION
• AUDIENCE RESEARCH

Tufte, Thomas: *Gauchos going global: mobile privatisation and ritualized media use.* København, Københavns Universitet, Institut for Film- og Medievidenskab, 1999, 34 p.

MEDIA • ETHNOGRAPHY • MEDIA USE
• CULTURAL IDENTITY

Grupp 13 Børn, unge og medier

Ordförande: *Jette Rygaard*

Vice ordförande: *Gudbjörg Kolbeins*

Andersson, Anita: *Förskolans mediemiljö: en enkätundersökning om medietillgång och medie-*

användning i svenska förskolor. Umeå universitet, Institutionen för kultur och medier, 1999, 23 p.

MEDIA USE • CHILDREN • SCHOOLS
• CONSUMPTION

Hake, Karin: *Femåringers fascinasjon av fjernsyn: en komparativ studie.* Oslo, NRK, 1999, 15 p.

TELEVISION • CHILDREN • PUBLIC SERVICE MEDIA
• COMMERCIAL TELEVISION

Holm Sørensen, Birgitte: *Børns chat: fiktions- og virkelighedsniveauer.* København, Danmarks Lærerhøjskole, 1999, 17 p.

INTERNET • CHILDREN • INTERACTIVE MEDIA
• COMMUNICATION

Johnsson-Smaragdi, Ulla: *Young people and new media in Sweden.* Lunds universitet, Sociologiska institutionen, Avd. för medie- och kommunikationsvetenskap (MKV) 1999, 22 p.

MEDIA USE • YOUTH • LEISURE TIME ACTIVITIES
• FAMILY

Olesen, Jesper: *Forbudt for børn: om børns mulighed for at løbe en risiko.* Odense, Syddansk Universitet, Center for Kulturstudier, Medier og Formidling 1999, 13 p.

HORROR FILMS • CHILDREN • MEDIA USE
• COMMUNICATION EFFECTS

Rydin, Ingegerd: *Barnprogrammen på den globala marknaden.* Högskolan i Halmstad, Institutionen för samhälls- och beteendevetenskap, Medie- och kommunikationsvetenskap (MKV), 1999, 31 p.

TELEVISION PROGRAMMES • CHILDREN
• GLOBALIZATION • MARKET

Sundin, Ebba: *Planket, Raketklubben och Kluddis: om barnsidor i svenska dagstidningar.* Högskolan i Jönköping, Högskolan för lärarutbildning och kommunikation (HLK), 1999, 15 p.

NEWSPAPERS • CHILDREN • CONTENT • YOUTH

Wale, Henny: *Kritiske spørsmål til diskusjon fra et forprosjekt om barn og unges bruk av medier.* Fredrikstad, Institutt for journalistikk, 1999, 10 p. + app. 7 p.

NEWSPAPERS • CHILDREN • YOUTH • COMPUTERS

Grupp 14 Mediepedagogik

Ordförande: *Ola Erstad*

Vice ordförande: *Tapio Varis*

Alant, Lise; Sandvik, Margareth: *"Mamma, kan geita ha far?": små barns resepsjon av elektroniske bøker.* Oslo, Høgskolen i Oslo, Avdeling for

lærerutdanning, førskolelærerutdanning; 1999, 25 p.

CHILDREN • CD-ROMS • TECHNOLOGY • RECEPTION

Andreasson, Lennart; Nilsson, Malin: *Förhållandet mellan teori och praktik i medieundervisning*. Högskolan i Halmstad, Institutionen för samhälls- och beteendevetenskap, Medie- och kommunikationsvetenskap (MKV), 1999, 18 p.

MEDIA EDUCATION • KNOWLEDGE • THEORY

Erstad, Ola: *Teknologibaserede læringsmiljø og mediepædagogiske utfordringer*. Oslo, Universitetet i Oslo, Forsknings- og kompetansenettverk for IT i utdanning (ITU); 1999, 17 p.

EDUCATIONAL TECHNOLOGY • EDUCATION
• TEACHING AIDS • SCHOOLS

Högberg, Lasse: *Mediepædagogiske notiser: en inventering av mediepædagogiske erfaringer*. Karlstads universitet, Medie- och kommunikationsvetenskap (MKV), 1999, 23 p.

MEDIA EDUCATION • PEDAGOGY • KNOWLEDGE
• HISTORY

Palmstrøm, Kari: *Kompetansen i klasserommet: 13-åringers mediedannelse og kreativitet*. Bergen, Høgskolen i Bergen, Avdeling for lærerutdanning 1999, 15 p. + app. 26 p.

YOUTH • KNOWLEDGE • EDUCATION • CREATIVITY

Simonnes, Asbjørn: *The child in the interaction between intentional and functional education: a research project studying the relationship between planned education and upbringing at home and school, and the "parallel school" of the media- and computer industry*. Volda, Høgskulen i Volda, 1999, 18 p. + app. 7 p.

CHILDREN • EDUCATION • SCHOOLS
• CULTURAL VALUES

Grupp 15 Populärkultur

Ordförande: Michael Forsman

Vice ordförande: Eva Bakøy

Bakøy, Eva: Ikke den bevingede, men den betingede kjærligheten: om lyst og refleksive prosesser i tilknytning til et "dating game". Lillehammer, Høgskolen i Lillehammer, 1999, 25 p.

TELEVISION PROGRAMMES • ENTERTAINMENT
• TALK SHOW PROGRAMMES • EMOTIONS

Bruun, Hanne: *The aesthetics of the television talk show*. Århus, Århus Universitet, Institut for Informations- og Medievidenskab, 1999, 27 p.

TELEVISION PROGRAMMES • AESTHETICS
• TALK SHOW PROGRAMMES • TELEVISION GENRES

Forsman, Michael: *Bingolotto som rum og ritual*. Stockholms universitet, Institutionen för journalistik, medier och kommunikation (JMK), 1999, 23 p.

TELEVISION PROGRAMMES • GAMES • RECEPTION
• AUDIENCE REACTION

Graffman, Katarina: *"Program som går hem i stugorna": hur tv-producenten förhåller sig till tittare, tittarsiffror och kanalernas fokusering på olika målgrupper*. Uppsala universitet, Institutionen för kulturanthropologi och etnologi, 1999, 15 p.

TELEVISION • PRODUCERS • ATTITUDES
• AUDIENCES

Grønnestad, Dag: *"To be or on the net to be": om musikkalbum, Internett og bundling av kulturvarer*. Bergen, Universitetet i Bergen, Institutt for medievitenskap, 1999, 20 p.

MUSIC PUBLISHING • INTERNET
• ECONOMIC ASPECTS • CULTURE

Hagen, Ingunn: *Reisesjekkens publikumsappell*. Trondheim, NTNU, Psykologisk institutt, 1999, 34 p.

TELEVISION PROGRAMMES • ENTERTAINMENT
• TALK SHOW PROGRAMMES • AUDIENCES

Lövgren, Karin: *Bingolotto – ett spel i tv*. Södertörns högskola, 1999, 21 p.

TELEVISION PROGRAMMES • ENTERTAINMENT
• GAMES • METHODOLOGY

Mühleisen, Wencke: *She-man performance: "kvinnemannens" grelle transkjønnethet*. Oslo, Universitetet i Oslo, Senter for kvinneforskning, 1999, 19 p.

TELEVISION PROGRAMMES • SEX ROLE
• SEX STEREOTYPES • HOMOSEXUALS

Nielsen, Poul Erik: *Dansk TV-fiktion i TV2's bakspejl*. Århus, Århus Universitet, Institut for Informations- og Medievidenskab, 1999, 22 p.

