

Engaging with media in the fragmented media environment

Using multiple methods to discover
elements of media engagement

Riitta Tammi



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This research explores fragmentation of media use and the reasons behind and ways of engaging with media. As media landscape has fragmented and the amount of media content has multiplied, it is increasingly important to examine those experiences and practices that are associated with the most important media titles and how media use intertwines with the practices of everyday. Previous studies of fragmentation of media use and selections of media often limit the amount of media, or focus on only one genre, such as news. The novelty of my research is starting from the perspective of the readers and users. The iterative methodological process provides tools also for media publishers for studying the media use of their audiences.

The data was gathered using four qualitative methods: online media diaries, media landscape interviews, ethnographic visits and reading aloud interviews. The analyses focus on the media use of five participant groups (n=55): 16–18 year-old high school students, 18–25 year-old young adults, 35–45 year-old readers of Tekniikan Maailma (special interest magazine of technology and vehicles), 45–55 year-old readers of Kotiliesi (women's general interest magazine), and 45–55 year-old readers of Suomen Kuvalehti (news magazine). The number of participants varied between the methodical phases.

Fragmentation of media use is examined in personal media landscapes, which map all media and titles individuals use. Especially in the personal media landscapes of the 45–55 year-old participants fragmentation emerges as a great number of media titles, whereas the 18–25 year-old participants' media preferences are more individualised.

Engagement with media is closely connected with everyday, for instance, social and solitary practices at home, or routines and rituals associated with the most important titles. On the other hand, magazines offer their readers engaging experiences when the title answers to the function that is provided with it, when the content has a connection with the reader's life, and when the reader shares the values of the magazine. Moreover, people constantly compare media titles to similar ones and construct engagement through these comparisons.

I suggest that fragmentation of media use and media engagement are closely entwined and it is justified to approach them from the perspective of the users' experiences and practices. First, even though people come across dozens of media titles on a weekly basis, the engaging ones are allocated time and used concentratedly. Second, as life phases and interests change, also personal media landscapes reshape frequently, even if media routines are strong. Finally, changing media practices enable encounters with new titles and content, whereupon supplementing the personal media landscape – or replacing disengaging titles – is easy.

Keywords audience, engagement with media, fragmentation of media use, multi-methodology, cross-media

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Tekijä

Riitta Tammi

Väitöskirjan nimi

Sitoutuminen medioihin pirstaloituneessa mediamailmassa. Monimenetelmällinen näkökulma mediasuhteen tutkimiseen.

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Tiivistelmä

Tutkin mediakäytön fragmentoitumista ja syitä miksi ja miten medioihin sitoudutaan. Mediamaiseman pirstaloituessa ja sisältöjen lisääntyessä nousee tarve selvittää entistä tarkemmin niitä kokemuksia ja käytäntöjä, joita tärkeimpinä pidettyihin nimikkeisiin liitetään, ja minkälaisiin jokapäiväisiin käytäntöihin median käyttö kietoutuu. Aiemmissa tutkimuksissa ihmisten mediavalikoimia on tutkittu rajaamalla medioiden määrää tai keskittymällä vain tietyn genren, kuten uutisten, käyttöön. Tutkimukseni uutuusarvo on median käytön fragmentaation ja sitoutumiseen vaikuttavien kokemusten ja käytäntöjen tutkiminen lukijoiden ja käyttäjien näkökulmasta. Neljän menetelmän iteratiivinen prosessi tarjoaa työkaluja myös mediayrityksille yleisöiden median käytön tutkimiseen.

Tutkimusaineisto on kerätty laadullisten menetelmien avulla: mediapäiväkirjat, mediamaisemahaastattelut, etnografiset vierailut ja ääneen lukemisen haastattelut. Tutkimus keskittyy viiden ryhmän median käyttöön (n=55): 16–18-vuotiaat lukiolaiset, 18–25-vuotiaat nuoret aikuiset, 35–45-vuotiaat Tekniikan Maailman lukijat, 45–55-vuotiaat Kotilieden lukijat ja 45–55-vuotiaat Suomen Kuvalehden lukijat. Osallistujien määrä vaihteli menetelmittäin.

Median käytön fragmentoitumista selvitetessä tutkimuksen kohteena ovat henkilökohtaiset mediamaisemat, jotka kartoittavat ihmisen kaikki käyttämät mediat ja nimikkeet. Erityisesti 45–55-vuotiaiden kohdalla mediamaisemien fragmentoituminen ilmenee medianimikkeiden suurena määränä, kun taas 18–25-vuotiaiden osallistujien mediavalinnat ovat yksilöllisiä.

Medioihin sitoutuminen linkittyy arkeen, kuten sosiaalisiin ja yksinäisiin käytäntöihin ja tärkeisiin nimikkeisiin liitettyihin rutiineihin ja rituaaleihin. Aikakauslehdet herättävät positiivisia kokemuksia, kun lehti vastaa lukijan sille antamaan tehtävään, kun sisältö on yhteydessä lukijan elämään ja kun lukija jakaa lehden arvomaailman. Ihmiset vertailevat jatkuvasti samankaltaisia nimikkeitä toisiinsa ja rakentavat sitoutumista vertailujen kautta.

Osoitan, että median käytön fragmentoituminen ja medioihin sitoutuminen ovat kytköksissä toisiinsa, ja niitä on perusteltua lähestyä median käyttäjien kokemusten ja käytäntöjen näkökulmasta. Ensiksi, vaikka ihmiset kohtaavat useita kymmeniä medianimikkeitä viikoittain, tärkeille nimikkeille varataan aikaa ja niihin keskitytään. Toiseksi, henkilökohtaiset mediamaisemat muuttuvat säännöllisesti elämänvaiheiden ja kiinnostusten kohteiden muuttuessa, vaikkakin mediarutiinit ovat vahvoja. Kolmanneksi, muuttuvat mediakäytännöt mahdollistavat entistä useammin kohtaamisia uusien mediasisältöjen ja -nimikkeiden kanssa, jolloin henkilökohtaisten mediamaisemien täydentäminen – tai vähemmän tärkeiden nimikkeiden korvaaminen – on helppoa.

Avainsanat yleisö, sitoutuminen medioihin, mediasuhde, mediakäytön fragmentoituminen, monimenetelmällinen tutkimus

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Käpylä, Helsinki, 21 December, 2015
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1. Introduction

Today's media landscape is characterised by growing instability and rivalry. Media are increasingly fragmenting, and the boundaries between genres are blurring. Not only magazines offer lifestyle content but newspapers as well, news is provided on *Twitter* and countless fashion and lifestyle blogs compete with printed women's magazines. Users, readers, viewers and listeners enjoy autonomous possibilities to access content when, where and how they please. Among the abundance of media titles people choose the ones they consider engaging. Many audience and media studies have tended to focus only on one medium or genre – especially news – even if the contemporary media environment calls for more holistic approaches to reach the meanings people give to media and using them (Couldry, 2012, p. 2). As the contemporary media environment is as cross-media as it is, examining all media use is only rational (Hasebrink, Jensen, Bulck, Hölig, & Maesele, 2015; Livingstone, 2002).

At the same time, academic audience and media studies are undergoing a theoretical paradigm shift; so much have the related theoretical and methodological challenges been debated in several sources in recent years. Several concerns have been voiced, about the theories and concepts not being updated in the current, converging media environment (Couldry, 2010); about the inability to define key concepts, such as 'audience' (see Carpentier, Schröder, & Hallett, 2014); or about losing the identity of 'audience' (Hermes, 2009). Further attempts to adopt theoretical and methodological approaches from other research disciplines (Nightingale, 2012) add to the controversy regarding the future of media and audience studies.

This study aims at contributing to the research on media use across media, media practices and engagement with media. These themes are approached from different viewpoints, which also constitute the research questions. First, the levels of fragmentation and how it emerges in people's media use are examined in individuals' *personal media landscapes* – the individual selections they follow and are acquainted with. Second, media engagement is addressed; on the one hand, through the practices people associate with engaging media titles in their everyday lives, and on the other, the way in which readers engage with magazine titles and the content in them. The magazines that receive special attention in this research are *Kotiliesi* (women's general interest magazine), *Tekniikan Maaailma* (special interest magazine related to cars and technology) and *Suomen Kuvalehti* (news magazine). The third research question addresses the methods in the field of audience studies and the kind of infor-

mation an iterative research setting, in which the four selected methods are employed, provides about media fragmentation and media engagement.

Media engagement becomes especially interesting in the contemporary, fragmented cross-media environment, where hundreds, and yet hundreds of media titles are available and accessible for many of us in the Western World (Webster, 2014). Little is known about the motivations driving people to follow or subscribe to specific titles over others. *Microlevel fragmentation*, which is the specific focus of this study, refers to these scattered *media landscapes* of individual users – the variety of media products that one individual follows or uses (Webster & Ksiazek, 2012, p. 45).

This study represents a qualitative multi-method research on a sample of 55 participants in five age cohorts, from 16 to 55 year-old. Theoretically it is a continuation to the contemporary audience reception studies. The aim is to offer new insights into how people engage with media in the fragmented media environment as well as into their everyday media practices. Furthermore, I contribute to the discussion about methods that are applied within scholarly audience studies and provide new methodological viewpoints for researching readers and users.

I have approached *engagement* from the viewpoint of a relationship that an individual has with a specific media title that is in some way significant to her or him. This importance can derive from an emotional connection to the title, but also from a specific purpose the title responds to whether explicitly (e.g. finding topical content related to a specific interest) or implicitly (e.g. identifying with people of same profession). Engagement can emerge, for instance, as subscribing to a print title, returning to a title regularly, or following a specific TV series or blog frequently. *Relationship* refers to a longer time span, but engagement can also be short-term, such as reading a book or watching a movie. However, when moving beyond this simplified notion of engagement, it remains unclear what actually makes people engage with specific titles – why do they choose these titles over others that are similar in terms of their target groups, contents, visuality, or ways of addressing their audiences. The present study adopts the notion of *media engagement* as a combination of various experiences that the reader or user associates with a specific media title (Peck & Malthouse, 2011). In addition, I have included and analysed also spatial, temporal and social experiences (Schröder, 2010) and practices, which form the core of everyday media use.

The theoretical thread, which impacts the overall research from articulating the research questions to choosing the methods and finally analysing the data, derives from the theoretical and methodological research tradition within audience reception studies, in which people are considered active media users (e.g. Schröder, Drotner, Kline, & Murray, 2003). In particular, media practice as a theoretical paradigm shapes the overall research composition in the present study. As an alternative paradigm in media studies, it goes beyond the functionalist and text-centred media reception approaches (Couldry, 2010, p. 43) – even if it can be said that people often engage with media through text, through “decoding or interpreting” them (Peterson, 2010, p. 127). Approach-

ing media use from the practice perspective helps avoid media-centrism, as media practices are examined in relation to other everyday practices (Christensen & Røpke, 2010, p. 233).

Everyday life provides the context for the research questions. Media use is not an isolated aspect of people's lives, but needs to be examined and integrated into everyday culture and daily life (Bird, 2003). I do not apply *everyday* as profound and theoretical way, as for instance Silverstone (1994) in his research *Television and everyday life*, in which he investigates the ways television is embedded in people's everyday practices from domestic, social, economic and technological viewpoints. Instead, I contextualise media use with social, spatial and temporal aspects of people's lives, and underline mundane media use, distinguished from fandom, for instance. This way, I strive to avoid over-emphasising the meanings people give to media use (see Hermes, 1995), however intertwined media may be with the many other aspects in people's lives.

Experience and *practice* are both holistic concepts drawing on individual's meaning making and perspective and taking into account material features (Pink, 2012; Reckwitz, 2002; Shove, Pantzar, & Watson, 2012). They guide the analysis of my research, and as multi-faceted concepts they demand approaching people's media use from several viewpoints. Experience has been applied in audience studies to provide a more versatile and open account of people's own descriptions, if compared to, for instance, *media consumption* or *media usage* (Calder & Malthouse, 2004, p. 123; Ytre-Arne, 2011a, p. 468). The temporal aspect and qualities of experience have been debated in anthropology (see Pink, 2006, pp. 42–44), and theoretically, Pink (ibid., p. 44) states, that "experience can occur at different levels of human consciousness and be evidenced at different levels of individual, group or cultural specificity". Helle et al. (2011) recognise the macro-, micro- and meta-levels of media experience. In their framework, for instance, needs, habits, content evaluation, user traits and sensory aspects are all included at the micro level. Media experience can also be seen as a notion that embraces many overlapping dimensions, for instance, social and cultural (Ytre-Arne, 2011c). Media practices, then, are all *the things people say and do in relation to media* (Couldry, 2010, p. 41). In my investigation the participants' perceptual, concrete, social and also embodied practices are grounded in the data, without tying them too tightly with previous research – although it has given some guidelines to follow, for instance, the theoretical concepts of place, social media use and emotions during media use.

Both experiences and practices are acknowledged as individual and complex, and are thus not accessible through straightforward methods. Methodologically, Pink (2006, p. 44) suggests that the various levels and qualities of experience can be reached through different methodologies, such as interviews, observation and monitoring the embodied aspects of experience. Subsequently, media practices rooted in social theory and media experiences rooted in phenomenology, offer a fairly similar approach to researching, analysing and theorising those perceptual and concrete experiences and practices people

associate with media use. In the present study the participants' own definitions, experiences and activities have been adopted to analyse and conceptualise media engagement. In addition, among the dozens and yet dozens of media-related practices and activities, I have let the participants define what they mean by media and which media experiences and practices are important for them (see Couldry, 2010, p. 43). Listening to the participants, and starting data analysis from their accounts and categorisations also, in a way, increases audience agency (Hermes, 2009).

Magazines are at special focus in this study, and the question of readers' engagement with magazine titles is reserved its own analysis chapter. Magazines constitute an intriguing research topic as magazine concepts are often targeted to a specific group of readers, and in Finland magazine subscriptions are common as well as organization and association magazines that are often delivered to the members. In this study the research participants in the magazine-specific groups were either current or previous subscribers of one of the titles to locate the everyday experiences and practices that contribute to engagement and disengagement with the magazine. Working in the Media Concepts Research Group at Aalto University has influenced my theoretical and methodological positioning – other researchers have conducted studies from different viewpoints of magazines that are also part of this research. These various studies illuminate the different angles of magazines as objects of research. Previous studies have taken the viewpoint of, for instance, graphic design work processes in magazines (Ryynänen, Helle, & Töyry, 2014), editorial design of photography in *Suomen Kuvalehti* (Weselius, 2014) and editorial work processes in *Tekniikan Maailma*. Furthermore, in her research, Töyry (2005) concentrated on reader positions that (early) women's magazines – for example *Kotiliesi* – provided to their readers. In the present study, however, these magazines are examined from the viewpoint of the empirical reader, specifically to analyse how they engage, and disengage with these titles.

Another issue that has affected the present research is my history, although very short, as a media education specialist within the magazine industry. Following the reader and readership research that magazine publishers conducted, it surprised me to see how little information was collected about the actual reading situations. Even though *engagement* was applied as a buzzword, it was rarely explained, and seemed to be mainly explored through quantitative methods. Much of the research that is currently conducted within the magazine, or any other media industry in general, has not been able to keep up with the transitions and effects that audience autonomy and new technologies and platforms have had on magazine audiences and their ways of reading and using media (Napoli, 2003, 2010). Media use and engagement is still being researched with measurable and quantitative means: the time spent and percentages read (Baym, 2013; Napoli, 2010). Individual experiences of being a reader or a user of a specific media title and the meanings associated with media practices remain hidden if only measurable attributes are taken into account. Having said that, I adhere to the field of academic audience research, and hence, will not delve deep into audience studies centering on the view-

points of the publishers or advertisers. However, I will shed light on the link between marketing research and reader(ship) research that are pursued for different purposes – the first one for advertisers and the second for editorial staff – but which nevertheless are, to a large extent, identical studies adopting the same methodologies.

Structure of research

The present study is comprised of theoretical and methodological chapters, followed by three analysis chapters examining the data from different perspectives, moving chapter by chapter from more general findings of fragmented everyday media use into more detailed research on engagement with media.

The theory chapter introduces an overview of the research traditions and debates within audience studies that influence contemporary research, with a special emphasis on the media practice approach. I will review studies of media engagement, media use in the context of everyday life and magazines and readers.

Chapter 3 introduces the data gathered during an iterative research process consisting of four methods: *online media diaries*, *media landscape interviews*, short *ethnographic visits* to participant homes and *reading aloud interviews*, of which the latter I have developed based on the thinking aloud method, often employed in applied user-interface studies.

The three analysis chapters address media fragmentation and engagement from different perspectives. Chapter 4 addresses the micro-level fragmentation of media use, and Chapter 6 readers' engagement with a magazine and its content, whereas Chapter 5 is a more open-ended analysis of the everyday media practices that are associated with the most engaging media titles.

Chapter 4 analyses *personal media landscapes*, which were mapped in media landscape interviews with five groups of participants, and which cover much of their media use and the titles they followed. Personal landscapes indicate the different levels of fragmentation in people's media use. In addition, personal media landscapes as analytical tools are compared with selected studies of fragmentation and patterns of media use.

Chapter 5 concentrates on engaging everyday media experiences and practices for four adult participant groups. Online media diaries, media landscape interviews and ethnographic visits to the participant homes provided information about their everyday media practices and the social, spatial and temporal features of the practices.

Chapter 6 analyses reader engagement with magazines from the viewpoint of three titles: a special interest magazine related to technology and cars (*Tekniikan Maailma*), a women's general interest magazine (*Kotiliesi*), and a news magazine (*Suomen Kuvalehti*). Reading aloud interviews were conducted with three participant groups, who were current and former subscribers to one of these titles. The individual interviews linked specific engaging and disengaging experiences with actual textual and visual content in the magazines.

Chapters 7 and 8 conclude the investigation and discuss the results, including the iterative research setting with the four methodologies.

No research is objective in a sense it would provide neutral information about the phenomenon or the people under scrutiny. As Schröder et al. (2003, p. 17) state, “audience research always produces a social construction of audience practices and meanings”. Analyses are interpretations of the researcher that build on previous research that are interpretations of those researchers. I emphasise everyday media use and take into account all media but do not imply that it is the only right way of conducting audience studies. Instead, I propose a contextualised way of addressing readers, viewers and users, and underline the elements and thoughts the participants themselves associate with meaningful and meaningless media practices and experiences.

2. Theory: Audiences and media

Publishers, audience metrics researchers, journalists, legislators and academic researchers perceive groups of individuals as *audiences*. They apply various terms with diverse connotations to their audience conceptions: citizens, target groups, segments – not forgetting different media, which turn people into readers, viewers, listeners, and users. Also other conceptions of audiences are recognised, depending on the perspective taken, for example *consumer audience* and *meaning-making audience* (Dayan, 2005), or *participatory audience* (Jenkins, 2006). The different audience positions, qualities, uses and alternative terms for audience have been widely debated – and even the very existence of the concept of audience has been questioned (Couldry, 2012, p. 38; Hermes, 2009, p. 112).

The concepts related to audience – *audiencehood* (e.g. Hermes, 2009), and *audiencing* (e.g. Livingstone, 2013, after Fiske 1992) – can be considered as abstract as audience itself. An audience is a construct, conceptualised by different parties, whether legislators, media companies or researchers, with their different goals and lenses. While audiencehood refers to the practices and ways of being an audience, audiencing involves the process of being an audience (ibid.).

One of the most visible debates within cultural audience studies has been between active versus passive conceptions of audiences. Especially in studies in which news content is in focus, active audiences are often referred to as *publics*. This divide refers to the different features that publics and audiences are considered to possess: publics are seen as active, and audiences as passive (Dayan, 2005; Livingstone, 2005). Sonia Livingstone crystallises this debate of audience versus public as follows:

In both popular and elite discourses audiences are designated as trivial, passive, individual, while publics are valued as active, critically engaged and politically significant. (Livingstone, 2005, p. 18)

Other dichotomies in audience studies, besides active versus passive, derive from the different theoretical backgrounds applied in different decades. The main question has changed from *what media do to people* into *what people do with media* (Katz, 1959; Livingstone, 1997). In addition, the subject of interest in audience and media studies has shifted from text into meaning-making by the reader/viewer/listener/user, the active recipient who interprets media content or uses it for her/his means (Sandvoss, 2011).

The traditional, Lasswell's axiom concerning mass communication views communication as a linear process of transmission: "Who says what to whom

in which channel with what effect” (Lasswell, 1948). Many contemporary scholars identify the act of communication, the moment of transmission that positions audience at the end of the model, regardless of the medium or the absence of the communicating parties as the central problem in media and audience research (Livingstone, 2002, p. 9; Nightingale, 2012, p. 99). Positioning audience only at the receiving end of the communication model hinders conceiving it as active and, for instance, as producers of media content. Furthermore, in many contemporary audience studies audience is spoken of in plural, *audiences*. This, again, refers to the scholarly emphasis on not only one kind of audience, but many, different audiences that are context-dependant (Livingstone, 2008). In the remaining part of this research audiences are considered as active interpreters and users, and they also are referred to in plural to acknowledge their shifting positioning between the variety of media, genres and titles.

The following sections introduce theoretical and methodological traditions within scholarly audience studies, the most common and often the most debated concepts that relate to conceptions of audiences, and the directions in which audience research might be heading.

2.1 Theoretical approaches to media audiences

Cultural audience reception studies can be divided into three waves: reception research, audience ethnography and the constructionist view (Alasuutari, 1999). According to Alasuutari (1999, p. 2), the beginning of audience reception research in mass communication goes back to the time when Hall (1974) presented the encoding-decoding model (Hall, 1980). Some audience scholars go back even farther, to the preceding decades of mass audience research, which had an impact on topics that still today are discussed and debated within the field of audience studies (see Nightingale, 2012).

The disciplinary heritage of contemporary academic audience reception studies originate in the 1950s and 1960s, the golden decades of exploring passive mass (television) audiences, when the prevalent model of communication was based on transmission and backgrounded by psychological theories (see Nightingale, 2012). This era adopted the assumption of audience as a mass, which coloured the succeeding decades’ debates about people as active versus passive recipients of media. During these decades, the main questions concerned the negative effects of media on audiences, such as the time spent in front of television or the harmful content in media (Nightingale, 2012; Sandvoss, 2011, pp. 231–232). In the 1970s media effects theories, such as cultivation analysis (Gerbner, 1998), continued to back up the psychological approaches of the previous decades with statistical research on how media affect people’s cognitive and moral behaviour (see Couldry, 2010, p. 37; Nightingale, 2012, p. 97).

One criticism towards media effects theories derives from its starting point: the text. The causal connection between a text and people’s behaviour has not been proved during the several decades of media studies, which has led re-

searchers to suggest abandoning the claim that media would have an effect on people's behaviour (Couldry, 2010; Gauntlett, 1998). But, as Couldry (2010, p. 37) notes, concerns about what media do to people are still present in the contemporary discussion about media use.

Audience satisfaction with media was examined as early as in the 1940s (see Schröder et al., 2003, p. 38), but one of the most applied theories analysing audiences' media use – Uses and Gratifications theory (U&G) (Blumler & Katz, 1974) – was largely developed in the 1960s and 1970s. U&G takes as its starting point the assumption that people have specific needs (being informed and entertained, escapism, identification, and social interaction), and they use media in order to fulfil these needs (Blumler & Katz, 1974). This assumption also explains why U&G has been criticised as functionalist; in addition to predefining needs it also builds on psychological theories and considers media use as an individualistic activity, neglecting the meaning of cultural surroundings and community (see Livingstone, 1997; Nightingale, 2012, p. 100; Nightingale & Ross, 2003, p. 28; Schröder, 2012, p. 805). However, Livingstone (1997) criticises U&G critics for ignoring the socio-structural foundation of needs in U&G. As media effects and U&G theories were largely based on quantitative research, they also offered a methodological counterbalance for more “interpretative” theories, such as phenomenology (see Nightingale, 2012, p. 97).

In the 1980s the cultural and ethnographic perspectives to audiences invaded the field, both theoretically and methodologically, with a strong contribution from the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, and especially Hall's (1974) encoding/decoding model (see Nightingale, 2012, pp. 97–98). Hall's model, which included the audience's active input in communication situation by accepting, rejecting or negotiating the message (Hall, 1980) differentiated the whole field of audience studies from media effects, and Uses and Gratifications theories (see Alasuutari, 1999, p. 3). Instead, audiences were positioned culturally and socially, and new themes, such as globalisation and gender identity entered the research field (Alasuutari, 1999, p. 5; Nightingale, 2012, pp. 97–98).

During the 1980s and 1990s popular media and everyday media use were taken under scrutiny, inspiring the famous studies that focused on the relationship between an audience and a text, such as Hermes's *Reading Women's Magazines* (1995), Ang's *Watching Dallas* (1993), Radway's *Reading the Romance* (1984), Morley's *Family television* (1986), and McRobbie's *From Jackie to Just Seventeen* (1992) (see also Nightingale, 2012, pp. 97–98; Silverstone, 1994). These studies conceived their readers and viewers as active meaning makers who interpret media content in various ways and uses, also for pleasure and entertainment, but who might also ironise and oppose. Further, audiencehood was not limited to the specific moment when people use and decode media text, but instead it was contextualised with the temporal, spatial and social aspects of people's lives (see Silverstone, 1994, p. 132). What is more, social power relations were addressed in this genre (Alasuutari, 1999, p. 5).

The beginning of the third wave of audience reception studies, the “constructionist” view of audiences dates, according to Alasuutari (1999, p. 6), to

the late 1980s. What the third wave, however, added to the second wave, the ethnographic approach to audiences, was questioning ‘audience’, and perceiving it as a “discursive construct”: audience as “produced by a particular analytic gaze” (Alasuutari, 1999, p. 6). The second and third waves overlap in many aspects, such as contextualising media use and audiencehood with everyday life, and considering the culture in which meanings are made and reflected (Alasuutari, 1999, pp. 6–7).

[T]he objective is to get a grasp of our contemporary ‘media culture’, particularly as it can be seen in the role of the media in everyday life, both as a topic and as an activity structured by and structuring the discourses within which it is discussed. (Alasuutari, 1999, p. 6)

Popular media titles and the cultural perspective to audiences also paved the way for fandom studies that established their position in the 1990s (Nightingale, 2012, p. 98). Along fandom studies, audience studies moved beyond the straightforward model of “production-distribution-reception” and adapted a wider perspective to what audiences actually do (Couldry, 2012, p. 13). Couldry (2003, pp. 18, 136) has suggested going beyond both positive (and romantic) and negative “evaluations” of media. With positive evaluations he (ibid., p.18) refers to the assumption of *mediation*, media “penetrating” people’s everyday lives while not addressing media power or the myths of media. Negative evaluations, for their part, ignore the role of media in people’s everyday lives and concentrate on media power. The holistic perspective that takes into account both positive and negative evaluations of media, according to Couldry (ibid.), is essential to media and audience studies.

2.2 Active versus passive

Livingstone (2013, pp. 27–28) sees the concepts of audience and public as deriving from the emphases of audience and media studies of the 20th century: on the one hand, the private and domestic sphere, and on the other, the public, political and institutional spheres. This is also why the most recent audience paradigm of *participation*, which Livingstone (ibid.) does not consider as a new form of audiencing, even though the contemporary media environment enables more diverse forms of participation, has received only little attention in research in the past century. Participation, per se, has not been regarded as a key feature of audiences, and audience activity has more often referred to active interpretation of texts (ibid., pp. 24–25).

Dayan (2005, p. 70) differentiates between public, consumer audience and meaning-making audience on the grounds of their features and activities. Even though Dayan’s conceptions are partly in contradiction with the some audience conceptions in cultural studies¹, they embrace the most common features and contexts that locate audiences within cultural audience studies: the degree of activity and passivity, and the context of research. According to Dayan

¹ Unlike many cultural audience researchers, Dayan (2005, p. 70) locates the meaning-making audience only at the end of communicative model.

(ibid.), publics are researched for journalistic and democratic purposes and perceived from the journalistic discourse perspective. They are considered active and committed performers who also view themselves as a community (ibid.). Consumer audiences are seen as entertaining themselves and conceived as consumers, and thus, researched for statistical purposes and often with advertisers in mind (ibid.). Meaning-making audiences are researched by academic means and discourses, and regarded as social interactants, who get involved with media but are not as committed as publics (ibid.).

Other dichotomies that position audience and public in a hierarchical order include, for instance, rational/emotional, shared/individual and participatory/withdrawn (Livingstone, 2005, p. 18). These refer, for example, to people's cognitive capabilities that are applied when they use media (watching news versus drama series), engaging in topical discussions with one's community, or staying within the "private sphere" that mostly excludes political and societal topics (ibid.). Livingstone (2005, p. 20) also notes that roles which are reserved for audiences and publics from the outside (i.e. by scholars) do not adjust to precise frames, but they rather overlap. For instance, media practices that materialise at home, in private, are as important as those that are performed in more public places and ways (Livingstone, 2005, p. 29). Furthermore, it is the same people who form these collectivities of people, whether they constitute the audience of a newscast or of a women's magazine, and hence, audience and public or other contrary notions should not be seen as opposites (Hermes, 2009, p. 116; Livingstone, 2005, pp. 17–18).

When moving towards more recent audience research, the debate over active and passive has intensified, even though already the early Uses and Gratifications theory treated audiences as active choice makers instead of passive recipients (Bolin, 2012, p. 799; Schröder et al., 2003, p. 39). Even though the debate between active and passive audiences has continued for decades, these notions are still often seen contrary. Furthermore, passivity has been associated with the 'old' media, whereas activity entails notion of skills that are needed in using the 'new' media (van Dijck, 2009, p. 43).

Even if fandom studies has been categorised as one of the first mainstream approaches that regarded audiences also as active producers of content (such as fan fiction), at the same time it emphasised the divide between active versus passive audiences, as fans' active participation was seen as empowering, which again resulted in perceiving the 'ordinary' audience as passive (Hermes, 2009). Along digitalisation of the media culture, replacing 'audience' with 'user' has spread wide as the latter has been considered a more accurate term to describe the multitude of activities that audiences face online. However, applying the term user has been criticised by scholars; for instance, as it does not refer to the act of communication the way audience does (Livingstone, 2008, p. 52). In addition, Carpentier et al. (2014, p. 4) make two important remarks about the relationship between the notions of audience and user within media studies. First, the concept of user emphasises people's active role in media use, and simultaneously it underlines the passivity of audience. Second, the more

the importance of active ways of using media is emphasised, regardless of the term, the more undesirable the passive media use becomes (ibid.).