TELEVISION SERIALS • TELEVISION DRAMA
• AESTHETICS • TELEVISION GENRES

Ojajärvi, Sanna: *What is the weather like?: representations of weather on television*. Helsinki, University of Helsinki, 1999, 20 p.

TELEVISION PROGRAMMES • CONTENT • GENDER
• REPRESENTATIONS

Olsson, Tobias: *Reflexivitetens villkor: en kritisk diskussion om den aktiva konsumenten*. Växjö universitet, 1999, 24 p.

MEDIA • CULTURE • CONSUMPTION • COGNITION

Sjögren, Olle: *Det gåtfulla detektionsarbetet: en analys av spänningsformer och kunskapande i Arkiv*

X. Göteborgs universitet, Institutionen för musikvetenskap, Avd. för filmvetenskap, 1999, 16 p.

TELEVISION SERIALS • FILMS • AUDIENCE REACTION • HISTORY

Syvertsen, Trine: *Ordinary people - extraordinary circumstances: a study of Blind Date participants*. Oslo, Universitetet i Oslo, Institutt for medier og kommunikasjon; 1999, 25 p.

TELEVISION PROGRAMMES • ENTERTAINMENT • TALK SHOW PROGRAMMES • PARTICIPATION

Ytreberg, Espen: *Fra det antydet individuelle til det utstudert nære: NRK Fjernsynets populærjournalistiske show i en konkurransetid*. Oslo, Universitetet i Oslo, Institutt for medier og kommunikasjon 1999, 23 p.

TELEVISION PROGRAMMES
• BROADCASTING ORGANIZATIONS
• COMPETITION • JOURNALISM

Grupp 16 Film og TV-fiktion

Ordförande: *Gunhild Agger*

Vice ordförande: *Åsa Jernudd*

Agger, Gunhild: *Proximity and distance: perspectives for analysis of national TV fiction and its history*. Aalborg, Aalborg Universitet, Institut for Kommunikation, 1999, 15 p.

TELEVISION SERIALS • TELEVISION DRAMA
• TELEVISION GENRES • HISTORY

Andreasen, Unni: *Danmark ifølge TAXA: en analyse af en tv-serie*. Århus, Århus Universitet, Institut for Informations- og Medievidenskab; 1999, 27 p.

TELEVISION SERIALS • NATIONAL IDENTITY
• NARRATOLOGY • TELEVISION GENRES

Christensen, Ove: *Hvem ringer klokkerne for i "Breaking the Waves"?* Aalborg, Aalborg Universitet, Institut for Kommunikation 1999, 11 p.

FILMS • AESTHETICS • FILM DIRECTORS
• NARRATOLOGY

Diesen, Jan Anders: *Fjernsynsdokumentar i forandring*. Lillehammer, Høgskolen i Lillehammer, 1999, 23 p.

TELEVISION PROGRAMMES • DOCUMENTARIES
• BROADCASTING ORGANIZATIONS • HISTORY

Jernudd, Åsa: *En estetisk analys av två reseskildringar i skarven mellan icke-fiktiv film och dokumentären*. Örebro universitet, 1999, 16 p.

FILMS • AESTHETICS • HISTORY • AUDIENCES

Jerslev, Anne: *Det andet lærred i Sally Potters film*. København, Københavns Universitet, Institut for Film- og Medievidenskab, 1999, 22 p.

FILMS • GENDER • FILM DIRECTORS • NARRATOLOGY

Langkjær, Birger: *Fiktioner og virkeligheder i Lars von Triers "Idioterne"* (1998). København, Københavns Universitet, Institut for Nordisk Filologi 1999, 13 p.

FILMS • FACTION • FILM DIRECTORS
• NARRATOLOGY

Lindell, Ingrid: *Sit-Coms och Vaudeviller: en genre-historisk jämförelse*. Göteborgs universitet, Litteraturvetenskapliga institutionen, 1999, 17 p.

FILM GENRES • THEATRE • HISTORY • TELEVISION SERIALS

Rytter, Henrik: *Hong Kong excesser*. Aalborg, Aalborg Universitet, Institut for Kommunikation, 1999, 17 p.

FILMS • AESTHETICS • FILM GENRES
• NARRATOLOGY

Schantz Lauridsen, Palle: *Danske TV-serier i slutningen af 90'erne: serialitet og amerikanisering*. København, Københavns Universitet, Institut for Nordisk Filologi 1999, 28 p.

TELEVISION SERIALS • TELEVISION DRAMA
• NARRATOLOGY • TELEVISION GENRES

Grupp 17 Bilden i medierna – verklighet och bildspråk

Ordförande: *Karin Becker*

Vice ordförande: *Arild Fetveit*

Becker, Karin: *Visualizing the event on the front page: histories of the image within Swedish journalism*. Stockholm, Konstfack, Institutionen för bildpedagogik, 1999, 18 p. + app. 19 p.

NEWSPAPERS • JOURNALISM
• VISUAL COMMUNICATION • PRESS PHOTOGRAPHY

Fetveit, Arild: *Reality tv in the digital era: a paradox in visual culture?* Oslo, Universitetet i Oslo, Institutt for medier og kommunikasjon, 1999, 20 p.

CREDIBILITY • TELEVISION • TECHNOLOGY
• VISUAL COMMUNICATION

Graf, Heike: *Verklighet och dokumentärfilm: Bo Bjelfenstams syn på Berlin i filmerna "Berlin, delad stad" (1959) och "Den döende staden" (1969)*. Södertörns högskola, 1999, 14 p.

FILM GENRES • DOCUMENTARY FILMS
• FILM PRODUCTION • TELEVISION

Göthlund, Anette; Tellgren, Anna: *En traditionell bildform i ett nytt medium: Modebilder på Internet*. Göteborgs universitet, Konstvetenskapliga institutionen/Stockholms universitet, Konstvetenskapliga institutionen, 1999, 19 p. + app. 8 p.

PHOTOGRAPHY • VISUAL COMMUNICATION
• DIGITALIZATION • INTERNET

Pettersson, Rune: *Läroböckernas bildvärld*. Eskilstuna, Mälardalens högskola, Informationsdesign, 1999, 14 p.

BOOKS • TEACHING AIDS • PICTURES
• VISUAL COMMUNICATION

Svensson, Anders: *Den frånvärande bilden och helt andra bilder*. Göteborgs universitet, Institutionen för journalistik och masskommunikation (JMG), 1999, 14 p.

NEWSPAPERS • SPORT • PICTURES • SEMIOLOGY

Torkkola, Sinikka: *Patients in photos: construction of the patienhood in journalistic photographs*. Tampere, University of Tampere, 1999, 12 p. + app. 9 p.

PHOTOGRAPHS • VISUAL COMMUNICATION
• HEALTH INFORMATION • MEDIA

Grupp 18 Mediernas språk och retorik

Ordförande: *Terje Hillesund*

Vice ordförande: *Anne Ellerup-Nielsen*

Egeland, Olav: *Om språk och retorikk på mitt nettsted "Postmodernisme i hverdagen"*. Oslo, 1999, (<http://home.newmedia.no/~olavege>)

INTERNET • LANGUAGE • THEORY • RHETORIC

Ellerup Nielsen, Anne: *Virksomhedens præsentation på world wide web*. Århus, Handelshøjskolen i Århus, 1999, 13 p. + app. 11 p.

MARKETING • PRIVATE ENTERPRISES
• COMMUNICATION • WORLD WIDE WEB

Engelbretsen, Martin: *Hypernyheter og koherens: et rammeverk og en begynnende diskusjon*. Kristiansand, Høgskolen i Agder, 1999, 20 p.