2.2.1 Audience versus public

One of the most common categorisations within audience studies divides audiences into audience and public. As Mirca Madianou sarcastically notes:

Audiences for the news have traditionally been differentiated from audiences for other television genres and other (non-news) media. When it comes to the news, audiences (probably the same people who watch soap operas and talk shows) are magically transformed into citizens, or, 'the public'. (Madianou, 2005, p. 99)

Deriving from the Frankfurt School, *high* has referred to sophisticated products of culture and media, and *low* to content in popular and mass media (Meinhof, 2005). This dichotomy has also assumed that audiences of the former are active and educated, and those of the latter passive and less educated (McKee, 2001), or "not that capable of refined aesthetic judgment" (Bird, 2003, p. 122). Thus, also educating and 'serious' media content, such as news have been viewed as consumed by sophisticated audiences who also execute their citizen duties, for instance, vote in elections and actively keep updated of societal and political affairs.

Especially cultural studies and feminist media studies have blurred the value-based hierarchical borders of media contents (Hermes, 2009; McKee, 2001), for example, by approaching media from the audience viewpoint. They also consider everyday media use and popular media, rather than focus on news content.

In Finnish, the word public does not naturally exist, but there is only one word for audience. Contrary to, for instance, French, where audience refers specifically to quantitatively measured media users (Dayan, 2005, p. 45), the Finnish counterpart for audience covers all kinds of notions, whether active or passive. However, in Finnish there is a scholarly and purposely coined word for public for making the distinction between audience and public (Ridell, 2006). But as public, public sphere, or citizenship are not in foci in the present research, audience is applied while referring to active and empiric groups of individuals.

Some scholars have suggested moving away from the explicit definitions of active and passive, and audience and public, to examine different modes and forms of audience practices instead (van Dijck, 2009, p. 55; Hermes, 2009, p. 116; Silverstone, 1994, pp. 157–158). Although active use of media is often understood as part of the participatory culture (Jenkins, 1992), and associated especially with new media (van Dijck, 2009, p. 43), distinguishing between the modes of activity is no new discussion. Already in 1994 Silverstone (1994, pp. 153–154) has encouraged scholars to ask whether activity makes a difference: "does it offer the viewer an opportunity for creative or critical engagement with the messages on the screen".

Questions concerning activity versus passivity are especially interesting in the present study, which addresses audiences' media use across media, without excluding genres; what possibilities for critical engagement do media provide, and furthermore, what forms of activity emerge?

2.3 Meaning making

The idea that audience collectively and individually, give accounts of their 'personality and life' through everyday media choice they make remains as seductive today as it was in the 1970s and 1980s. (Nightingale, 2012, p. 97)

The words of Virginia Nightingale describe the essence of audience studies: people's relationship to the media titles they choose. Different fields, orientations with diverse theoretical backgrounds and various conceptions of audiences have coloured research on audiences. But the mystery of the meanings people give to media use and content has attracted researchers for decades, and eventually it is the very question that still determines audience and media studies regardless of the medium and of whether an individual study represents marketing or cultural audience research.

Meaning making refers to people's ability to actively make meanings or interpret texts (and any other type of content), instead of being mere recipients (Meinhof, 2005). Sometimes *meaning of media* is applied in referring to the semiotic process of interpreting signs and symbols that media contain and transmit (Ipsen, 2010). Even if audience research has had a problematic relationship to texts, these debates have problematised texts as a starting point in audience studies and the causal link between a text and audience behaviour (Couldry, 2010, p. 37), not the meaning of a text for the interpreter. In the present study, meaning making refers to thoughts people associate with media use, how they rationalise choosing and comparing media titles as well as the ways they interpret media content in different contexts. This way, meaning making is not only limited to decoding media texts.

According to Sandvoss (2011, pp. 231, 242), when audience researchers have shifted their questions from what media do to people into what people do with media, they have forgotten the question in between, regarding the process of meaning making, the interplay between the reader and the text. Sandvoss (2011, p. 247) claims that audience reception studies should not forget text as an "analytical category"; instead, the interplay between the reader and the text should be incorporated into the methodologies of researching the process of meaning making, and further combined with the perspective of everyday media use. Hereby, Sandvoss calls for ethnographies of *reading or consumption* instead of ethnographies of *readers* or *consumers*: new methods need to be developed to discover *which* texts are read and *how* they challenge the existing expectations and meanings (Sandvoss, 2011, pp. 247–248).

Nightingale (2012, p. 100) does not see the "middle-range" communication theories, for instance, of reading, viewing, listening, and searching as a solution for saving the general communication theory, as they provide no coherent new model of communication (Nightingale, 2012, p. 100). However, she finds

the recent paradigm of media practice theory a prominent general theory of communication (ibid.). Instead of starting with the text, the media practice approach starts from the “practices of representation, interpretation and reflection” (Couldry, 2012, p. 34). Couldry (e.g. 2004, 2012), in particular, has developed the media practice approach within audience and media studies. In his (Couldry, 2010, pp. 36–37, 40) viewpoint media practice theory could help to leave behind some disagreements from the past decades, such as over-emphasising the text. Furthermore, it could help locate new and more reasonable research questions (ibid.), if and when the media culture and everyday life are seen as intertwined, and media use is not treated as an aspect separate from people’s lives (Bird, 2003, pp. 2–3; Carpentier et al., 2014, p. 2).

2.4 Media practice approach

Practice theory, which is sometimes afforded the status of a new paradigm within media studies, manages to avoid some of the pitfalls that audience and media studies have been criticised for: text as a starting point, functionalist assumptions about media use, or researcher-constrained interpretations of the meaning of the media to people (e.g. Couldry, 2010; Nightingale & Ross, 2003). Media practice theory is not founded on a text but on people’s practices. These practices are not only activities but also shared understanding and knowledge (Reckwitz, 2002; Schatzki, 2001, p. 12). Focusing on open-ended media practices ties media studies with the “broader sociology of action and knowledge”, and thus goes beyond the previous orientations of media studies based on the paradigm of literary criticism (Couldry, 2010, p. 37). As practice theory transcends functionalism, media use is not seen as a “functioning whole”, which would mean media use as a separate part of people’s lives to which different media and experiences respond to (Couldry, 2010, p. 45). Instead, emphasis is added to people’s own categorisations of their media practices, which increases participant agency.

Practice theory is not a new paradigm; rather, within media studies, it has not been applied much until recently, alongside the second wave of practice theorists (Postill, 2010, pp. 9, 11). Nonetheless, yet a few media studies already in previous decades had similarities to the practice theory approach, for instance, Silverstone’s (1994) research on domestic practices in the context of television (see Couldry, 2010, p. 37), or Carey (1975) who also called for a research on practices instead of transmission (see Bird, 2010, p. 87). The increasing interdisciplinary research, which might result in common concepts and perspectives, could be regarded as one reason for the practice turn within audience and media studies (Bird, 2010, p. 85).

Media practice theory is based on social practice theory (with an anthropological angle), in which the focus is on practices, which are “the embodied sets of activities that humans perform with varying degrees of regularity, competence and flair” (Postill, 2010, p. 1). For Reckwitz (2002, p. 249), *Praktik* (singular of practices)

[I]s a routinized type of behaviour which consists of several elements, interconnected with one other: forms of bodily activities, “things” and their use, a background knowledge in the form of understanding, know-how, states of emotion and motivational knowledge.

Practice, for practice theorists, is not a mere concrete action, but also the discursive language and the social and cultural surroundings which shape the preconditions for practices (Couldry, 2012, p. 42; Peterson, 2010, p. 141; Schatzki, 2001, p. 12). Hence, examining practices is no clear-cut task. It concerns several ontological and analytical challenges, such as defining practice and the object of study (Spitulnik, 2010), or researcher interpretations of practices on behalf of the participants (Peterson, 2010). Postill (2010, p. 22) differentiates the two competing analytical perspectives within the practice approach: emphasising the context of study² and emphasising the structures of media. Moreover, finding effective methods to access practices, in whichever way they are defined, has been addressed (Helle-Valle, 2010).

Media practice theory provides various approaches to audience studies. The first focuses on a specific genre or medium as a practice, such as newspapers, video games, music, or journalism, and addresses the practices and arrays of practices from the viewpoint of the individuals (e.g. Heikkilä & Ahva, 2015; Magaudda, 2011; Peterson, 2010; Roig, Cornelio, Ardèvol, Alsina, & Pagès, 2009). The second starts from practices and rituals that have become mediated, such as weddings or telecommuting (e.g. Bird, 2010; Kjaerulff, 2010). The third approach begins from the intertwining of media into people’s social and cultural lives, and, in particular, into the hierarchical arrays of practices and the dynamics between these (e.g. Couldry, 2004; Swidler, 2001), for example, the “ritual” role that is provided to media in transmitting traditions and unity, and uniting nations (Couldry, 2012).

Peterson elaborates on the relationship between reception and practice theory:

Reading (like its cognates viewing and listening) carries with it a notion of the solitary individual engaged in a process of decoding or interpreting texts. It extracts the text and its reader from the rich matrix of social activities through which the text is obtained, as well as from those other activities within which reading may be embedded. To speak of reception is to endorse a broadcasting metaphor, in which messages from sender are decoded by a receiver. This metaphor conceals more than it reveals, especially about the intertextual play of media in everyday life. (Peterson, 2010, pp. 128–129)

These are only forewords to a deeper discussion about the meaning that *people themselves* give to their practices, instead of researchers predefining the definitions.

² Within the radical form of *contextualism* media are not understood as specified by commonsense assumptions (or pre-given theoretical and conceptual implications) which predefine what media or different titles should afford their readers, viewers, and users (Ang, 1996).

2.4.1 Ontological and analytical questions regarding media practices

The ontology of practice poses some challenges. There are differences between scholars in how they conceive practice. Some perceive practice from the micro-level, and address it from the perspective of the individual, whereas others perceive it on the macro-level and thus include also language, rules and understanding as its elements (Hobart, 2010, p. 61). This also has an effect on the analysis of practices – whether they are more rooted on the structures or the immediate context of the specific study.

According to Peterson (2010), practices are meaningful combinations of singular *actions* associated with a specific medium. Sometimes media-related practices are associated with more general actions, such as passing time (Nightingale, 2012). However, as Christensen and Røpke (2010, p. 249) note, for instance *entertainment* as such may be too extensive to be comprehended as a single practice, since it contains various sub-practices, such as listening to music, playing board games, or going to theatre. They differentiate *practice* from *activities* and *experiences*, of which the latter they consider to be more concrete forms of practice. Thus, practice could refer to reading a magazine, and any experiences of it, for instance, relaxing on the couch, or finding up-to-date information. Often scholars who have taken the media practice approach have conceptualised practice in a defined way, for example, the practice of ‘reading a newspaper’ (Peterson, 2010).

One polemic question in the media practice approach revolves around the openness and complexity of practices: what aspects are examined when the focus is on complex practices (e.g. practices of everyday), and which other intertwining practices, or activities are associated (Spitulnik, 2010, p. 107; Swidler, 2001, p. 88). For instance, if a research topic is related to the media practice associated with a specific topic of interest, say, music, the activities the practice contains could include discussing on online forums, reading blogs and using *SoundCloud* and similar media services. But are also those activities included that are not directly related to the mediation of the practice, such as using composition and notation software, or using *Facebook* in order to communicate with band members? More importantly, how – and if – are those practices structured and interrelated (Couldry, 2010; Swidler, 2001)?

Applying a wide angle to practices from an epistemological viewpoint helps contextualise the examined practice with the wider setting, and at the same time, it releases the research topic from previous research or strictly defined concepts (Spitulnik, 2010, pp. 107–108). In the present research, this refers, for instance, to addressing practices of reading magazines in context with other media and everyday practices, instead of focusing only on magazines and on reading them.

Another ontological and also analytical challenge is defining and applying the contested concepts the various interdisciplinary theories bring along, such as identity, culture, ritual, or habit (Bird, 2010; Helle-Valle, 2010; Hobart, 2010; Peterson, 2010; Spitulnik, 2010). A crucial question within the media practice approach lies in the existing highly connotative concepts, which should not determine the way scholars address practice-oriented research; the

concepts should be questioned and examined context-specifically (Helle-Valle, 2010; Kjaerulff, 2010; Peterson, 2010). The media practice approach allows defining one's own practices and categorisations, instead of researchers conducting analysis from their starting point (Couldry, 2010, pp. 41–42). For instance, in his research on reading newspapers Peterson (2010) analysed the metaphors the participants associated with reading newspapers; in his study, the habit was referred to as a ritual and an addiction. The actual practice, which is often conceptualised as 'consumption', or 'subscribing to', was labelled as "taking the newspaper" by the Indian participants in Peterson's study (ibid.). Furthermore, the participants evaluated newspapers according to their "seriousness and sincerity" when referring to political news and the newspaper taking a societal stance, as the opposite to "spiciness", which meant newspapers that had an entertaining policy. These findings indicate that it is necessary to take into account not only people's own vocabulary, but also the *local metaphors* (Peterson, 2010, p. 129).

Starting from user practices and categorisations instead of theoretical concepts demands a holistic approach. The role that is provided with the media practice approach lies, according to scholars, in the broad perspective to practices (Helle-Valle, 2010; Spitulnik, 2010). As the practice approach is not limited to only one particular component of the communicative moment (such as the moment of interpretation), or strictly to one of the communicative partners (e.g. distributor or receiver), it can be seen as a holistic framework. On the other hand, when holistic models of communication that would explain everything are developed, they are often "almost as complex as life itself" (Helle-Valle, 2010, p. 197). Hobart (2010, pp. 59–60) problematises approaching open-ended and complex practices of everyday and questions researchers ability to access people's minds, and interpret the categorisations and overall importance on their behalf.

In order to overcome the analytical challenges, scholars have suggested different analytical tools. For example, Couldry (2004, 2010) has proposed *ordering* of practices (as a reference to to Ann Swidler's notion of anchoring practices, see Swidler, 2001) in order to examine the mythical notions, such as reality or liveness. Bird (2010, p. 90) and Helle-Valle (2010, p. 197) regard Couldry's conception of ordering practices as too media-centric, as the starting point are media, and how, in particular, *media* order other practices.

Instead, Helle-Valle (2010, p. 197) suggests starting from "analytic elements" that possibly anchor practices, and Bird (2010, p. 91) proposes "articulations" that would describe how people "choose to articulate with media in a wide range of often unpredictable ways". Peterson (2010, p. 141), then, emphasises context, where the practice obtains its meaning. He suggests identifying "the analytical importance of metaculture, accounts by the people we study of their own cultural actions, which describe and guide, but do not fully explain, their media practices." (2010, p. 129). Thus, media practices in different groups can be analysed as contextualised within the specific metaculture, instead of treating all groups and individuals and their practices as the same and deriving from allegedly common practices of media use.

Approaching media from the practices point of view also has its critics. Hobart (2010, p. 58) is doubtful whether a paradigm that combines old questions and partly contradictory theoretical perspectives (sociological theory and anthropology) would further media and audience studies. Moreover, Hobart (2010, p. 64) assumes that understanding and interpreting people's practices demands observation, and other "intense" methods that are familiar to audience and media studies but possibly less employed. Pink (2012, p. 20) notes that as practice theory locates practices as centerpiece, the performers (i.e. people who perform those practices) remain a subordinate research interest. As Pink (*ibid.*, pp. 21–22) reminds us, ethnographic research is always about individuals and their experiences, and in order to show "how practices are performed and constituted" or how they are changing, the practices must be contextualised with the material, sensory and social structures.

2.4.2 Combining audience studies with the practice approach

Nightingale (2012) is concerned about the cross-overs with other research disciplines, anthropology in particular, having altered the approaches to communication and media studies so much that the field has not been able to renew its theories and models of communication. Indeed, the heritage, the combination of different theoretical backgrounds, paradigms, concepts and methodologies that derive from them, are and have been shaping contemporary audience studies so much that it might be impossible to determine new, clearcut theories of communication (Nightingale, 2012, p. 97). But if peoples' communication situations – media use and the variety of media practices – are not an inseparable part of everyday life, why would the theories need to be separate from other fields?

Even though many scholars are cautious about being overly confident about the applicability of the practice approach to media and audience studies, many of them still see this approach as sufficiently grounded on people's everyday lives. Helle-Valle (2010) is critical about whether the practice approach alone provided any more authentic picture of people's lives than any other paradigm. Instead, he and other scholars find the practice approach to complement other perspectives to (media) audiences; for instance, Wittgenstein's (1968) language-game (Helle-Valle, 2010), Barth's (1981) conception of cultural processes (Kjaerulff, 2010), or semiotics (Ipsen, 2010).

Postill (2010, pp. 12, 18) does not see practice theory as a paradigm which could help explain global media events as processes, such as the Mohammad cartoon in a Danish newspaper in 2005, which represent 'irregular episodes' with several global agents and various fields. However, albeit denying the status of a paradigm or providing usable theoretical models for media studies, Postill (2010, pp. 12, 19) regards practice theory as beneficial in many areas within media studies, for instance, everyday media life or the embodied aspect of media use, which are conversely "regular practices". Couldry (2010) is more positive regarding the suitability of the practice approach in exploring also larger social and cultural contexts and how media practices are part of them and linked with each other. Couldry sees the potential of the theoretical media

practice approach in opening new horizons for media studies, for instance, how media practices order social life, and how media are intertwined with other aspects in people's social and cultural lives, instead of focusing on interpreting texts (Couldry, 2010, pp. 49–50).

Hence, even though the practice approach to media would not be applicable to explaining “everything” (Helle-Valle, 2010, p. 197), its strengths lie in particular in open-ended practices that are grounded on people's own activities and voices and to a great extent, also their own categorisations of those practices. Furthermore, the possibilities in finding links between individuals' everyday practices and their shared features more broadly within social and cultural lives makes the practice approach both versatile and deep.

The present research takes a middle position between contextualism and media structures, considering the structural features, even though the main emphasis is on people's own accounts. Practices are introduced as including different perceptual and concrete activities part of people's everyday media lives, and the kinds of activities, experiences and meanings people associate with using media, such as everyday routines at home at specific times and in specific situations, activities associated with reading magazines, and also those activities that are associated with other media. I follow the focused notion of practices to differentiate the various practices and activities from each other. I return to these practices and activities in detail in the analysis chapter 5.

2.5 Why *audience* and their practices matter?

Livingstone's (2013, p. 27) answer to her own question of “When it is useful and interesting to refer to people as audiences?” is “Whenever the management of meaning is critical to the interests at stake.” By this she refers to the “unpredictable power” the audiences as collectivities have when they are used as the foundation for legislation, services and products. Audiences are constructed and examined as public collectivities, such as pupils, students or taxpayers, and private collectivities, such as families or consumers, and thus these constructions also have real-life consequences in people's lives (ibid.). In addition, along the digitalisation of media technologies, audiences are increasingly visible (Pruulmann-Vengerfeldt, Runnel, Laak, & Viires, 2013). From this perspectives, it does make a difference of how people are constructed as audiences and how they are approached in audiences studies.

Radical contextualism considers *audience* a nonsensical category with no grounding in real people's lives (Ang, 1991, p. 164), and as Bird (2003, p. 4) notes, people do not regard themselves as an audiences or as consumers. However, the ways people talk about themselves as well as about other people as readers, viewers and users of media indicate that there is an underlying conception of audiencehood (Heikkilä & Ahva, 2015, p. 58). These meanings people give to media use both in speech and in practice, materialises as “a meta-perspective on the audience” (Höjjer, 1999, p. 179). Furthermore, if audience studies were to abandon the analytical category of audience, it would be

hard to distinguish between anthropology and audience research (Jensen, 2012, p. 180).

I finish this section with Hermes's (2009, p. 116) words:

Media studies 2.0 [...] needs to theorize audiencehood as a layered palette of activities, attachments and investments, widely differing in intensity and importance, especially paying attention to how audiencehood is caught up in everyday social relations.

Even though Couldry (2010, p. 45) emphasises people's own categorisations of practices and is critical towards using researchers' predefined categories, such as "consumption" or "being an audience", I dare propose that media practice theory be applied theoretically and empirically to analyse people's own conceptions of audiencehood. If their own conceptions of themselves as audiences should differ from the audience constructions by legislators, media industry and inevitably, those of scholars, it is important to know how people position themselves in a field where various and opposing conceptions of audiences emerge.

2.6 Media practices in everyday life

Understanding everyday life has constituted a common research interest within sociology, cultural studies and anthropology, but most studies do not actually theorise it but rather employ it as a context for research (Pink, 2012, p. 8). Furthermore, the concepts of practice and place are essential in studying everyday life, but in academic literature also these are often mentioned without explaining the theoretical associations they might have (Pink, 2012; Postill, 2010).

Silverstone (1994, p. 20) views everyday life as being structured within temporal and spatial frames. These three aspects – time, place and practice – imply social situations that affect media use. Watching television with the family, sharing the morning newspaper with one's partner, chatting with friends on *Facebook*, or postponing media use in order to do it solitarily, are all examples of the ways in which social – or solitary – aspects might take effect. Christensen and Røpke (2010, p. 237) consider the invisibility of social practices among practice-oriented studies somewhat strange. They speculate that the social aspect is intertwined with almost all other practices, and this kind of obviousness results in scholars neglecting it. However, as they suggest, examining social practices and activities should be incorporated into all practice research (ibid., pp. 237–238). In this research my aim is to go beyond everydayness as a mere context and theorise the socio-spatio-temporal aspects of the everyday media life.

People's media use and attention in the contemporary media environment are said to be fragmented (Christensen & Røpke, 2010), and could hence be regarded as random and disorganised. On the other hand, when taking a deeper look into people's everyday media use, there are recurring practices that order everyday life, and similarly, recurring everyday practices that order me-

dia use (Couldry, 2003). Routines and habits are well-researched and theorised (LaRose, 2010; Silverstone, 1994).

Many of the media use situations are mundane activities, characterised by more or less unconscious decisions (Hermes, 2009, pp. 116, 118–119; Morley, 1986, p. 56), such as habitual media use (LaRose, 2010). On the other hand, Bird's (2003, p. 2) example of an assignment for her students to avoid media for one week provides contradictory proof of the alleged unimportance of media. Media are so embedded in people's lives that it surprises them if it is afforded extra thought, or if they are asked to report on their media use.

Contextualising media use with everyday life makes visible the meanings – and also the meaninglessnesses – of media when they are perceived as intertwined and providing similar experiences. Media use is not always extremely important, it rarely is. For example, in Hermes's (1995, p. 143) research the interviewed readers said that women's magazines were not that important for them even though they read them frequently. Instead, magazines gained their importance in the readers' everyday lives because they were convenient to read in between household work, and again easily put away (ibid.). Such interrelating practices of everyday life as the convenience of magazines in between household duties become visible when media and titles acquire their meaning, which is not always tightly connected with the content (Hermes, 1995, p. 64). Alongside the mundane media use are, for instance, *rituals* and *media events* (Silverstone, 1994), or building community (van Dijck, 2009, p. 45) – practices and activities that people are said to give special importance to, and which are often considered to be of social importance. However, assumptions of, for instance, “sharedness”, or “national identity” have been criticised because of their essentialist features (Couldry, 2003). I will investigate two common notions of rituals in relation to media use, considering them from both perspectives, that is, the shared media rituals and personal rituals of everyday.

Giving consideration to both media structures and people's own perspectives follows the conception of *duality* (Giddens, 1984, p. 25). Webster (2011, p. 45) summarises duality according to Giddens as “a process through which agents and structures mutually reproduce the social world, something Giddens called structuration”. Duality of media means that at the same time as people's media use is to some extent dependant on media structures (e.g. TV programme schedules, available outlets), also people's media practices have an effect on the structures (e.g. on-demand media) (see Taneja, Webster, Malthouse, & Ksiazek, 2012).

In this section, media use and media practices are considered from different perspectives. First, the concrete places and more abstract spaces where media are used are of interest, as are also the kind of social practices that are related to these places. The second concerns media and their historical foundations on calendar and clock times. Finally, the concepts routine, habit and ritual are introduced.

2.6.1 Places, spaces and times of media use

Media are mostly used in different established locations: homes, schools, work places, and cafes. However, mobile media use is increasing rapidly, and the various devices can be used anywhere to follow media content, formerly known as print or broadcast. Multiple personal computers (whether they are laptops, tablets, e-book readers, game consoles, or smart phones) are today common in many families. In addition, these devices might assume different roles in different environments, for instance, at home versus at work (see Ytre-Arne, 2011a).

The concept of *place*, is by no means unambiguous. Scholars from different backgrounds have theorised it from their perspectives, but as often it has remained untheorised (Pink, 2012, p. 8). Silverstone (1994, p. 27) differentiates *place* from *space* by comparing their social aspects: places host people who are meaningful for us, and vice versa, spaces are those localities that people pass by without attaching meanings to them (ibid.). A place can also be comprehended as abstract (Hodkinson & Lincoln, 2008; Pink, 2012). Pink (2012, pp. 23–24) distinguishes place from *locality*, hence allowing places to be also non-physical, for instance, online places. She is interested in ways in which people “make sense” of places, and give them meanings in various “material, sensory, political and social processes” (ibid.). In this research a place refers to both the physical and more abstract locations where media are used.

The spatial aspects of media use can also be examined from the viewpoint of privacy and publicity. Different places and spaces, which at each point in time take shape and are used either as public or private (or something in between), affect what meanings people assign to these media experiences. Homes are both private and public places, and privacy and publicity of media use at homes have remarkably changed within the past fifty years (Livingstone, 2002, pp. 161, 166). On the one hand, homes are inhabited by a limited number of people who only have access to that home, and they differ from public places, like streets (ibid.). On the other hand, those who live in a specific place have subdivided it into different sections, of which some are public for the inhabitants and some more private; for example, within homes living rooms are often the common and public places for the whole family, whereas bedrooms are private (Giddens, 1984; Livingstone, 2002).

Social features and experiences of media use have constituted a popular research interest examined through diverse themes: domestic practices of viewing television (Courtois, 2012; Morley, 1986; Silverstone, 1994), social reading practices of popular literature (George, 2012; Radway, 1984), and practices related to digital and online media, including also the domestic environment (Christensen & Røpke, 2010; Hodkinson & Lincoln, 2008; Livingstone, 2002). Furthermore, different studies have addressed the impact of the social in following news or reading a newspaper (Couldry, Livingstone, & Markham, 2007; Kärki, 2004; Schröder, 2010). New forms of digital media practices are also integrated in the old settings at domestic environments. In Christensen and Røpke’s (2010) research on ICT practices at home, the *social* emerged as a distinct feature that was part of various practices. For instance, the practice of

online shopping was located in the evening time, and it resembled the familiar sense of being together while watching television (Christensen & Røpke, 2010, p. 245).

The other side of social media use is solitary media use (Livingstone, 2002), an increasingly common phenomenon, also referred to as “individualization” of media use (Bjur, 2009). Especially the television use of younger media users has been following more solitary viewing situations (Bjur, 2009; Courtois, 2012), which partly results from the increasing amount of personal, mobile devices that are used for following television content.

Another factor, which has an impact on media use in the context of everyday life is time (Taneja et al., 2012). Much of media publishing and broadcasting have been based on cyclic clock and calendar time. Many media and titles are grounded on regular serial and cyclical publishing and broadcasting: daily newspapers and TV newscasts, weekly TV series and their annual seasons, weekly, monthly, or quarterly magazines with their seasonally recurring topics. But increasingly, the media industry is moving away from the time-based broadcasting model, in particular television and newspaper industry. User-generated online content and social media, such as blogs, discussion forums or *Youtube*, are not dependent on predefined schedules. Instead, they are produced and used whenever – and people have become accustomed to accessing the content whenever they want to. The wherever-ness of mobile media use, combined with the whenever-ness, has forced media publishers to adapt to new ways of delivering their content, which are not only determined by cyclical time.

Apart from the media industry’s perspective, also people’s own lives are structured around daily and weekly routines that both have an influence on media use and are influenced by media (Silverstone, 1994). The following section addresses routines and habits, which schedule everyday life and rituals or those situations of media use that are given special importance to.

2.6.2 Routines and habits

Media use is rarely random (Schröder et al., 2003, p. 8); instead, people organise their everyday lives and media use on routines which recur daily, weekly, monthly and annually. Often these actions are integrated into larger patterns of everyday practices (Couldry, 2012, p. 53).

Routines, traditions, rituals, and habits are phenomena that bring people *ontological security* – a perception of predictability, continuity and order in life (Giddens, 1991; Silverstone, 1994). Everyday lives are not built upon random practices, which vary from day to day; instead, familiar symbols, language, and culture structure people’s lives around familiar practices, and hence build security through predictable routines and traditions (Silverstone, 1994, pp. 18–19). Also the serial aspect of media increases security as it creates routines and habits (ibid., p. 133).

When researching people’s engagement with media titles – if engagement is understood as regular use of a specific media title, for instance, a subscription to a magazine or following a blog or a television series on a weekly basis – it is

impossible not to address media habits, which have been researched from several perspectives and theoretical backgrounds (for a more extensive overview see LaRose, 2010).

In social theory routines, schedules, lifestyle, and other “regularities” are the foundation of any kind of actions and practices (Couldry, 2012, p. 33). The social-psychological conception of media habits is based on the regular *repetition* of specific “media consumption behaviour in stable circumstances” (LaRose, 2010, pp. 194–195, 200–201). The neurological approach stresses that habitual, unconscious actions help to focus on “more relevant stimuli”, and Theory of Planned Behavior, then, finds that future choices are grounded in past behaviour rather than in unconscious decisions (ibid.) The most relevant aspect of media habits, in terms of the present research is the relationship between unconscious and conscious actions. After LaRose (2010, pp. 194–195) can be stated that reading a newspaper in the morning can be a less conscious habitual process, but choosing the content which to concentrate on demands more conscious activity.

Within contemporary audience studies, the active quality of audiences is emphasised, and hence, habits that are typically considered to include at least some automaticity and unconscious decisions could be seen as diminishing the active role of readers, users and viewers. Also Uses and Gratifications theory has directed some attention to habits, in particular in the early stage of developing the theory, but the contemporary U&G emphasises the consciousness of media choices (LaRose, 2010, p. 194). Despite the predominant conception of active audience, the unconscious aspects of media use have been touched upon within audience research (e.g. Hasebrink & Domeyer, 2012; Schröder, 2011). However, it is acknowledged also within media habit studies that habits cannot be completely automatic, in the sense of fully lacking awareness, attention, intentionality and controllability, but they are a combination of unconscious and conscious decisions (LaRose, 2010, p. 210).

As Couldry (2012, p. 53) notes, “habitual repetition is one way actions get stabilized as practices”. Furthermore, media habits are not habits on their own, but they are often a part of larger habitual patterns, and thus they do not change as quickly as assumed (ibid.). For instance, reading the newspaper in the morning may often intertwine with other morning routines, such as having breakfast and getting children ready for school. This underscores the importance of contextualising media routines and habits with the various other practices of everyday.

2.6.3 Rituals and ‘media rituals’

Durkheim’s (1995) conceptions of people’s sense of being “members of shared social whole”, “sacred objects” that are shared by a culture, and ordering of life around the heightened (the sacred) and the routine (the profane) (Couldry, 2003, p. 6; Silverstone, 1994, p. 168) can commonly be found behind the theorisation of rituals. There are two similar conceptions of *ritual* and *media ritual*.