HYPERTEXT • NEWS • TECHNOLOGY • LANGUAGE

Gentikow, Barbara: *Attracting attention in a competing media environment: a rhetorical perspective*. Bergen, Universitetet i Bergen, Institutt for medievitenskap.

RHETORIC • ATTENTION • TELEVISION NEWS
• THEORY

Haugaard, Kasper; Lindskov, Anders; Vinge Pedersen, Bente; Vigsø, Orla: *Jasigerens neutralitet: om "Dagens Nyheter"s artikler op til folkeafstem-*

ningen i Sverige om EU 1994. Roskilde, Roskilde Universitetscenter, Institut for Kommunikation, Journalistik og Datalogi, 1999, 34 p.

NEWSPAPERS • ELECTION CAMPAIGNS • EUROPEAN UNION • LANGUAGE

Korkman, Christina: *En studie av finlandssvenska dagstidningars konstruktion av den ryskspråkiga minoriteten i Finland*. Helsingfors, Svenska social- och kommunalhögskolan, 1999, 8 p.

MINORITY GROUPS • PUBLICITY
• NATIONAL STEREOTYPES • DISCOURSE

Kroon, Åsa: *Dialogiska perspektiv på mediesamtal: om relationer mellan och inom texter*. Linköpings universitet, Tema Kommunikation, 1999, 18 p. + app. 2 p.

MEDIA • DEBATES • LINGUISTICS • RHETORIC

Stigel, Jørgen: *TV's egenreklame og kanalstemmen: kvalitativ undersøgelse*. Aalborg, Aalborg Universitet, Institut for Kommunikation, 1999, 28 p.

TELEVISION • ADVERTISING
• TELEVISION PROGRAMMES
• PROGRAMME CONTENT

Grupp 19 Mediernas konstruktion av kön

Ordförande: *Vibeke Pedersen*

Vice ordförande: *Margareta Melin-Higgins*

Edström, Maria: *Könskonstruktion över genregränserna*. Göteborgs universitet, Institutionen för journalistik och masskommunikation (JMG), 1999, 24 p.

MEDIA • GENDER • SOCIALIZATION • FEMINISM

Egsmose, Lisbeth Rump: *How do equal opportunities policies and practices work?: initiatives in older and younger television companies in Denmark and the UK*. Frederiksberg, Den Kgl. Veterinær- og Landbohøjskole, 1999, 19 p.

BROADCASTING ORGANIZATIONS • GENDER
• WORKING LIFE • PERSONNEL

Nikunen, Kaarina: *The strange world of Ally Mc Beal: the construction of gender in television drama*. Tampere, University of Tampere, 1999, 20 p.

TELEVISION SERIALS • GENDER • PUBLICITY
• FANS

Siivonen, Jonita: *Om innehållsliga och språkliga mönster i personporträtt av kvinnor*. Helsingfors, Svenska social- och kommunalhögskolan, 1999, 19 p. + app. 2 p.

PHOTOGRAPHS • VISUAL COMMUNICATION
• WOMEN • TEXTUAL ANALYSIS

Stoehrel, Veronica: *Patriarkalisk makt och kvinnors motstånd*. Högskolan i Halmstad, 1999, 11 p.
 MEDIA • GENDER • POLITICAL POWER
 • SOCIAL POWER

Grupp 20 Public Relations/planerad kommunikation

Ordförande: *Liv Mellum*

Vice ordförande: *Åsa Sjöblom*

Berndtsson, Anders; Palm, Lars: *Högre benskatter eller vänlig övertalning: att påverka fordonsförarens miljötanke och miljöbeteende*. Lunds universitet, Medie- och kommunikationsvetenskap (MKV), 1999, 12 p.

COMMUNICATION PLANNING • LOCAL COMMUNITIES • ENVIRONMENT • INFORMATION CAMPAIGNS

Eriksson, Mats: *Strategers budskap via massmedier: en studie av Banverkets uttalanden vid giftskandalen vid Hallandsås*. Örebro universitet, Forskningscentrum Människa – Teknik – Miljö, 1999, 12 p.

MEDIA • PUBLIC INFORMATION • RISKS
 • ENVIRONMENT

Eriksson, Mats: *Symmetriska och asymmetriska PR-modeller: en metateoretisk diskussion med anknytning till miljöriskhanterande företag*. Örebro universitet, Forskningscentrum Människa – Teknik – Miljö, 1999, 40 p.

PUBLIC RELATIONS • COMMUNICATION THEORY
 • ENVIRONMENT • RISKS

Heide, Mats: *Den svåra konsten att forska i informationsteknik*. Lunds universitet, Medie- och kommunikationsvetenskap (MKV), 1999, 19 p.

INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY • RESEARCH
 • KNOWLEDGE • COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGY

Larsson, Larsåke: *Journalister och politiker – en relation med spelrum*. Örebro universitet, Medie- och kommunikationsvetenskap (MKV), 1999, 12 p.

JOURNALISM • POLITICS • LOCAL GOVERNMENT
 • INFORMATION SOURCES

Grupp 22 Medierad risk- och kriskommunikation

Ordförande: *Stig Arne Nohrstedt*

Vice ordförande: *Birgitta Höijer*

Englund, Liselotte: *Mission impossible: katastrof-journalistikens dilemma: en ansats till vidare forskning*. Göteborgs universitet, Institutionen för

journalistik och masskommunikation (JMG), 1999, 21 p.

MEDIA • JOURNALISM • CRISIS • ETHICS

Hjelde, Aase: *Journalister under press fra gerilja og hær: Peru 1980-1992*. Oslo, Høgskolen i Oslo, Journalistutdanningen, 1999, 20 p.

JOURNALISM • JOURNALISTS • WAR
 • NEWS COVERAGE

Högvall Nordin, Maria: *Mediebildens av belastningsskador: en pilotstudie av 20 artiklar i Dagens Nyheter och Svenska Dagbladet*. Umeå universitet, Institutionen för kultur och medier, 1999, 19 p.

NEWSPAPERS • HEALTH INFORMATION
 • WORKING CONDITIONS
 • COMMUNICATION PLANNING

Höijer, Birgitta: *From the point of view of the citizens: everyday cognitions and crises discourse in the media*. Oslo, Universitetet i Oslo, Institutt for medier og kommunikasjon, 1999, 27 p.

COGNITION • INFORMATION • RECEPTION
 • AUDIENCE BEHAVIOUR

Nohrstedt, Stig Arne: *Kommunikationsproblem i samband med katastrofer och allvarliga samhällsstörningar: en forskningsöversikt*. Örebro universitet, Humanistiska institutionen, 1999, 17 p.

JOURNALISM • CRISES • INFORMATION NEEDS
 • GOVERNMENT POLICY

Nordlund, Roland: *Risk- och kriskommunikation: myndigheter-medier-medborgare: att fördjupa och bredda ett forskningsfält*. Stockholm, Styrelsen för psykologiskt försvar (SPF) 1999, 21 p.

JOURNALISM • CRISES • INFORMATION NEEDS
 • GOVERNMENT POLICY

Olausson, Ulrika: *Identitet och rasism: reflektioner kring brandkatastrofen i Göteborg*. Örebro universitet, Humanistiska institutionen, 1999, 16 p.

INFORMATION • CRISES • ETHNIC MINORITIES
 • IDENTITY

Sjölander, Annika: *The Swedish nuclear waste discourse: experience from Malå, Sweden*. Umeå universitet, Institutionen för kultur och media, 1999, 29 p.

LOCAL MEDIA • DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION
 • RISKS • NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY

Vettenranta, Soilikki: *Public communication of crises – the relationship between media research and journalistic practise*. Trondheim, Norwegian University of Science and Technology, 1999, 10 p.