The conception of media-related rituals (marking the difference from media ritual), according to Silverstone (1994), is founded on people's everyday lives, activities, and the meanings they assign to different media and titles. Even though everyday life could be seen as consisting of nothing but mundane practices and episodes that follow one another – routines –, there are ritual times and spaces that stand out and are consciously *heightened* from the monotonous pattern (Silverstone, 1994, p. 168). These ritual times are, on the one hand, those marked by calendar, such as public holidays that influence our everyday practices (including media use), and on the other hand, they can be those actions that in the everyday life are given special meaning, attention, and time to (Couldry, 2005, p. 60; Silverstone, 1994, p. 168). Allocating time (both mentally, and in relation to clock time) for reading the morning newspaper or watching the favourite drama series every week, represent such ritualised practices that stand out from the mundane media use, and in this sense they resemble important, engaging experiences.

In addition to the daily or weekly personal rituals (such as the newscasts or favourite TV series that might impact one's schedule), also special events, such as the Eurovision song contest, or world cup football tournament gather smaller groups like families, but also crowds, such as enthusiasts around the television set at the same time. These events can be construed to form *imagined communities* (Anderson, 1991), or momentary "shared experiences" (Silverstone, 1994, p. 21). Here, the role of the medium is emphasised – TV offers a channel into the public world and the community through the topics and values they represent (Silverstone, 1994, pp. 29–30). These are, then, media rituals, which entail mythical notions of 'sharedness', and for instance, 'liveness' and 'reality'. Couldry (2003, p. 9) deviates from the functionalist assumptions of Durkheimian thinking – that the "social whole" would be universally shared. Instead, he considers media rituals powerful in their somewhat unconscious "repetitive form":

[M]edia rituals are formalised actions organised around key media-related categories and boundaries, whose performance frames, or suggests a connection with, wider media-related values. (Couldry, 2003, p. 29)

According to Couldry (2003, p. 24), the values that media rituals stand for are rarely questioned, and this is exactly why the values become seemingly fundamental. For instance, according to Couldry, the three myths that construct liveness are: 1) receiving information "of broader significance" at that particular moment; 2) giving special importance to the group of other viewers, as also they are watching it at the same time; 3) media's valuable role as a transmitter (ibid., pp. 98–99).

Television and its broadcasting times have affected people's schedules (Silverstone, 1994, p. 19), and some programs might have been considered so engaging that days or weeks have been, if not scheduled around them, planned to accommodate to these programs. However, as mentioned earlier, this has been changing during the past decades subsequent to VHS and digital recorders, and later online TV services. Even though the live feature of television can be regarded as less important in the contemporary media environment

(Couldry, 2003, p. 100), still, the Finnish public broadcaster's main newscast, as an example, is watched on linear television by hundreds of thousands of television viewers every evening at half past eight, and also other main channels' newscasts gather large audiences. Similarly, some viewers want to see their favourite series – such as *Downton Abbey* – when they are first broadcast in order to talk about the content the following day at school or work, or not let the headlines on the evening paper covers spoil the outcomes of live shows, such as *Idols*. Hereby, these experiences could be seen both as media rituals (as they entail the myth of liveness), and more one's own everyday rituals, as they might be moments that are heightened from the mundane, and given special emphasis in one's everyday media life.

In the present research rituals are examined through the participants own accounts as those practices and experiences, which people themselves possibly heighten from the more mundane, and which may even order everyday life.

2.7 Choosing between media titles in a fragmented media environment

Cultural, social and technological viewpoints to contemporary media environment have addressed social dispersion, individual and mobile use of devices, and not only the *fragmentation of media* but also the fragmentation of everyday life in general. Work lives, everyday lives and media use are said to be fragmented (Christensen & Røpke, 2010, p. 234), meaning that people's lives are built of smaller and even smaller pieces. Analysing media use and media fragmentation from the audience perspective could mean a variety of media devices and outlets and using an increasing amount of different media titles, which may lead to fragmented attention. By *media saturation* Couldry (2012, p. 16) refers to the ways in which media are part of people's lives in the Western world (also Bird, 2003). Media contents can no longer be found in specific, dedicated outlets (such as print magazine or TV set). Hundreds of available television channels, internet content, social networking sites for different kinds of communication, mobile phones with their apps and continuous online access are examples of the intertwining of media with people's everyday lives (Couldry, 2012, p. 16).

According to Webster and Ksiazek (2012, pp. 40–42) the reasons behind fragmenting digital media environment include: first, the growth of media titles and platforms, and thus, second, the dispersion of audience attention, and third, the ways in which users individually find relevant content and choose it through search processes and recommendations from friends. Hence, people have very different selections of media in their everyday lives; everyone has their own motives and preferences of media use, different available platforms or channels and versatile recommendations from several sources. Within the field of media industry *audience fragmentation* stems from media fragmentation: multiple platforms and an increasing amount of media content and titles. Audience fragmentation refers to the decrease in audience size as a result of the availability and use of multiple media content. Along the conver-

gent media culture, the number of media sources and platforms has increased, the forms of media content have multiplied, and the same content can be found in several places. Thus, the typical size of audience one title acquires (exposure to content), is not as huge as it used to be at the time of mass media (Napoli, 2010; Taneja et al., 2012). The worry about smaller audiences has been more acute within the media industry and marketing research, where the question concerns the diminished advertising money due to the smaller audience sizes. Within academic media and audience studies, there has been discussion about the decrease in unified media culture resulting from audience fragmentation, as some audiences are speculated to choose only content that matches one's own interests rather than common concerns (Sunstein, 2007). However, other results indicate that people do not follow only news media that are in synchrony with their personal and political views (Heikkilä & Ahva, 2015; Trilling & Schoenbach, 2013, p. 945; Webster, 2014). Despite the studies and statements of decreasing audience sizes or lack of unified media culture, mass media continues to be followed, and especially television is still being watched by wide audiences (Couldry, 2012, p. 15).

Just as audiences can be spread across media outlets, each individual's use of media can be widely distributed across providers or highly concentrated on a particular class of products of outlets. This is fragmentation at the microlevel. (Webster & Ksiazek, 2012, p. 45)

The multitude of media titles and media content at hand has in the last decade inspired many scholars to conduct research on audiences' use of media across platforms – the microlevel fragmentation. The studies have addressed, for instance, questions of practices related to public connection through different media (Couldry et al., 2007), news consumption across media (Heikkilä, Ahva, Siljamäki, & Valtonen, 2012; Schröder & Laarsen, 2010; Trilling & Schoenbach, 2013) and the interrelations between different media (Hasebrink & Domeyer, 2012; Schröder & Laarsen, 2010; Taneja et al., 2012). The latter perspective, interrelations of media, refers to research which specifically concentrates on which media and genres people assemble into their media selections and what kind of user typologies and patterns these selections construct.

In the fragmented media environment with an abundance of media titles and content, it is especially interesting to understand why specific media titles are chosen and engaged with. In the following sections are addressed research on people's media selections as well as the possible reasons for choosing the specific titles.

2.7.1 Research on media selections

Interest in individual selection of media titles has increased along the fragmentation of audience attention. Research on fragmentation can be divided into three approaches: media-centric, user-centric and audience-centric (Webster & Ksiazek, 2012, pp. 39–40). Whereas the first perspective is interested in which media are used, the second explores people's own classifications of their media use, for instance, through individual media selections, or

media repertoires (ibid., p. 45). The audience-centric approach, then, combines the former two perspectives. These different approaches have been studied through, for instance, people's ways and motives of assembling their selection of the media titles they use in everyday life and different kinds of user types within the study (Hasebrink & Popp, 2006; Schröder, 2010), and also the impact of media structures in selecting media (Taneja et al., 2012; Webster & Ksiazek, 2012).

Collections are used in describing the sub-selections of media and media titles that people select for somewhat regular use in their everyday lives. Previously these collections were examined within the television context (Heeter, 1985), but the contemporary media environment has expanded the focus to cover the different available platforms (Bjur, 2009, pp. 36–37; Taneja et al., 2012, p. 954). In cross-platform studies, the sub-selections of media have been called *media menus* (Livingstone, 2002), *media repertoires* (Hasebrink & Popp, 2006; Taneja et al., 2012), *media constellations* (Couldry et al., 2007), *media portfolios* (Schröder, 2011) and *customized media manifolds* (Couldry, 2012, p. 56).

These selections are considered rather static within a short time span (Hasebrink & Domeyer, 2012), and they are explained particularly in the context of managing the large amount of media titles available (Taneja et al., 2012), as opposed to the assumption that people every day choose the titles they use among the media manifold (Couldry, 2012) – the hundreds, even thousands of titles at their disposal. As an example, to assemble selections of media titles, people may have gone through a number of possibilities before choosing a women's magazine with inspiring recipes and photos, a TV series they are hooked on, or their friends have recommended, or they might only have one option for reading news in print: the local newspaper. Furthermore, it is impossible to be aware of or even have an access to all the available media titles or content (Webster & Ksiazek, 2012). In this sense, media selections cannot be highly targeted even by the individuals themselves – rather they can be seen as a combination of several factors, among them chance.

Various methods and methodologies can be adopted to approach media selections. Many contemporary studies on media selections combine both quantitative and qualitative methods to bridge the gap between the highly quantitative and general studies and the highly qualitative and individual studies of audiences' media use (e.g. Schröder, 2010; Taneja et al., 2012; Webster & Ksiazek, 2012). Different methodological strategies including media repertoires (Hasebrink & Popp, 2006) and Q methodology (Schröder & Laarsen, 2010) have been devised to bring these orientations closer in order to provide both generalizable information and individual meaning making. In addition to surveys, also ready-made quantitative data have been applied, such as, Nielsen's data on television and internet use (Webster & Ksiazek, 2012). Qualitative methods, for example, media diaries (Hasebrink & Domeyer, 2012), interviews (Schröder, 2010) and extensive observations of people's daily media use (Taneja et al., 2012) have been applied to emphasise the user-centred perspective.

Some studies classify repertoires by genre, such as sports or entertainment (Taneja et al., 2012, p. 955), or are focused on specific media (Taneja et al., 2012), or different functions of media use (Hasebrink & Domeyer, 2012). These studies do not often address the exact media titles people use, but they stay at a rather general level of media and genres. For example, in Taneja's et al. (2012, p. 959) divided the study of watching television into four subcategories: commercial, entertainment, news and channel surfing. Different perspectives on media selections illuminate the decreasing meaning of medium and at the same time the importance of individuals' relationships to media titles, especially in Schröder's (2010) and Hasebrink and Domeyer's (2012) research. In these studies, people's meaning making behind media choices is emphasised in data analysis, and the outcomes build on these classifications. For example, Schröder's (2010) research on selecting between news titles is more individual and based on people's own classifications of their media use (see also Schröder, 2012).

Even though there are differences in the research foci in studies of fragmentation and media selections, the common features in contemporary studies include consideration of all the media, applying a multi-methodical approach and including the user perspective – whether they are functions of media use, or people's own classifications of their media choices –, instead of focusing only on media.

2.7.2 Why are specific media are selected?

The studies of motives behind media choices is a polemic field, as the different conceptions for making the selection, such as *need*, *preference* and *taste*, illustrate the different theoretical backgrounds (Pearson & Davies, 2005). Thus, more neutral terms, for instance *selection*, *choice* or *motive* have been applied to avoid the former, theoretically-charged terms.

Need is a sensitive concept within audience studies, since it implies more psychological assumptions of people having clearly defined needs that they fulfil by using media (Fiske & Hartley, 2003). Within audience and media studies, need is often associated with Uses and Gratifications theory (U&G) (Blumler & Katz, 1974), which provides a holistic approach to people's media use, covering the process of media use from choosing media to the fulfilled needs, gratifications. The needs defined by U&G are cognitive (information and knowledge), affective (emotional and aesthetic experiences), personal integrative (building identity, values), social integrative (adjusting to social surroundings), and tension-release (escapism, diversion) (see e.g. Fiske & Hartley, 2003; Ruggiero, 2000). Johnson and Prijatel (2013, p. 8) have listed possible uses for magazines from the U&G perspective; for example, acquiring information and knowledge, emotional pleasure, aesthetic experiences, dreaming and imagining, escapism, strengthening and reinforcing one's own values, self-knowledge and finding topics to talk about in social situations.

'Needs' and 'uses' are grounded in psychological theories, and support the assumption that media choices are at all times conscious and fulfil a specific function, resulting in a clearly defined gratification. 'Preference' derives from

similar theoretical, much psychological, background as ‘need’, and also builds on U&G theory (Kraaykamp & van Eijck, 2005).

Couldry (2012, p. 159) has approached media practices from the viewpoint of *communication needs*, which define the media culture. For Couldry (ibid.) media culture refers to the “collections of sense-making practices whose main resources of meaning are media”. He suggests that media cultures be examined through the practices that matter to people, and the reasons for selecting media. In order to examine these, he emphasises “underlying human needs” including economic, ethnic, political, recognition, belief, social and leisure needs (Couldry, 2012, p. 162).

With *economic needs* Couldry (2012, pp. 162–175) refers both to the regional and the life phase situation and possibilities to consume media. *Ethnic and belief needs* refer, for instance, to the minorities’ own media production with low cost due to the internet, and religious communities’ sense of their media consumption versus the mainstream media consumption. *Political needs* mean, on the one hand, legislation and distribution systems that affect the media culture. On the other hand, they also refer to the cultural impact on news consumption. *Recognition needs* refer to the need to feel valued by others in the surrounding society and culture through media content, and also whether individuals recognise themselves in media. *Social needs* are those social factors that impact media use, such as socialising with friends and family, or peer groups of the same age, colleagues or other peers with similar interests. *Leisure needs* include taste (and the variety of them), also from the technological viewpoint, as the internet has widened the possibilities of communication for groups (e.g. fan communities). These needs do not only underlie media choices, but other parts of life as well (Couldry, 2012, p. 179).

Couldry’s seven communication needs and the five needs within U&G theory seem to have several same dimensions in common. They both address the needs for being recognised or identified in media, social interaction and leisure. However, where U&G needs start from psychology, Couldry’s communication needs holistically consider the social and cultural surroundings that inevitably affect choosing between media. In addition, as the name suggests, Couldry’s communication needs refer to communication in general, whereas U&G is more focused on media usage.

Needs can also be approached from the viewpoint of practices. Korkman (2006) has studied customer needs concerning family cruises, but instead of starting from the conscious and unconscious needs which is typical in service marketing, he has approached needs from the practice-theoretical perspective. In observing family practices during a cruise (e.g. “fine dining rituals”, “ensuring the child experience”, “embodied ship consumption”) he suggests that needs be inscribed in practices (Korkman, 2006, pp. 48, 86, 168). For instance, fine dining ritual is based on adults’ know-how and practice of eating out in a fancy restaurant, but on a family cruise also children are present, making parents worry about their children interrupting other people, which also affects the quality of the dining experience (Korkman, 2006, p. 92). Here, the

inscribed need drives families to ensure that both parents and children can enjoy the fancy cruise dinner.

Despite the countless media platforms, products, genres and types of content, the selected media titles often suit the needs and other purposes of use (Webster & Ksiazek, 2012). Staying updated of economic news, fashion trends, or how friends are doing; finding bus schedules, searching instructions to fix a car, or relaxing after the workweek may not constitute the basic human needs, but these are all daily purposes of use that media respond to. Further, numerous other attributes contribute to choosing between similar media titles. Personal taste and previous experiences from the title (*ibid.*), as well as social or spatial factors (Schröder, 2010; Ytre-Arne, 2011a) have an effect on choosing between media alternatives.

Taste is a step away from the determinist assumptions towards a more cultural conception, but also taste has its theoretical burdens, as Bourdieu (1984) has associated taste tightly with social class, bypassing, for instance, gender (Davies, Buckingham, & Kelley, 2000). Hence, discussion of taste connects with high versus low content, as the commercial and popular, *middlebrow* titles are attracted by large audiences, whereas more cultivated content and taste are reserved for the educated social class, the elite (Bird, 2003, pp. 122–124). As Davies et al. (2000, p. 21) note, from the normative reading of media use would follow that social class, gender and age determine choosing between media. However, the real-life circumstances are more diverse: people have “multiple tastes” and, as an example, also social factors affect media use (*ibid.*, p. 22).

Academic research has often ignored the questions of quality, aesthetics and taste by concentrating on representations of reality (e.g. how soap operas represent reality) and social and ideological readings of texts (e.g. how viewers oppose to or challenge hegemonic readings) (Bird, 2003, pp. 122–123). One of the underlying reasons is the types of genres and media that have been in focus within academic research. Bird (2003, p. 121) finds it somewhat regrettable that especially scholars in fan studies have tended to focus on “edgy” or “avant-garde” genres and on TV series which have created cults around them, for instance, *Star Trek* or *X Files*. Thus, the middlebrow TV series, for instance *Dr. Quinn*, have not gained the attention they should, at least on the basis of viewerships, as the large audiences are the ones that are often attracted by the middlebrow titles (*ibid.*).

I dare contest whether need or taste should carry *all* of the theoretical weight. In the present study, both need and taste have their pragmatic roles and founding on the data, that is the speech, categorisations and practices of the participants (see also Couldry, 2012, p. 159). ‘Need’ and ‘taste’ can also be construed as more practice-based features engaging people to choose and use media.

2.8 Engaging with media

Until recently, media industries have been more interested in audience exposure to media contents (Napoli, 2010, pp. 9, 15). Yet, as media fragmentation and audience autonomy increase, there is a need to learn more about the changing ways of media use, including the motivations and content preferences of the audiences, in order to reach a more sophisticated understanding of media choices (ibid.). One solution to moving away from measuring mere exposure has been to approach audiences from the viewpoint of engagement – a concept which has become a buzzword within marketing research, in particular.

To cause confusion, *media engagement* has been defined in numerous ways depending on the definer and context of research. In the present research it is understood as the reader's or user's relationship to a specific media title as well as the process of building and maintaining that particular relationship. Other similar concepts are, for instance, *worthwhileness* (Schröder, 2010), *fandom* (Bird, 2003; Jenkins, 1992) and *readership contract* (Töyry, 2005). All of these address *people's individual relationships to different media titles* and the variety of perceptual and concrete experiences that a user has during and about media use.

In academic and qualitative marketing-related audience studies the conception of engagement is often perceived as being close to interestingness (Heikkilä et al., 2012), an emotional connection to a media title (Napoli, 2010) as well as an involvement in the act of interpretation leading to sense-making (Ahva & Hellman, 2015; Das, 2011). In an Advertising Research Foundation's white paper, different stakeholders have over twenty definitions of *audience engagement* (Napoli, 2010, pp. 97–98). Within media industry and marketing research, the conception of and methods to measure engagement are often quantitative, for example, incorporating attention paid to content, or the time spent with content and also emotional connection with the title. In academic quantitative media studies, for instance, research on social media, engagement can be measured by the amount of clicks, likes, comments and followers (Baym, 2013).

The reasons for examining engagement vary. The market-driven studies of media publishers might be more focused on audience sizes (for the sake of advertisers) (Napoli, 2010). In academic studies, the interests to study engagement lies more in the meaning of media for the audience (Heikkilä et al., 2012), or in specific features or experiences, such as “emotional response” related to fiction (Busselle & Bilandzic, 2009). Emotional engagement includes, for example, identification with the characters, enjoyment, and more specific emotions such as empathy and sympathy, making sense of the story or losing awareness of time or of oneself, also referred to as immersion (ibid.). Also “mental engagement” and “physical engagement” that are associated with the practices of reading have been of interest within academic audience studies (Peterson, 2010, p. 139).

Disengagement, in contrast, refers to an opposite experience of engagement, of not feeling connected to a media title. Disengagement can stem from disturb-

ance, for instance, one's feelings or "competing" factors, such as hunger, stress and noise (Busselle & Bilandzic, 2009, p. 326), interfering advertisements, information overload, bad visual design, or poor quality of content (Peck & Malthouse, 2011, pp. 230–232).

2.8.1 Media and audience engagement as a process

In academic media studies the conception of engagement is often not defined at all, and there are differences between the approaches. The verb *engage with* in English, on the one hand, can be used to refer to using specific (digital) media (Helsper & Eynon, 2013) or interacting with (digital) media (Livingstone, 2008). On the other hand, reference to "emotional connection between viewers and content" (Jenkins, Ford, & Green, 2013, p. 116) indicate that the concept of engaging with media is within academic media studies as ambiguous as within the media industry.

Napoli (2010) has presented a linear model of "audience dimensions" (Figure 1 below) where media engagement starts from exposure to the content. In this model, engagement includes appreciation, emotions, recall, and attitude towards a media title, and the process of media use ends with (audience) behaviour.

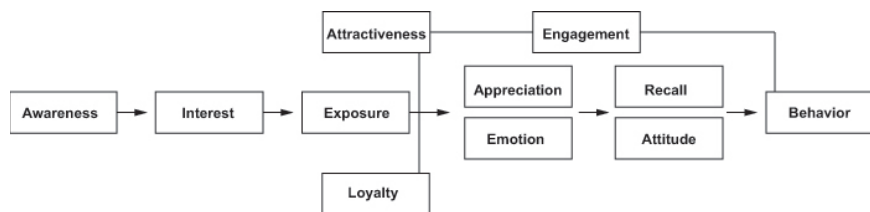


Figure 1. "Audience dimensions" as in Napoli 2010, p. 91

Media engagement can also be seen as a set of experiences that a user has of a media brand and its content, rather than a univocal conception. Researchers in the Media Management Center at Northwestern University have identified over forty experiences related to engagement and disengagement in several audience and media studies (Calder & Malthouse, 2004; Malthouse, Calder, & P., 2003; Peck & Malthouse, 2011). The core of their conception of engagement is "how a media brand fits into their [recipients'] lives" (Peck & Malthouse, 2011, p. 4). According to them, becoming aware of these experiences is necessary in understanding what makes users stay with and return to certain titles, or alternatively, why they give up reading or following them (Peck & Malthouse, 2011, pp. 4–5). These experiences include, for instance, Makes Me Smarter (following news in order to know what is going on), Utilitarian (useful content, e.g. recipes or help), Community-Connection (finding the online community important), Entertainment and Diversion (enjoyment and escapism), Anchor Camaraderie (feeling related to the host, or valuing the journalists' expertise), Identity (building identity by consumption, or relating to other people), Visual (finding powerful or stunning visual content), Co-producing

(finding important the possibility to participate), and Positive Emotional (feeling emotionally touched by content) (Peck & Malthouse, 2011). The experiences can also be overlapping; the experience of Makes Me Smarter is related with building the experience of Identity (Peck & Malthouse, 2011, p. 13), and Co-producing with Community Connection (Humphreys, 2011, p. 107). These experiences were first identified in qualitative structured interviews, and later larger surveys connected specific titles and engaging experiences.

These engaging experiences defined by the Media Management Center are examined from the media publishers' and broadcasters' viewpoint to analyse ways in which their media concepts could be developed to engage their readers, users, and viewers. Thus, their publication (Medill on media engagement, 2011) describes those experience elements that could easily be improved and combined when developing and designing media concepts. Also product-sensitive experiences, such as Trust and Credibility and High-Quality Content were identified in their studies but have been omitted from their book, as, according to the authors, these experiences are not as essential to the reader's or user's relationship to the title as the other experiences are (Peck & Malthouse, 2011, p. 13). However, trust and quality of content have been considered as elements in research on people's relationships to media titles. For example, readers' trust in news photographs (Puustinen & Seppänen, 2013), or media users' evaluation processes concerning reliability and relevance in online content (Pavlickova, 2013) are only two examples of the intertwining of trust in the process of meaning making during media use. Quality, then, is often associated with readers', viewers' or users' evaluations of media, and is associated with features, such as plot, or the coherence of characters (Bird, 2003; McKee, 2001).

Emotional engagement, a part of narrative engagement, can be approached as the emotional and psychological experiences an individual associates with media (Busselle & Bilandzic, 2009). For instance, identification with characters, immersion in the text during viewing, and emotions (e.g. empathy and sympathy) are experiences that increase engagement with media content (ibid.). The psychological and neuro-psychological methods to investigate emotional responsiveness to content include surveys, facial recognition technologies, heart rate monitoring, and brainwave analysis (see Napoli, 2010, pp. 104–105); self-reports, psycho-physiological measures (e.g. Ravaja, Saari, Salminen, Laarni, & Kallinen, 2006), and brain response in relation to eye movement (e.g. Simola, Torniainen, Moisala, Kivikangas, & Krause, 2013), among others.

Similarly to Napoli (2010, see Figure 1 above), also Peck and Malthouse (2011, p. 4) describe media engagement as a unidirectional model between engagement and its effects on people's media use and the following outcomes (see Figure 2 below). Peck and Malthouse do not specifically emphasise the serial aspect of media engagement (i.e. subscribing to a monthly magazine, or following a weekly TV series), but they do see engagement as a 'relationship' and 'loyalty', which can be interpreted as references to a long-lasting connection between the user and the media title.

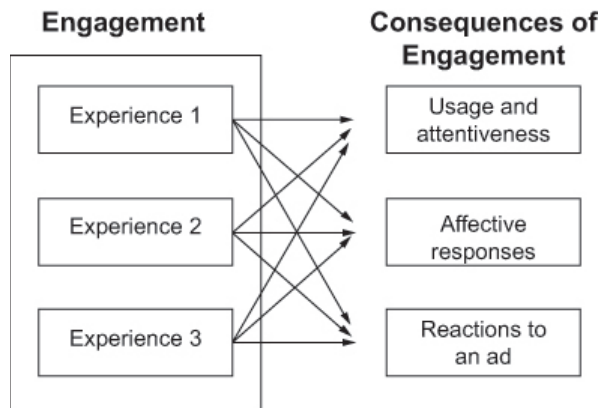


Figure 2. “Engagement, Experiences and Their Consequences” as in Peck and Malthouse 2011, p. 4

Among other instruments, magazine publishers have measured engagement by means of readership frequency, minutes spent on an issue, or the percentage of the issue that was actually read (Carroll & Gale, 2011; Napoli, 2010). But as Napoli (2010, pp. 100–102) questions, it is uncertain whether variables such as the time spent translates into one’s engagement with a certain content or medium. Even if engagement was viewed more as a reader’s emotional connection to a magazine, magazine publishers have generally used quantifiable market-driven readership research to obtain information about the reader-magazine relationships (e.g. Kline, Powell, Maxwell, & White, 2011). These studies seldom focus on active meaning making and the experiential practice of being a reader, but rather on the interests and social-economic attributes of the reader (Hermes, 2009), which are more interesting to the advertisers.

2.8.2 Other conceptions similar to engagement

In addition to engagement, there are concepts that describe a similar phenomenon, emotional attachment, or a meaningful relationship with a specific media title. For instance, more specific concepts of readership contract, worthwhileness and the more general fandom are all approaches that contain elements comparable to readers’, viewers’, or users’ engagement with media.

The readership contract (Töyry, 2005), to put it simply, is reader’s subscription to a magazine or a newspaper, or other sort of regular relationship, for instance, purchasing frequently single copies of it. From a publisher’s point of view readership contracts, or continuous relationships are ideal, since magazines and newspapers are published as serials, and readership contracts create a rather stable audience. Publishers needs “a core readership”, a group of loyal readers, who bring regular income to their magazine (Johnson & Prijatel, 2013, p. 221). Töyry (2005) has examined the ways early Finnish women’s magazines built readership contracts with their readers through analyses of the reader positions the magazines provided for the readers, the ways the magazines addressed their readers, and the ways of building the reader community.

Schröder (2010) has applied the concept of worthwhileness in approaching people's news-media relationships towards specific news titles from the audience perspective: What makes the titles worth the readers', users' and viewers' while. The seven dimensions of worthwhileness are *temporality* (how much time for following news), *materiality* (devices or media for following news), *spatiality* (places where news are consumed), *textuality* (textual and visual content, relevance), *economics* (price, affordability), *normativity* (culture and other people that might have an effect on choosing news media), and *participation* (being able to co-produce or discuss in online environments) (ibid., p. 1).

The conceptions of worthwhileness (Schröder, 2010) and media engagement (Peck & Malthouse, 2011) resemble each other in their multifaceted features, but show also some differences. The approach of the Media Management Center examines engagement merely in relation to media content and user gratifications. At the same time it ignores the significance of such concrete user practices as time, location, or open-ended social aspects of media use, that are also part of media experiences (Schröder, 2011, p. 6). Worthwhileness does not address the unidirectional relationship between the individual and the anchor, journalist or host ("anchor camaraderie"), or the direct notion of identity, although the latter is implied in its other dimensions, such as normativity. Both of these conceptions seem to oversee the embodied and sensory experiences, which are also aspects of everyday media use. For example, reading print magazines in a comfortable laid-back position may be preferred to reading online content while sitting at a table in front of a computer, because the reading position is associated with relaxation (Ytre-Arne, 2011a).

Media-related fandom has been much investigated during the past three decades. Fan audiences have been in focus more often than middlebrow audiences, which partly results from the types of media content (marginal versus middlebrow), the productive and creative feature of fans as audience, and also scholars' own preferences and position as fans (Bird, 2003; Davis, Michelle, Hardy, & Hight, 2014; Jenkins, 1992). What especially differentiates media-related fandom from more mundane media engagement is the fan community, which is often characteristic of fan practices; both online and face-to-face communication and special real-life events for fan communities are common (Jenkins, 2013), but have been, until recently, been fairly rare occasions for print readers. However, in the past decade magazine and newspaper publishers have begun to extend their engagement strategies also beyond the print medium (Ahva & Pantti, 2014; Aitamurto, 2013; Malmelin & Villi, 2015).

As fandom also comprises a set of "affective investments" (Hermes, 2009, p. 114), it could be viewed as the ultimate form of media engagement. Even though the findings regarding media engagement in this study are closely connected to an individual's personal relationship with media titles (e.g. subscribing to magazines and newspapers, following TV series and blogs), these forms of media engagement should be considered rather as a part of mundane involvement with media and the typically routine decisions that people make when choosing which media titles they follow.

Selected studies on magazines and their readers will be reviewed before presenting the data and methods of the present research.

2.9 Magazines and their readers

Especially studies of women's magazine readers have examined readers' own experiences about magazines. Readers' relationships to magazines often have a special emphasis on the people's own, open-ended accounts describing their experiences of magazine titles and genres and magazines as a medium (Hermes, 1995; Ytre-Arne, 2011c). Research on readers of other than women's magazines have been marginal within the academic field (Holmes, 2008). Magazines as a medium are extensively treated in Sammye Johnson and Patricia Prijatel's *Magazine From Cover to Cover* (2013), and for example, in an encyclopedia on the history of Finnish general interest and special interest magazines ("Aikakauslehdistön historia," 1991). This section reviews research conducted specifically on readers and reading magazines from the reader perspective.