CRISIS • COMMUNICATION • JOURNALISTS
 • POPULARIZATION

Den 14:e Nordiska konferensen för medie- och kommunikations- forskning 14–17 augusti 1999, Kungälv, Sverige

Program

Lördag 14 augusti

- 10.00-19.00 Registrering
- 15.00-16.30 Öppningsprogram
Välkomsthälsning av *Lars-Åke Engblom*,
ordförande för organisationskommittén,
Martin Fritz, prorektor, Göteborgs uni-
versitet,
Stewe Claesson, rektor, Nordiska folk-
högskolan
Anförande av *Anne-Margrete Wacht-
meister*, EU-kommissionen, Bryssel: "EU
och mediefrågorna"
Nordiska visor med *Hanne Juul* och *Mats
Bjarki Gustavii*
- 17.00-19.00 Middag på Nordiska folkhögskolan
- 18.00-19.00 Möte med arbetsgruppernas ordförande
- 20.00 Kungälv's kommuns mottagning på Bohus
fästning
- 22.00- PUB på Nordiska folkhögskolan

Söndag 15 augusti

- 9.00-12.00 (med kaffepaus):
- PLENUM 1: *Var ligger forskningsfronten? – ett inter-
nationellt perspektiv*
Klaus Bruhn Jensen – Københavns
universitet
Sonia Livingstone – London School of
Economics and Political Science
Horace Newcomb – University of Texas
at Austin
Thorbjörn Broddason – Islands univer-
sitet (ordförande)

- 12.00-13.00 Lunch
- 13.00-17.00 Arbetsgrupper (inkl. kaffepaus)
- 18.30-22.00 Bussutflykt till Marstrand med kvälls-
måltid

Måndag 16 augusti

- 9.00-12.00 Arbetsgrupper (inkl. kaffepaus)
- 12.00-13.30 Lunch
- 13.30-17.00 Arbetsgrupper (inkl. kaffepaus)
- 17.00-18.00 Tid för gruppmöten
- 20.00- Festmiddag på Hotell Fars Hatt

Tisdag 17 augusti

- 10.00-12.00
- PLENUM 2: *Var ligger forskningsfronten? – några
nedslag i aktuell nordisk forskning*
Anker Brink Lund – Roskilde univer-
sitetscenter
Birgitta Höijer – Oslo universitet
Terhi Rantanen – Helsingfors universitet
Espen Ytreberg – Oslo universitet
Cecilia von Feilitzen – Stockholms
universitet (ordförande)
- 12.00-12.30 Avslutning av konferensen
- 12.30-13.30 Lunch

Den 14:e Nordiska konferensen för medie- och kommunikationsforskning
14–17 augusti 1999, Kungälv, Sverige

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Aula, Pekka: *Organisaation kaaos vai kaaoksen organisaatio?: dynaamisen organisaatioviestinnän teoria*. Chaos of organization or organization of chaos?: a theory of dynamic organizational communication. Helsinki, Helsingin yliopisto, 1999, 299 p., ISBN 952-9646-78-X. (University of Helsinki, Department of Communication). Note: Doctoral dissertation.

The study attempts to apply the theory of chaos and its concepts to organizational communication which the author accordingly views as unstable, multidimensional and unorderedly.

Bergman, Mats: *Meaning and mediation: critical reflections on Peirce and communication theory*. Helsinki, University of Helsinki, 1999, 181 p. (University of Helsinki, Department of Communication). Note: Licentiate's thesis.

The main purpose of the study is to study and develop Peirce's views on communication process and at the same time relate his views to the theoretical questions apparent on communication theory. Thesis is a reconstructive one and the author's aim is to give a new reflection on Peirce's semiotic ideas. This is done through interpreting Peirce's theory on signs which concentrates on communicative, normative and social aspects.

Jaatinen, Miia: *Lobbying political issues: a contingency model of effective lobbying strategies*. Helsinki, Inforviestintä, 1999, 242 p. + app. 58 p., ISBN 952-5123-20-0. (University of Helsinki, Department of Communication). Note: Doctoral dissertation.

The study describes and explains lobbying by the Finnish interest groups at the national and EU-

level and constructs a general theory on lobbying. The purpose of the study is to test a model of effective lobbying strategies in order to add a dynamic aspect to the model. The author also aims to find out whether the model can be applied in different issues at different levels of political decision-making.

Kuusisto, Riikka: *Western definitions of war in the Gulf and in Bosnia: the rhetorical frameworks of the United States, British and French leaders in action*. Helsinki, Finnish Society of Sciences and Letters, 1999, 216 p., 951-653-301-9. (Commentationes scientiarum socialium; 54), ISSN 0355-256X. (University of Helsinki, Department of Political Science.). Note: Doctoral dissertation.

The study deals with rhetoric of the U.S., British and French leaders during the Gulf war and the war in Bosnia. The focus is on the construction of meaning and credibility in foreign politics and especially in international conflicts.

Kytömäki, Juha: *Täytyy kattoo, jos saa kattoo: sosiaalipsykologisia näkökulmia varhaisnuorten televisiokokemuksiin*. I will watch that, if I am allowed...: social psychological viewpoints on pre-teens' television experiences. Helsinki: Helsingin yliopisto, 1999, iv, 220 p., 951-45-8905-X. (Sosiaalipsykologisia tutkimuksia; 1), ISSN 1457-0475. (University of Helsinki, Department of Social Psychology). Note: Doctoral dissertation.

The study deals with children and youth as a television audience. The starting point of the study is to look pre-teens and media in the context of the family and the peers. The empirical part of the study explores televising in the families with children, parents control over children's televising, the content and structure of favourite programmes and fears and children's social interaction related to televising.

Mörä, Tuomo: *EU-journalismin anatomia: mediasäilytöjä muokanneet tekijät ennen kansanäänestystä 1994*. The anatomy of EU journalism: influences on media content before the referendum in 1994. Helsinki, Helsingin yliopisto, 1999, 279 p., (Helsingin yliopiston viestinnän laitoksen julkaisuja Sarja 1A; 1999, 2). (University of Helsinki, Department of Communication). Note: Doctoral dissertation.

The study deals with journalistic processes before the Finnish referendum of joining the European Union in 1994. The author analyses the factors which affected Finnish journalists and their attitudes towards the European Union. The empirical material of the analysis is based on the results of in-depth interviews with journalists and editors-in-chief.

Nieminen, Heikki-Tapio: *Suomalainen radiohartaust: Yleisradiossa vuosina 1932-1997 lähetettyjen luterilaisten aamuhartauksien rakenne ja sisältö*. Morning radio devotions on Finnish Radio: the structure and content of Lutheran morning broadcasts transmitted by the Finnish Broadcasting Company – YLE between 1932-1997. Helsinki: Suomalainen teologinen kirjallisuusseura, 1999. 455 p. (Suomalaisen teologisen kirjallisuusseuran julkaisuja; 221), ISSN 0356-9349. (University of Helsinki, Department of Practical Theology). Note: Doctoral dissertation.

The study deals with the structure and content of Lutheran morning broadcasting transmitted by the Finnish Broadcasting Company between 1932-1997. The methods used in the study are quantitative and qualitative content analysis.

Sedergren, Jari: *Filmi poikki...: poliittinen elokuva-sensuuri Suomessa 1939-1947*. Cut!: political film censorship in Finland, 1939-1947. Helsinki, Suomen historiallinen seura, 1999, 323 p., ISBN 951-710-103-1, (Bibliotheca historica; 39), ISSN 1238-3503. (University of Helsinki, Department of Social Science History). Note: Doctoral dissertation.

The study examines the history of censorship in Finland. The focus of the investigation is on film censorship. The author presents a detailed descriptive study of censorship operations in Finland during the war years analysing the internal and external political factors affecting the Finnish film policy.

Siivonen, Jonita: *Stor Anna, Liten Anna och tio andra personporträtt: om innehållsliga och språkliga mönster i en mediegenres kvinnoberättelser*. Big Anna, Little Anna and ten other press portray-

als: on contextual and linguistic elements in a media genre representing women. Helsingfors, Helsingfors universitet, 1999, 160 p. + app. 50 p. (University of Helsinki, Department of Communication). Note: Licentiate's thesis.

The purpose of the study is to find out how femininity is constructed in press photographs representing females and explore photographs as a media genre. The qualitative analysis is based on feminist and constructive points of view and also on critical text analysis.

Tanner, Maj-Lis: *The news beat: a study of center-periphery news flow in the EU*. Espoo, Maj-Lis Tanner, 1999, 199 p. + app. 50 p., ISBN 952-91-0948-2. (University of Helsinki, Department of Communication). Note: Doctoral dissertation.

The study deals with primary news sources and journalists influencing European Union news production and news flow. How EU institutions communicate and use the media as a mediator of their messages, how EU journalists function as gatekeepers when covering the EU and who has the power over the EU news agenda are questions under examination.

Tukiainen, Tuuli: *Yhteisöviestinnän agendamalli: yhteisöviestinnän merkitykset ja arvostukset ja niiden konstruointi tutkimusmenetelmälliseksi malliksi*. The agenda model of organizational communication: the meanings and valuations of organizational communication and constructing them into a methodological model. Helsinki, Helsingin yliopisto, 1999, 310 p., ISBN 951-43-0800-X. (University of Helsinki, Department of Communication). Note: Doctoral dissertation.

The study attempts to analyse the meanings and valuations which members of a working organization attach to organizational communication and to construct a model of meanings of organizational communication. The writer discusses the meanings through answers given to open-end questions which she examines with the method of discursive content analysis.

Universitetet i Jyväskylä

Iijolainen, Maarika: *Argumentointi sanomalehtien matkailumainonnassa ja matkaesitteissä*. Argumentation in travel advertisements and travel brochures. Jyväskylä, Jyväskylän yliopisto, 1999, 165 p., (University of Jyväskylä, Department of Communication). Note: Licentiate's thesis. The thesis can also be found on the Internet. URL: <http://docuweb.jyu.fi>.

The thesis looks at the argumentation of travel advertisements and travel brochures. The starting point of the study is: how to approach the argumentation of advertisements at school lessons. The method used in the study is the argumentation analysis.

Louhiala-Salminen, Leena: *From business correspondence to message exchange: the notion of genre in business communication*. Jyväskylä: Centre of Applied Language Studies, 1999. 192 p., 951-39-0388-5. (University of Jyväskylä, Centre of Applied Language Studies). Note: Doctoral dissertation. The study contains an appendix "Drop me a fax, will you?"

The author looks at changes in business communication caused by the introduction of new electronic communications media based on her earlier findings. The study explores the implications that the communication developments have on the language used, on writing practices, and on the structure of communication.

Rieskjärvi, Esa: *Pelureita ja sankareita julkisuudessa: mediakertomus yrityskaupasta*. Gamblers and heroes in the publicity: a media story on a business merger. Jyväskylä, Jyväskylän yliopisto, 1999, 149 p., (University of Jyväskylä, Department of Communication). Note: Licentiate's thesis. The thesis can also be found on the Internet. URL: <http://docuweb.jyu.fi>.

The thesis looks at a business merger as a media story. The aim of the study was to find out what kind of meanings, roles and supremacies the media and parties involved the merger got in the publicity.

Suomalainen, Emma: *Työelämäsuuntautuneisuus viestinnän opetuksessa: ammattikorkeakoulujen viestinnän opetuksen tarkastastelua*. How to give job-oriented communication education?: a study on communication teaching at vocational high schools. Jyväskylä, Jyväskylän yliopisto, 1999, 250 p., (University of Jyväskylä, Department of Communication). Note: Licentiate's thesis. The thesis can also be found on the Internet. URL: <http://docuweb.jyu.fi>.

The study deals with communication education at vocational high school level: what kind of demands there are for communication education in view of the needs of professional life.

Laplands universitetet

Kuivakari, Seppo: *Digitaalinen tropos: Internet ja taide*. Digital tropos: Internet and the Art. Rovaniemi, Lapin yliopisto, 1999, 347 p., (University of Lapland, Faculty of Arts). Note: Licentiate's thesis.

The study looks at art as a matter under discussion on the Internet and among other things, reflects opinions expressed about it to the discussion concerning the information society. The perspective used in the study is a subversive one and the Internet is seen as a medium of counter culture.

Uleåborgs universitet

Heikkinen, Vesa: *Ideologinen merkitys kriittisen tekstintutkimuksen teoriassa ja käytännössä. Ideological meaning in the theory and practice of critical textual studies*. Helsinki, Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1999, 316 p., ISBN 951-746-059-7, (Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran toimituksia; 728), ISSN 0355-1768. (University of Oulu). Note: Doctoral dissertation.

The study deals with linguistic text analysis. The focus is on ideological meaning: its conceptual, textual and interpersonal dimensions as well as its explicitness and implicitness. The author's objectives are theoretical, methodological and empirical, and he aims to develop a practical synthesis for critical text analysis which builds on different linguistic and non-linguistic scientific traditions.

Tammerfors universitet

Ala-Fossi, Marko: *Tähden kylmä loiste: Radio Novan markkinoilletulon vaikutus Suomen kaupallisten paikallisradioiden toimintaan*. The cold shine of a star: the arrival of Radio Nova on the market and its effect on commercial local radios. Tampere, Tampereen yliopisto, 1999, 194 p., ISBN 951-44-4546-5, (Tampereen yliopisto, Tiedotusopin laitos, Julkaisuja, Sarja A; 1999, 29), ISSN 0358-4585. (University of Tampere, Department of Journalism and Mass Communication). Note: Licentiate's thesis.

The study analyses the commercial radio and local radio broadcasting in Finland in the 1990s. The writer examines changes which have been taken place since the first national commercial radio, Radio Nova, began broadcastings in 1997. How has the new radio channel influenced its local counterparts and their broadcasting policies?

Halonen, Irma Kaarina: *Matka journalismin sukupuolittumisen strategisille alueille*. Journey into the strategic areas of gender in journalism. Tampere, Tampereen yliopisto, 1999, 314 p., ISBN 951-44-4578-3, (Acta Universitatis Tamperensis; 669), ISSN 1455-1616. (University of Tampere, Department of Journalism and Mass Communication). Note: Doctoral dissertation.

The study is an empirical survey and a discussion of the quality of the image of women and men in Finnish language news in 1995. The image of women and men was studied on the basis of the gender distribution of journalists and persons appearing on the television news. The writer then pursues a deeper analysis on the gender structure of one single news broadcast with the help of French feminist theories. The study also analyses photojournalism from the viewpoint of gender construction.

Heinonen, Ari: *Journalism in the age of the net: changing society, changing profession*. Tampere, University of Tampere, 1999, 94 p. + app. 270 p., ISBN 951-44-4607-0, (Acta Universitatis Tamperensis; 685), ISSN 1455-1616. (University of Tampere, Department of Journalism and Mass Communication). Note: Doctoral dissertation.

The doctoral dissertation consists of Heinonen's research reports "Newspapers and the Internet", "Pushing and tailoring – analysing the content features of online publications from the perspective of journalism", "Visions on online journalism and journalists" and the "The Internet in the newspaper reporter's work". The author aims to reach a better understanding of the changing nature of journalism in the Internet era when important changes are occurring in society in relation to developments of communication technology.