Magazines are based on serial publishing, which means that in order to establish their position in the magazine markets, they need a faithful group of readers. In particular, the seriality of magazines makes them such an intriguing research topic from the reader perspective: Why and how do readers engage with magazines, and subscribe to them for years, even for decades?

The next sections review a selection of studies that have addressed magazine engagement from the viewpoints of both the publisher, the magazine and the reader.

2.9.1 Studying magazine audiences and readers

There is a strong link between marketing research pursuing advertising purposes and readership research targeted for editorial staffs of magazines (Gough-Yates, 2003), which necessitates a few words about reader studies conducted for marketing purposes even though they are not in focus in the present study. For instance, brand research (e.g. what types of words are associated with a magazine title), or lifestyle segmenting of a particular age and gender group (e.g. young professional women), are employed in marketing the magazine both to advertisers and readers (ibid., p. 115), not forgetting research on newsstand sales and circulation (Johnson, 2008, p. 2).

Marketing research has followed the same methodo-cultural paths as audience studies, which were discussed in Section 2.1. In the mid 20th century much of consumer research was based on demographics, such as social class and gender, but women's social class was based on their spouse's occupation (Gough-Yates, 2003, pp. 2, 61). During the 1960s and 1970s, advertising agencies began to complement quantitative methods with qualitative methods that also took into account behavioural and psychological factors as advertisers' research interest shifted towards influencing consumer emotions (ibid., p. 62). These "motivational" and "attitudinal" studies also addressed consumers as

individuals instead of seeing them as a unified audience (*ibid.*, pp. 62, 153). During the 1970s and 1980s lifestyle segmenting became the mainstream perspective, and people were divided into “typological consumer groups” by combining vast surveys with individual interviews (*ibid.*, p. 62). Socio-cultural changes, such as the increase of women’s status at work life, also changed the marketing strategies of magazines, and both consumers and advertisers wanted to increase the “reality” of marketing material; hence, for example, the home-oriented imagery of women was made more realistic (*ibid.*, pp. 63–64, 67).

Women’s consumer magazines and mass production have been linked in the past millennium, and the concept of consumer magazine is tightly anchored between advertising content in magazines and readers’ subscriptions, and consequently, readers are sold to advertisers as consumers (Töyry, 2005, pp. 258–259). Hereby, also magazines play a double role: they are both journalistic and editorial media products that produce journalistic content from their own objectives, but at the same time, they are dependent on advertising content.

Magazines do not survive (or exist) without readers – their audience. Neither ‘audience’ nor ‘reader’, however, are univocal concepts but rather determined by different parties, sometimes constructed or imagined, and sometimes real. The audience of a magazine can consist of individual readers, or of individual members of association or organisation (e.g. Amnesty) that are addressed in the magazine (Töyry, 2005, p. 90). This means that this is an imagined audience: an audience imagined by journalists based on the information they have about their audience. The content is grounded on the editorial staff’s knowledge, assumptions and readership information about what topics their readers might prefer and find appealing. The same group of readers – the audience – is also a target group that is sold to the magazine’s advertisers based on the readers’ demographic data, for instance gender, age, income and life-style.

Whereas the magazine industry often examines their readers as demographic groups and takes into account the needs of the advertiser (Gough-Yates, 2003), academic research has approached magazine readers and reading magazines from very different perspectives, discussed in the following sections.

2.9.2 Engaging with magazines

Studies of magazines as a medium or of the various viewpoints of producing magazines tend to offer angles to reader relationships that are fairly different from studies of magazine readers, but nevertheless also these studies provide themes for reflecting on the reader perspective: what issues have been considered relevant in researching readers and magazines. In the production-perspective studies the themes have included the textual and visual ways of addressing the reader (Töyry, 2015; Weselius, 2014), the reading positions provided for the reader (Töyry, 2005), and advancing the sense of belonging in the reader community (Aitamurto, 2013; Johnson & Prijatel, 2013).

Töyry (2005, 2015) has researched the ways early Finnish women’s magazines built their relationship with the readers. Through historical data, she

provides possible answers to magazine failure or success in establishing lasting relationships with readers. Helle and Töyry (2008) approach reader relationships from the perspective of magazine as a *media concept* (see also Helle, 2011), which allows studying magazines not only from a single perspective of content, readers, or production. Instead, using the media concept as an analytical tool enables examining magazine titles from a holistic perspective – including visual and textual content and genre, surrounding society, the possible reader-positions the magazine offers to its readers and values and objectives of a magazine (Töyry, 2005, pp. 62–63).³

The journalistic and rhetorical ways of engaging magazine readers include selection of suitable topics, story types and intimate rhetorics, such as writing to the readers with a conversational tone, and engaging in dialogue with the audience (Töyry, 2005, pp. 60, 97). For example, the editorial staff of the family magazine *Meidän Perhe* (in English *Our Family*) wanted to decrease hierarchy between themselves and their readers to build community, and aimed at a magazine voice that would sound more like equal peers talking to one another, rather than talking down in a patronising tone (Weselius, 2014, pp. 207–208). In addition, visual content – lay-out, illustration and photography – are designed so as to attract specific groups as visual strategies are as important as textual (Johnson & Prijatel, 2013; Weselius, 2014).

Reading positions are the positions the magazine suggests to the reader and hopes the reader accepts them. However, a magazine can harness more than one kind of a reading position. The several reading positions provided, the *multi-voicedness*, is characteristic for magazines. Different voices (e.g. editor-in-chief, journalists and columnists) and versatile story types (e.g. fiction, fact, columns, advice) in magazines provide different reader positions and allow expression of contradictory perspectives, which leaves room for the reader to negotiate with the content and her/his own views (Töyry, 2005, pp. 224–225; 2015). For example, many advisory story types such as recipes and tips for housekeeping, in early *Kotiliesi* were directed at housewives and mothers at home, and the division of work at home was not questioned (Töyry, 2005, pp. 296–297). However, more fictional story types, e.g. fashion stories and biographies, pictured 'an ideal woman', which was a modern woman working outside home (ibid.).

Furthermore, especially association and small magazines form a *community of readers* around them. This community is possible due to the niche content, which knits readers together around a special interest, lifestyle, situation in life, occupation, values, or other uniting factors (Johnson & Prijatel, 2013, pp. 5, 7). As association magazines are targeted and delivered to the members of a specific association, for example, conservationists, the magazines may bring together readers with common values. From the viewpoint of the publisher, the ways of establishing and maintaining the reader community include letters to the editor, events, and, increasingly, online and social media. In addition, one way of creating a sense of reader community for the readers is the manner

³ Gough-Yates (2003) uses *concept* without explaining it any further when addressing magazine titles.

of addressing the readers (Töyry, 2005, p. 293). For example, early *Kotiliesi* (in the 1920s) wrote to its readers using we-voice, and the readers were invited to share values and the imagined community of, for instance, Finnishness, consumerism, motherhood and traditional roles regarding gender and division of work in the family (Töyry, 2005, 2015).

These above-mentioned examples are different kinds of *imagined communities* in which the members do not know each other (Anderson, 1991). Unlike fan communities that continuously and actively work to maintain the community (Bird, 2003), the members in imagined communities stay, to a large extent, unfamiliar to each other. However, the reader-reader communities become visible in different kinds of co-creation processes where audiences are invited to engage in creating content and interact with each other and journalists or professional producers. For example, in Aitamurto's (2013) study of a co-creation process of making a women's magazine the editorial staff asked the readers to participate in choosing between the topics, interviewees and photographs for a special issue. The cooperation process increased the sense of reader-community for some, but some of the readers who did not participate in the co-creation project felt excluded from the community after the co-created issue was released (ibid.).

2.9.3 Reader views of engagement and disengagement

Studies that have touched upon readers' relationships to magazines have often relied on qualitative methods. The studies reviewed here were conducted, for instance, as surveys (Kariniemi, 2010; Ytre-Arne, 2011d), in-depth interviews and narratives (Hermes, 1995; Ytre-Arne, 2011c), which have been complemented with textual analysis (Ytre-Arne, 2011b), netnography (online ethnography) (Aitamurto, 2013), and interviews with magazine editors (Aitamurto, 2013; Kariniemi, 2010; Ytre-Arne, 2011b). The variety and combinations of methods concerning magazine readers within academic research indicates that scholarly perspectives to readers are different from the viewpoint of magazine publishers, who often construct their knowledge of readers and readerships through demographic data and lifestyle preferences (Gough-Yates, 2003; Hermes, 1995; Napoli, 2010).

Everyday life is the context for Hermes (1995) and Ytre-Arne (2011d). In their studies, women's magazines were read especially because they were suitable for reading in fragmented everyday situations, for instance, while doing household work. Women's magazines have provided their readers with practical and useful information (Hermes, 1995; Ytre-Arne, 2011d), which not only legitimise reading them, but also create a sense of an ideal self (Hermes, 1995, p. 39). In addition, realistic topics in magazines encourage the readers to reflect on their own lives (Ytre-Arne, 2011d, p. 221). What also emerges in the above-mentioned studies of women's magazines is the reader emphasis on the *moment of reading*. Magazines as textual objects may not be highly important for the readers, but instead they can appreciate the moment of relaxation in between household work (Hermes, 1995, p. 144), or read magazines when

travelling, or as a reward, and associate ritual features with magazine reading (Ytre-Arne, 2011a, 2011d). These particular, above-mentioned findings illustrate the multiple layers of media experience: on the one hand, the textual content is considered engaging (if it can be reflected on the reader's life), and on the other hand, is the importance of the activities and experiences that are associated with the moment of media use itself.

In addition to everyday practices of reading magazines, identity has been centre stage in studies concerning especially women's magazines and their readers (Hermes, 1995; Töyry, 2005; Ytre-Arne, 2012), but also in a study conducted with the readers of association magazines (Kariniemi, 2010). In studies of women's magazines identity is often approached from the perspective of looks and the realism of looks, but also other angles are available. For instance, one's phase of life or economic situation (Ytre-Arne, 2012), as well as emotional survival-stories (Kariniemi, 2010) and shared values (Rinne, 1994) are issues that may increase the sense of relating with a magazine content.

Readers seem to have a clear *sense of magazine genres and titles*. Genre here refers to readers' empirical conceptions of media genres and the boundaries between them, as well as a perception of which titles belong under which genre (see Lüders, Prøitz, & Rasmussen, 2010). Magazine titles are rather explicit concepts in the minds of their readers: readers (in a specific culture) know whom different titles are written for (Ytre-Arne, 2012). Furthermore, readers may sometimes have explicit expectations of what kind of content a particular genre should contain and what not (Ytre-Arne, 2011d, p. 222) and how those topics and issues should be addressed (Aitamurto, 2013). For instance, women's magazines are assumed to contain specific topics, and these topics are often associated with readers' personal interests, rather than societal, or political issues (Gough-Yates, 2003, p. 94; Ytre-Arne, 2011b, p. 253). Similarly, reader conceptions of specific situations that are reserved for magazines imply that readers associate media titles and genres with different purposes of use. For instance, women's magazines can be read in specific situations in which relaxation constitutes a particularly significant aspect, whereas the online sites of women's magazines are associated with work because of the computer (Ytre-Arne, 2011a). Besides magazines, also studies of other media content audiences indicate that viewers have thorough knowledge about differences between genres, and also specific concepts (such as TV series or detective novels), and viewers and readers also apply this knowledge when assessing these media titles (Bird, 2003; Hermes & Stello, 2000; McKee, 2001). In Bird's (2003) study of online fan communities of the TV series *Dr. Quinn* and soap-opera *One Life to Live*, the viewers evaluated these series within the genre, i.e., the series were not compared to series in another genre, but rather in comparison to the conventions and characteristics of the particular series. Similarly, news journalism as a genre can be assessed through topicality, relevance, and neutrality (Heikkilä & Ahva, 2015).

The explicit knowledge of magazine titles the readers and viewers have is related to the concept of *horizon of expectation* (Jauss, 1982), which derives from literature theory. It is adopted in analysing the aesthetic value of a text

for its reader, and it refers to the gap between the text and the reader's expectation of the text (Sandvoss, 2011, p. 236). Thus the value or the meaning of the text is not implemented in the text itself, but the reader assigns meaning to the text based on her/his previous encounters with other and similar texts (ibid). Sandvoss summarises horizon of expectation as follows:

The horizon of expectation describes the vantage point of the reader or audience that is constituted by the sum of their lifeworld experiences, including their experience of other literature and the respective conventions and genre categories emerging from such past encounters. (Sandvoss, 2011, p. 236)

Bird's (2003, pp. 131–133, 136) notions of user perceptions of media titles and genres are close to horizon of expectation. Horizon of expectation contains not only detailed knowledge of a specific title and genre, but it also includes the reader's, viewer's or user's own experiences of the title. Applying the theoretical concept of horizon of expectation to magazines and reading magazines, the text can be regarded as a reference also to genre, and in even more detail, to a specific magazine concept's voice, story types, topics and ways of addressing them.

2.10 Research questions

People face hundreds of media titles in their lives. The abundance of titles raises the question of media engagement: What media titles are considered so engaging that they are chosen for reading, watching, using, listening and following regularly?

This chapter introduced the most prominent concepts and paradigms. The tradition of cultural audience studies in context with everyday life forms the main research approach of this study: the interest is in the ways people engage with specific media titles and the meaning making behind when choosing which media titles to follow. Practice approach, in particular, guides to paying attention to people's own vocabulary and activities instead of starting from only theory-driven concepts deriving from earlier audience and media studies. Practices and experiences, then, operate as the analytical entities that are utilised when analysing everyday media use.

In this study, I aim at taking a holistic look at people's everyday media use and their selections of media titles, gradually moving from the amount of media titles followed to meanings and practices that are associated with the use of the more important titles, and finally concentrating on the readers' relationship with specific magazine titles and content in them. This way, I hope to sketch a multifaceted conception of media engagement that takes into account those experiences and practices that the participants have considered important when choosing which media to follow, possibly for decades. The three main research questions are:

- 1) How does the level of fragmentation of media use differ between reader groups and individuals?*
- 2) What are the most important elements of engagement with media in everyday life, and magazines in particular?*
- 3) What do different audience research methods reveal about media engagement and fragmentation?*

Engagement with media is addressed as a set of experiences and practices that a person associates with a specific media title. Approaching media engagement from the everyday perspective enables taking into account the different contexts of everyday – the social, spatial and temporal practices in the participants' lives.

In addition, media engagement is perceived from the viewpoint of reader engagement with magazines. Attention is paid to the ways current and former subscribers address their relationship to a magazine, what kind of content they find engaging or disengaging, and eventually, what elements contribute to the overall sense of engaging with the magazine.

The present research approaches the above-mentioned research questions through an iterative research process, during which four audience research methods were used and modified, and conducted with five groups of participants of different ages. The methods and data are presented in the following chapter.

3. Methods and data

From a methodological viewpoint, the past decades of audience research have been an era of pluralism (Pruulmann-Vengerfeldt, 2013). The diversity of qualitative and quantitative methodologies may depict contemporary scholars' attempts to grasp audiences that are online and offline (or everywhere), and their various practices (Jensen, 2014).

Qualitative and quantitative methodologies both have their characteristics. Where quantitative are sometimes considered more reliable as the processes of data collection and analysis are often more explicit, the strengths of qualitative studies lie in validity due to good contextualisation of data (Schrøder, 1999, p. 49). The objectives are also different. The aim of qualitative audience research is to examine the variety of meanings and experiences people associate with media and communication, often in a natural context (Jensen, 2012, p. 266; Schrøder et al., 2003, p. 355). Qualitative methods are often considered appropriate in offering in-depth information about the phenomenon under examination as the participants have more agency in sharing their opinions, which makes the research strongly contextualised in comparison to quantitative methods (Schrøder et al., 2003, p. 349).