Hellman, Heikki: *From companions to competitors: the changing broadcasting markets and television programming in Finland*. Tampere, University of Tampere, 1999, xii, 468 p., ISBN 951-44-4507-4, (Acta Universitatis Tamperensis; 652), ISSN 1455-1616. (University of Tampere, Department of Journalism and Mass Communication). Note: Doctoral dissertation.

The study focuses on Finnish television and broadcasting markets in 1988-1996. The general purpose of the study is to examine: 1) how Finland's broadcasting market changed, 2) how the TV stations adapted to emerging competition, and 3) what was the impact of the "new order" of television broadcasting, essentially created by the 1993 channel reform, on programming.

Männistö, Anssi: *Islam länsimaaisessa hegemonisessa diskurssissa: myyttis-ideologinen ja kuva-analyttinen näkökulma sivilisaatioiden kohtaamiseen*. Islam in Western hegemonic discourse: an mythic-ideological and picture analytical viewpoint on the meeting of different sivilizations. Tampere, Rauhan- ja konfliktintutkimuskeskus, 1999, x, 334 p., ISBN 951-706-183-8, (Rauhan- ja konfliktintutkimuskeskus, Tutkimuksia; 87), ISSN 0355-5550. (University of Tampere, Research Institute for Social Sciences). Note: Doctoral dissertation.

The study explores what kind of conceptions of Islamic civilization have been dominant in Western hegemonic discourse historically and what kind of political and cultural ends have been in the background. Also the role of the media as an ideological mediator is under examination.

Nenonen, Markku: *Elokvatarkastuksen synty Suomessa (1907-1922)*. Origins of film control in Finland. Helsinki, Suomen historiallinen seura, 1999, 231 p., ISBN: 951-710-118-X (Bibliotheca historica; 46), ISSN 1238-3503. (University of Tampere, Department of History.) Note: Doctoral dissertation.

The author studies cinema from the cultural historical viewpoint comprising also the changes and developments that have taken place in Finnish society in the first decades of the 1900s. The study tries to answer the question why it was necessary to control the films in advance.

Roivainen, Irene: *Sokeripala metsän keskellä: lähiö sanomalehden konstruktiona*. A sugar cube out in the forest: the suburb as a journalistic construct. Helsinki, Helsingin kaupungin tietokeskus, 1999, 187 p., ISBN 951-718-201-5, (Helsingin kaupungin tietokeskus, Tutkimuksia; 1999, 2), ISSN 1455-724X. (University of Tampere, Department of Social Psychology). Note: Doctoral dissertation.

The study focuses on the social construction of the suburb in the media during the last decades. The empirical data consists of newspaper articles in Helsingin Sanomat between 1955 and 1993. The analysis of the data draws on discursive category analysis.

Tuominen, Sirkku: *Mediopedagogiikkaa opettajankoulutuksessa*. Media pedagogics in teacher education. Tampere, Tampereen yliopisto, 1999, 164 p., ISBN 951-44-4506-6, (Tampereen yliopiston opettajankoulutuslaitoksen julkaisuja A; 17), ISSN 1238-3279. (University of Tampere). Note: Licentiate's thesis.

The study estimates the experience of visual communication education in Hämeenlinna. The students participating in the experimental educational programme tell about their opinions about the programme and its achievements in their personal development as teachers.

Valaskivi, Katja: *Relations of television: genre and gender in the production, reception and text of a Japanese family drama*. Tampere, University of Tampere, 1999, 211 p., ISBN 951-44-4666-6, (Acta Universitatis Tamperensis; 698), ISSN 1455-1616. (University of Tampere, Department of Journalism and Mass Communication). Note: Doctoral dissertation.

The aim of the study is to examine how genre and gender are constructed in the Japanese television serial "Wataru seken wa oni bakari". The research material consists of the family serial itself, the interviews of the programme makers and viewers as well as a questionnaire.

Åbo universitet

Laine, Kimmo: *"Pääosassa Suomen kansa": Suomi-Filmi ja Suomen Filmitöteollisuus kansallisen elokuvan rakentajina 1933-1939*. "Starring: the Finnish people": the production companies Suomi-Filmi and Suomen Filmitöteollisuus as builders of Finnish national cinema in 1933-1939. Helsinki, Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1999, 462 p., ISBN 951-746-096-1, (Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran toimituksia; 732), ISSN 0355-1768. (University of Turku, Cinema and TV Studies). Note: Doctoral dissertation.

The purpose of the study is to explore the rise of the idea of national cinema in Finland in the 1930's. Firstly, the author finds out how production companies, state institutions and the public attention in the 1930's sought to define a national cinema and a national film audience. Furthermore, the goal is to explore more polyphonic features in the films, among the audiences and patterns of spectatorship as well as the concept of national cinema itself.

Åbo handelshögskola

Viherä, Marja-Liisa: *Ihminen tietoyhteiskunnassa: kansalaisen viestintävalmiudet kansalaisyhteiskunnan mahdollistajana*. Individual in information society: citizens' readiness for communication and realisation of citizens' society. Turku, Turun kauppakorkeakoulu, 1999, 365 p., ISBN 951-738-938-8, (Turun kauppakorkeakoulun julkaisuja;

1999, A1), ISSN 0357-4652. (Turku School of Economics and Business Administration). Note: Doctoral dissertation.

The study analyses the citizens' communication skills and the expectations and demands made on these skills by the information society. The study has defined a citizen's communication skills by using three components: access to networks, skill and competence to use the means of communication and motive or need to communicate. The empirical material is based on theme interviews, sampling study of households and the author's pilot work with children at schools.

Åbo Akademi

Sundholm, John: *Populärt berättande och offentlighet: sujet, excess, den sociala detektiven och den privata familjen*. Popular narration and the public sphere: sujet, excess, social detective and private family. Åbo, Åbo Akademi, 1999, 188 p., ISBN 951-765-010-8. (Åbo Akademi). Note: Doktorsavhandling.

Ändamålet med avhandlingen är att utföra en sådan analys av film och litteratur att ett förenklat motsatsförhållande mellan "intern", litteratur- och filmvetenskaplig textanalys, och "extern" kulturteoretisk och kultursosiologisk analys kan överbyggas, eller åtminstone nyanseras. Avhandlingens utgångspunkt tas i narratologin och en narrativ modell som den amerikanske David Bordwell använder. Den empiriska delen i studien baserar sig på analyser av finlandssvenska detektivromaner och femtiotals amerikanska filmmelodramer.

Norge

Kolbjørnsen, Tone Kristine: *Dansing i Hollywood: punktnedslag i film-musikalens historie*. Bergen, Universitetet i Bergen, 1998, 215 p., ISBN 82-578-0375-8, (Rapport; 35), ISSN 0801-2814. (Universitetet i Bergen, Institutt for medievitenskap). Note: Dissertation for the degree of dr.art.

The author discusses the classical Hollywood musical, the esthetics of dancing, the transformation of women into moving ornaments, and male dancers' search for identity. In particular she analyses the Busby Berkeley shows (1930's), An American in Paris (Vincente Minnelli 1951), and Saturday Night Fever (John Badham 1977). She uses a variety of cultural theoretical approaches:

dance theory, Freudian psychoanalysis, Czech structuralism and various modern film theories.

Røssland, Lars Arve: *Presseskikkens samtale: samtaleposisjoner for Norsk Presseforbund sitt faglege utval 1930-1972*. Bergen, Fagbokforlaget, 1999, 333 p., ISBN 82-7674-532-6. Note: Dissertation presented for the degree of dr.polit. at the Faculty of social science, University of Bergen.

A study of how the monitory organ of Norwegian press, the Norwegian Press Council, managed the concept "good press behaviour" in the period 1930-1972. Based on profession theory from sociology and discourse studies, he shows how the council classified and treated complaints, what values it communicated and how the members viewed themselves and the council.

Slaatta, Tore: *Europeanisation and the Norwegian news media: political discourse and news production in the transnational political field*. Oslo, Universitetet i Oslo, 1999, 389 p., ISBN 82-570-6108-5, (Report; 36), ISSN 0802-1872. (Universitetet i Oslo, Institutt for medier og kommunikasjon). Note: Dissertation for the degree of dr. polit.

Based on a discussion of the role of the news media in nation-state democracies and the power of the media in directing political change in Europa, the author analyses the Norwegian news media and its connection to the Europeanised political field. Looking among other things on the political discourse on Norwegian EU membership and around the EEA Agreement, he interviews both Norwegian and European politicians and bureaucrats, and Norwegian journalists and other news staff; and does a content analysis of Norwegian newspapers from a six week period in 1996.

Tønnessen, Elise Seip: *Sesam til fjernsynsteksten: norske barns møte med en ny fjernsynskultur*. Oslo, Universitetet i Oslo, 1999, 443 p., (Universitetet i Oslo, Institutt for medier og kommunikasjon). Note: Dissertation for the degree of dr. philos.

The author asks how meaning is constructed when children watch television. She discusses this by combining analysis of the television text with analysis of the children's response, looking at the interplay between the text and the children's reception and interpretation of it; the textual structure in an economic, technological and political context; and how one can describe the development of children's interpretation competence. She does a

qualitative empirical study using the children programme Sesam stasjon (the Norwegian version of Sesame street), and observes the response of four and six years old children on some episodes.

Ytreberg, Espen: *Allmennkringkastingens autoritet: endringer i NRK fjernsynets tekstproduksjon 1987-1994*. Oslo, Universitetet i Oslo, 1999, 325 p., ISBN 82-570-6107-7, (Rapport; 35), ISSN 0802-1872. (Universitetet i Oslo, Institutt for medier og kommunikasjon). Note: Avhandling for dr. art-graden.

The thesis discusses what happened with the NRK television in the period 1987-1994, when the public service company changed its organisation to meet the competition from the commercial stations. The author asks in what way these changes affected the NRK's text production, and discusses how the three levels organisation of production, internal and external legitimation and the text are closely connected in this period. He uses interviews with NRK persons from the period and analysis of the prime time broadcasting on several fridays as basis for his discussion.

Sverige

Alexander, John: *Screen play: audiovisual narrative and viewer interaction*. Stockholms universitet, Filmvetenskapliga institutionen, 1999, 283 p., ISBN 91-7153-944-1.

How does the viewer, interact, with the on-screen narratives of film, television and computer? What new forms of interaction can be realised with the emerging narratives of CD-ROM and Internet?

This study considers screen play in terms of the game the viewer plays with audiovisual narrative, and how the viewer negotiates with a story to interpret, revise and reconstruct new stories of their own.

Dahlén, Peter: *Från Vasaloppet till Sportextra: radiosportens etablering och förgrening 1925-1995*. Göteborgs universitet, Institutionen för journalistik och masskommunikation (JMG); Stockholm, Stiftelsen Etermedierna i Sverige, 1999, 522 p., ISBN 91-518-3584-3, (Etermedierna i Sverige; 12), ISSN 1400-7274. Note: Summary in English 7 p.

Avhandlingen undersöker hur idrottsvärlden uppmärksammas inom ramen för Sveriges Radios programverksamhet. Studien sträcker sig från starten

1925, då verksamheten bedrevs under namnet AB Radiotjänst, till 1995 (namnbytet till Sveriges Radio inföll 1957).

Studien lyfter särskilt fram två frågor. Den första frågan gäller vilket utrymme och vilken roll/betydelse sporten fått dels i radions programverksamhet, dels inom företagets redaktionella organisationsstruktur.

Den andra frågan gäller hur samspelet mellan radion och idrottssverige utvecklats sig över tid, samt den publika respons som kommit radiosporten till del och hur detta på olika sätt påverkat och modifierat programverksamheten.

Håkansson, Nicklas: *Valretorik: om politiskt språk i partipropaganda*. Göteborgs universitet, Statsvetenskapliga institutionen, 1999, 255 p., ISBN 91-628-3858-X, (Göteborg Studies in Politics; 65), ISSN 03465942. Note: Summary in English 6 p.

En detaljerad analys av de politiska partiernas budskap till medborgarna i nationella valrörelser.

Studien är inriktad på hur politiker med språkliga medel delger sina budskap. I centrum står form-aspekter snarare än politiskt innehåll.

Tre olika faktorer som kan tänkas påverka valretoriken provas: massmedielogiken, valsystemets utformning samt partiernas strategiska position i valet.

Hypoteserna testas genom innehållsanalys av partipropaganda från de nationella valen, valmanifest, tv-debatter och partiledarnas framträdanden inför allmänheten.

Jarl Kerzar, Helena: *Gammalt och nytt i predikospråket: språklig-stilistisk analys av predikan i Svenska kyrkans radio- och TV-sända högmässor 1938-1984*. Uppsala universitet, Institutionen för nordiska språk, 1999, 259 p., ISBN 91-506-1376-6, (Skrifter; 47). Note: Summary in English.

The principal aim of this dissertation is to give a broad description of the linguistic and stylistic changes in the language of the Church of Sweden's Sunday service sermons on radio and television between 1938 and 1984.

The material consists of 67 sermons beginning with the period 1938-40, ending with the period 1979-84, and including the periods 1950-52 and 1967-68. The material from 1979-84 consists of 13 sermons held by female ministers and 13 held by male ministers. Of the 67 sermons, 57 are recorded on tape and 10 are in manuscript form. The survey thus mostly includes spoken sermons.

The main hypothesis is that the language of sermons has changed in a rather sweeping way over the 47 years covered in the survey, but that there are also persistent features given that the sermons are part of a nearly 2,000-year-old tradition.

Kleberg, Madeleine: *Skötsam kvinnosyn: hem- och familjereportage i svensk TV åren 1956-1969*. Stockholms universitet, Institutionen för journalistik, medier och kommunikation (JMK), 1999, 350 p., ISBN 91-88354-13X, ISSN 1102-3015. Note: Summary in English 15 p.

Författaren belyser televisionens kvinnoskildringar, främst i det sociala reportaget och dokumentären, under 1960-talet, och jämför dessa med andra samtida diskurser om kvinnors villkor.

Avhandlingen fokuserar hur televisionen under analysperioden bidrog till att skapa betydelser kring kön, i synnerhet kring gifta kvinnor, samt, ur ett mediehistoriskt perspektiv, hur reportagens berättarmetoder utvecklades i televisionens barndom.

Lindblom, Jonas: *När vetenskapen tystnar: ett socialpsykologiskt studium av massmedias behandling av morden i Falun, Bjuv och på Stureplan*. Uppsala universitet, Sociologiska institutionen; Stockholm/Stehag, Gondolin, 1999, 181 p., ISBN 91-88820-77-7.

This dissertation is a social psychological study of the influence of science in everyday thinking. The specific focus is the way in which mass media, as an intermediate arena of knowledge in society, accepts or rejects scientific concepts and findings. Particularly, it concerns the phenomenon that the Swedish mass media calls "the inexplicable violence".

The thesis points to a journalistic independence from science. On the one hand this refers to the condition, that the journalist can reject the legitimacy of scientific explanations to violence. On the other hand it illuminates the establishment of independent links of knowledge, between the journalist and everyday man.

Lindgren, Anne-Li: *"Att ha barn är en god sak": barn, medier och medborgarskap under 1930-talet*. Linköpings universitet, Tema Barn, 1999, 377 p., ISBN 91-7219-660-2, (Linköping Studies in Arts and Science; 205), ISSN 0282-9800. Note: English summary 7 p. Avhandlingen ingår i Stiftelsen Etermedierna i Sverige, Skrifter om utbildningsprogrammets historia, Nr 2 1999, ISSN 1404-4390.

Ett allt större samhällsansvar för barn tydliggjordes under 1930-talet. Utbildning fick en betydande roll i omdaningen av individ och samhälle, och skol- och kulturpolitiken aktualiserade frågan om barn som politiska subjekt och potentiella medborgare.

Det nya forumet för barn i skolan – skolradion, liksom Folkskolans barntidning, blev redskap i den ideologiska striden om välfärdsstatens förändring och innebörder under 1930-talet. Dessa medier hade en anknytning till såväl utbildningssystemet, den kulturella produktionen av böcker och litteratur, som regering och den nationella politiken.

En central uppgift i studien är att granska hur de politiska begreppen kring ett demokratiskt medborgarskap och nationell identitet formulerades för barnen i dessa medier, och hur dessa begrepp kunde förstås i relation till de tankar om välfärdsstaten som de kom till uttryck i begreppet det svenska folkhemmet.

Löfgren Nilsson, Monica: *På Bladet, Kuriren & Allehanda: om ideal och organisationsprinciper i den redaktionella vardagen*. Göteborgs universitet, Institutionen för journalistik och masskommunikation (JMG), 1999, 227 p., ISBN 91-88212-33-5, (Göteborgska studier i journalistik och masskommunikation; 21), ISSN 1101-4652. Note: Summary in English 10 p., transl. by Lotta Kratz.

Författaren studerar tre nyhetsredaktioner på tre svenska landsortstidningar – Bladet, Kuriren, och Allehanda – i mitten av 1990-talet. Studien behandlar kulturen på redaktionerna och de människor som ingår i verksamheten: reportrar, nyhetschefer och chefredaktörer.

De frågor som lyfts fram rör hur journalisterna ser på sin yrkesroll och hur det dagliga arbetet organiseras. Här skildras morgonmöten, rutiner för textgranskning och överlämningar, samt hur styrning och kontroll av det dagliga arbetet sker – hur påverkar organisationsprinciperna det journalistiska arbetet?

Utöver fallstudierna ges också en redovisning av hur svenska journalister ser på t. ex. källors och annonsörers inflytande över nyheterna och hur de bedömer andra gruppers inflytande i relation till det egna.

Melesko, Stefan: *Stora tidningsföretags strategier för konjunkturanpassning*. Göteborgs universitet, Handelshögskolan, Informations- och massmediegruppen, 1999, 218 p., ISSN 1100-6161.

Business cycles affect the environment in which newspapers and magazines operate. The dependence between the current economic situation and the revenues of the publishers' product is obvious. Newspapers and magazines are active in two different markets – one for advertising and one for subscriptions and single copy sales – both of which are heavily influenced by the performance of the economy in which they are present. That is revenue streams and operating incomes are to a large degree decided by the business cycles and the ability of the management to foresee and cope with this situation.

The study compares three publishers during 1975-95 to see if there is an increased ability to cope with the strains of changing economic environment. The companies are the major players on the Scandinavian media scene - Marieberg, Bonniers and Schibsted.

Three major categories of strategies are analyzed: Diversification, Dominance and Niche. There are differences between the companies in their ability to adhere to those strategies.

Rosengren, Cecilia: *Tidevarvets bättre genus: föreställningar om offentlighet och publicitet i Karl Johanstidens Sverige*. Göteborgs universitet, Institutionen för idé och lärdomshistoria; Stockholm/Stehag, Brutus Östlings Bokförlag Symposion, 1999, 228 p., ISBN 91-7139-435-4, (Kulturhistoriskt bibliotek). Note: Summary in English 7 p.

The thesis deals with the transformation of the public sphere in Sweden after the coup d'état in 1809 – a bloodless revolution that i.a. resulted in the freedom of speech and of the Press. It shows how the journalist, or rather the publicist, emerged as a social figure to be reckoned with in national political discourse, and how the established authorities – such as the Royal House, the members of Parliament, the officials and the university scholars – reacted to the claims of the new sort of publicist.

The thesis addresses the question of the forming of the public sphere from three different angles: In the first chapter it centers on some significant publicists in the 1820's (G. Scheutz, J. Johansson and H.A. Lindgren) and how they looked upon their public mission as newspaper editors. The second chapter focuses on the philosophical foundations underlying and inspiring different conceptions of the public sphere in the 1820's,

such as the works by the Englishman J. Bentham and by the Swedish philosopher N.F. Biberg. The third chapter analyses the parliamentary debate of 1817-18, 1823 and 1828-30 pro and con public sessions.

Sveningsson, Stefan: *Strategisk förändring, makt och kunskap: om disciplinering och motstånd i tidningsföretag*. Lunds universitet, Företagsekonomiska institutionen. Lund, Lund University Press, 1999, 241 p., ISBN 91-7966-558-6, (Lund studies in economics and management; 48). Note: Summary in English.

The dissertation examines power and knowledge in strategic changes. It is a study of changes in three Swedish newspaper companies which developed from single-business to multi-business corporations. It is suggested that this transformation was based upon the establishment and reproduction of a new knowledge formation. This knowledge was the knowledge of strategy, particularly the classical perspective as it had emerged during the end of the 60s and the beginning of the 70s. A central theme in that knowledge was diversification which became more common in newspaper companies during the 70s.

The study describes the opposition between those favouring diversification and those resisting it. It was in those struggles that the disciplinary forms of power emerged. In that emergence some people became locked into specific norms and knowledges, subsequently governing their behavior. The development created conflicts which obstructed and to some extent inhibited communication between central actors in the companies.

Treter, Cecilia: *Granskningens retorik och historisk vetenskap: kognitiv identitet i recensioner i dansk Historisk tidsskrift, norsk Historisk tidsskrift och svensk Historisk tidsskrift 1965-1990*. Uppsala universitet, Historiska institutionen, 1999, 237 p.,

ISBN 91-554-4585-3, (Studia Historica Upsalien-sis; 192), ISSN 0081-6531. Note: Summary in English.

This doctoral thesis examines how historians review each other. The material are the critical reviews found in the three national historical journals, dansk (Danish) historisk tidsskrift (DHT), norsk (Norwegian) historisk tidsskrift (NHT) and svensk (Swedish) historisk tidsskrift (SHT).

The historian's subject is both the past as such the methodologies. The ideas about the historian's subject will be designated as the historian's cognitive identity. The assumption is that the radical tendencies which are found in history departments and their environments during the last 30 years, besides stimulating new research interests, also changed the historian's manner of reviewing.

Åberg, Carin: *The sounds of radio: on radio as an auditive means of communication*. Stockholms universitet, Institutionen för journalistik, medier och kommunikation (JMK), 1999, 229 p. + 2 app. 30 p., ISBN 91-88354-15-6, (JMK Dissertations; 11).

Presents a theoretical framework for analysis of communication through radio, taking the sounding dimension of the medium as a primary characteristic. The author explicitly use writings from the field of ethnomethodology/microsociology of Alfred Schutz and Gerhard Maletzke.

The dissertation builds on conceptual analyses of texts on radio output and listening, including German Hörspiel, British semiotic writings, analyses of formatted radio, linguistic analyses of radio speech, and a number of qualitative studies of radio listening mainly from the Nordic countries.

The first part of the thesis develops a theoretical framework and related concepts, and the second presents a minor empirical study of Swedish radio output.