In recent years, a growing number of examples have combined quantitative (e.g. survey-based) data with qualitative information about audiences' subjective meanings to map typologies and patterns of media use (e.g. Couldry et al., 2007; Courtois, 2012; Hasebrink & Domeyer, 2012; Schrøder, 2012). In particular, the combination of epistemologically different qualitative and quantitative methods has been discussed in order to overcome, or at least increase transparency, of applying methods from different theoretical backgrounds and analysing different kinds of data within the same research (Davis & Michelle, 2011; Jensen, 2012; Schrøder, 2012).

The debated questions concerning qualitative methodologies concern the validity and reliability of research, of providing generalisable results out of qualitative data and combining of qualitative-only methods from possibly different theoretical and epistemological backgrounds (Höijer, 2008; Jensen, 2012; Schrøder, 2012). The concerns over combining various audience research methods founded on different epistemologies derive from the possible outcome of this tendency: inadequate analyses and explanations of the phenomenon under examination (Schrøder, 2012, p. 801). This results, in particular, from the different theoretical and methodological backgrounds within the field of audience and media studies: the studies are theoretically, to a large extent, grounded on humanities, where the focus on *specific* and methods tra-

ditionally draw on text, whereas the methodologies in audience studies derive in many cases come from social sciences where the focus is on *regularities* (Höijer, 2008; Jensen, 2014; Schröder, 2012). This results in a tension between the various theoretical, methodological, ontological and epistemological positions, because they are occasionally contradictory, which again raises the question of generalising the results.

As sometimes is suggested, research that depends on only qualitative methods may not be sufficient in providing generalisations (Höijer, 2008; Schröder, 2012). Höijer (2008, p. 287) differentiates ontological positions in the debate on the generalisations of qualitative studies, ranging from *situationalism* to *structuralism*. Situationists claim that no qualitative research is generalisable outside the research context, which according to Schröder (1999, p. 48), makes discussion with policy-makers and other researchers difficult due to the alleged non-generalisable results. Then again, the ontological position of structuralism considers qualitative research able to explain even the patterns that emerge in research (Schröder, 2012).

The importance of having a stance on the debate concerns the methodological consequences of the epistemological and ontological questions of *how knowledge constructs* and *who the informants in a research represent* where the debate originates, and which then have an effect on the abilities for generalising qualitative research (Höijer, 2008). The midway between the different positions Höijer (ibid., p. 281) formulates, which also the present study adopts, is *social variation alongside cultural homogeneity*. This position regards the construction of knowledge of reality as “pre-understanding [that] reflects collective, social, cultural and historical circumstances [...] vital in meaning-making” as opposite to situationalism in line with radical constructionism, where informant speech is limited to only a specific situation (ibid., p. 279). The position also considers participants representing at least some level of “homogeneity within a culture or subculture” (Höijer, 2008, p. 281), and thus possessing “some underlying permanence” (Schröder, 2012, p. 801), which makes generalisations possible.

The ways of strengthening the reliability, validity and possibilities of generalising in qualitative-only research include, for instance, argumentation on theoretical grounds and comparison with results of previous research (Höijer, 2008, p. 288), suggesting probable ways of applying results or concepts in another context (Jensen, 2012, p. 296), increasing the transparency of the analytical and coding processes and consistency in applying concepts, and “peer auditing” or “intercoder reliability”, i.e. asking other researchers to test the codes and emerging categories (Jensen, 2012, p. 296; Schröder, 1999, p. 52). In addition, participant reliability can be increased through several rounds of interviews (Jensen, 2012, p. 296), as well as by conducting methods in different environments natural to the participants. One way of substantiating multiple methods in one study, and especially bridging the possible different epistemologies, is *critical realism* (Jensen, 2012; Schröder, 2012). As the conceptions of reality are fragmented and incomplete, and one method reveals only one part of it, the *realist strategy*, according to Jensen (2012, p. 299), applies

multiple methodologies in order to illuminate different facets of the object of study, and thus it produces a complementary conception of it. Triangulation (Denzin, 1978; Findahl, Lagerstedt, & Aurelius, 2014; Schröder et al., 2003) can be seen similar to the framework of critical realism, but Schröder (2012, p. 50) regrets that triangulation is sometimes employed falsely in justifying the combination of multiple methods, and if the methods do not provide consistent results, the “wrong” results are concealed.

Following critical realism and applying transparency in both describing the analytical process and reporting the results, I present the iterative multi-method approach that I have applied in studying audiences, media practices, engagement with media and fragmentation of media use from three perspectives: first, engaging media titles in relation to the overall media use; second, media engagement from viewpoints of social, spatial and temporal aspects of everyday life, and third, engagement with magazines from the perspective of content.

In short, the present research adopted four methods in examining media engagement: 1) online media diaries to record the everyday media routines; 2) media landscape interviews to map all the media titles used; 3) short ethnographic visits to the participant home milieus to observe the spatial context of media use; and 4) reading aloud interviews to associate specific content with engaging and disengaging experiences, thoughts, and emotions. The methods were employed iteratively, and the data were analysed between the methodological phases in order to choose the participants for the following methodological phase to “facilitate” the following method (see Schröder et al., 2003, p. 356).

Ethnographic encounters are not limited only to the most classic kind of ethnographic observation, but they refer to all kinds of interactive situations between the researcher and the participants, both online and face-to-face (Bird, 2003, p. 10). In addition, all of these methods included intervention as the participants were asked to share their experiences and practices related to media (Peterson, 2010, p. 142). According to Peterson (ibid.), participant reflections and definitions are important in finding the meta-culture that also helps in contextualise the practices being examined.

Even though each method had a specific function, many of them also addressed the other viewpoints: interrelations between titles and the different contexts of everyday life. Online diaries and media landscape interviews revealed the interrelations of various media titles of the same genre, and diaries and home visits allowed a view to the everyday routines and practices. Textual and visual media content were under scrutiny only in the reading aloud interviews, but as the content in many cases is the main reason for using media, the participants reflected on content in all methodical phases.

The reason for choosing only qualitative methods, while the current trend has been towards combining qualitative and quantitative methods (see overview by Schröder, 2012), is multifaceted and linked to theoretical and methodological questions, which concern the various theoretical conceptions of media engagement and the different aspects of everyday life.

First, two of the key concepts in the present study, media engagement and everyday media life, are explained in previous research in various ways and from various theoretical and empirical perspectives. As media engagement is such an ambiguous concept as it is, and intertwined with individuals' everyday life (Bird, 2003; Silverstone, 1994), it made sense to combine methods to examine engagement from several everyday perspectives, including routines and media use at home. According to Silverstone (1994, p. 133) the problems with audience studies have resulted from the inability to consider the spatial and temporal contexts. He proposes that audience researchers be regarded as *nomads*, similarly to the constantly shifting audiences they examine, and the research design and methodologies should focus on the variety of everyday practices, which form the contexts for media use.

Different epistemologies have approached everyday life from different perspectives – sociology as data, cultural studies as representations and anthropology as “route to knowing” (Pink, 2012, p. 30). Regardless of the theoretical background, Pink sees the notions of *practice* and *place* essential to everyday life, and she calls for suitable cross-disciplinary methodologies to study them in addition to theorising them properly. The unboundedness of places and *movement* of everyday life set the challenge of studying the practices and places they are performed in. Pink (2012, p. 32) suggests that the methods need to be mobile, in the sense of acknowledging the movement and constant change of everyday phenomena. Thus, the methods in the present study explore media engagement from different aspects: in relation to other media titles, the contexts of everyday media use and media content.

Second, when examining individual experiences and practices, it seemed only reasonable to apply methods that would provide information about people's thoughts about their experiences with and of media and their everyday media practices. Even though none of the methods that were conducted were applied directly as a quantitative means, they explore engagement as experiences from more general into more individualised and detailed phenomena. Through online media diaries and media landscape interviews, the participant media use was approached from a holistic perspective, whereas ethnographic visits and reading aloud interviews focused on specific media and titles.

Hereby, the realist strategy (Jensen, 2012, p. 299) materialises in the present research as adoption of multiple methods, of which each illuminate different aspects of engagement with media in the fragmented media environment, and as adoption of all methods with the same participants instead of focusing on different participants and viewpoints in each methodical phase. What comes to the challenge of mixing methods, their compatibility and possibly incompatible epistemologies (Bryman, 2006; Schröder, 2012), the present study aims at transparent data analysis in detailed describing of the methods of coding and analysing data, which also increase the possible generalisations based on qualitative-only methods. I will explain what each method has brought to the research and how the sets of data were coded and further combined and analysed. In addition, even though the methods have provided

different kinds of data, they are consistent as all of the data are based on the speech produced by the participants and the researcher interpretations of it.

The following sections introduce the reader and user groups that participated in this study, as well as detailed descriptions of the four methods that were applied. These sections are followed by the processes of gathering and analysing data, and finally the focus is on the iterative process of employing the methods and the kind of information they provided for the following methodical phases.

3.1 Participants and media titles

The present research was conducted in partial cooperation with two Finnish publishers. During 2011–2012 a pilot study was conducted with three 16–18 year-old participants (pilot group excluded from this study) and two actual research projects with 16–18 year-old and 25–40 year-old participants (of which the latter group was also excluded from this research due to partly different methodological conditions and direct research and development cooperation project with a newspaper publisher). These studies showed what kind of data and results our research setting and methods provide about media use across media and the research projects with five additional participant groups the following year were designed in a similar way, with one new method.

The 55 participants in five groups selected for this research lived in the capital region. The original number of participants in each group was twelve, but due to various personal reasons, some of the participants quit during the media diary period, or decided not to participate in the following methodical phases. The number of participants was also deliberately reduced between the phases, because each method was more time-consuming and needed more researcher resources than in the previous phase. There were also differences between the groups in the amount of media titles that were in focus, and thus, for instance, the analysis of the data regarding the 18–25 year-olds' group demanded more work. The participants received gift cards or movie tickets worth 50–150 euros as a compensation for participating the study, depending on how many methodical phases they took part in.

The group that was studied in 2012 was:

1) Ten 16–18 year-old high school students specialised in media curricula. Eight of the participants were female and two male. All participants wrote online media diaries for four weeks and eight were interviewed by means of media landscape interviews. The use of three participants was observed at home. The research was conducted in April - June and December 2012. This group will be referred to as TEENS.

High school students were chosen as participants, because they were expected to be users of several, also digital, media. Most students in this age group still live at home, and their financial situation is dependent on their parents, which also has an influence on their media use.

The media use research that was conducted with these participants was not focused on any specific media title or titles unlike in other groups. However, as my own interest was in magazines, I was keen to understand the way the young participants read magazines and which media they used for purposes similar to magazine use, for instance, following fashion, music or other topics of interest, which are often addressed in magazines. During the pilot study in 2011 with same aged participants, the media landscape interviews had proved to provide rich information about the interrelations of media and media titles, and thus this was the main method with these participants. This is also the reason why this participant group is not part of the more analysis chapters (5 and 6), in which the analyses draw also from ethnographic visits and reading aloud interviews.

As the research conducted in 2012 with the 16–18 year-old participants raised interest, the following research project in 2013 was conducted in cooperation with two Finnish media companies: Otavamedia and Sanoma Media Finland. The marketing and research departments of the media companies could have their say on which of their media titles were chosen as research objects, which impacted the selection of participant age groups as well as their gender. As the focus was now on specific media titles, the reason behind recruiting also former subscribers or non-users was to achieve a better viewpoint on disengagement with those media titles. In the groups focused on a specific magazine (35–45 year-olds and 45–55 year-olds) half of the participants were current subscribers and half had ended their subscription in 2012. The length of the subscription was also considered – it had had to be longer than a year to avoid including subscribers of trial-offer subscriptions.

The media companies provided us with the subscriber lists and we called random names on the list, trying to reach a varied group in relation to age, place of residence (not only people living at the centre of Helsinki) and gender.

The groups studied in 2013 were:

2) Twelve 18–25 year-old users/readers and non-users of *Hs.fi* (national newspapers' online site), *Ruutu* (web TV service) and *Cosmopolitan* (young women's magazine). All participants wrote online media diaries for two weeks. Eight were interviewed using the media landscape interviews, and six were observed and interviewed with reading aloud method. The data were gathered in April - May 2013. This group will be referred to as YOUNG ADULTS.

Hs.fi is an online site of the national newspaper *Helsingin Sanomat*. At the beginning of 2013 most of the content was priced, only five articles per week were free of charge for non-subscribers. *Ruutu* is a web TV service of the Finnish broadcaster *Nelonen Media*. *Cosmopolitan* is a global women's magazine brand, which is localised for each country. It is targeted to women under thirties.

Six of the 18–25 year-old participants were recruited via an advertisement on *Hs.fi* and *Ruutu*, two from among random subscribers of *Cosmopolitan* by phone, and two were personally recruited among students at Aalto ARTS. Four

of the twelve participants were users of *Ruutu* and four users of *Hs.fi*, four of the participants were non-users of *Ruutu* and four non-users of *Hs.fi*. Thus, some of the participants had a double-role, for example, as both a user of *Ruutu* and non-user of *Hs.fi*.

As the participants in this group were users and readers of three different titles (whereas the older participant groups were current and former readers of one specific title) the heterogeneity of the participants and data was not suitable for an in-depth analysis of a reader or user relationship with a specific title. This is the reason why this participant group is excluded from the third analysis, which concentrates only on engagement with a specific title.

3) Ten 35–45 year-old male subscribers/former subscribers of the special interest magazine *Tekniikan Maailma* (topics related to technology and cars). All participants wrote online media diaries for two weeks. (The original amount of the recruited participants was eleven, but one of them was excluded from the research after disinterested participation in the online media diary period and the data were not coded.) Seven were interviewed through media landscape interviews, and six through the reading aloud method, and three were observed at home. The data were gathered in April - August 2013. This group will be referred to as TECH (technology-oriented).

Tekniikan Maailma is a bi-monthly special interest magazine with topics related to cars and technology. Most of its readers are 35–64 year-old male, and thus we decided to recruit male participants. *Tekniikan Maailma* is published by Otavamedia.

4) Twelve 45–55 year-old female subscribers/former subscribers of women's general magazine *Kotiliesi*. All participants wrote online media diaries. Eight were interviewed in media landscape interviews and observed at home, and finally interviewed using the reading aloud method. The data were gathered in February - May 2013. This group will be referred to as HOME (culture- and home-oriented).

Kotiliesi is a bi-monthly women's general interest magazine with topics ranging from cooking and garden, to casual fashion and human interests. The readers are mainly women over forty years old, and due to the gendered concept we decided to recruit only female participants. The title is published by Otavamedia.

5) Eleven 45–55 year-old subscribers/former subscribers of the news magazine *Suomen Kuvalehti*. All participants wrote online diaries. Eight were interviewed in the media landscape interviews, and observed at home, and finally interviewed using the reading aloud method. The data were gathered in May - September 2013. This group will be referred to as NEWS (news-oriented).

Suomen Kuvalehti is a weekly news magazine, covering topics that address both Finnish and foreign political and topical phenomena. Most of the readers are over fifty year-old, both women and men, and thus we decided to recruit

both women and men as participants. *Suomen Kuvalehti* is published by Ota-vamedia.

What is notable, in particular in the 35–55 year-old groups (the magazine-specific groups), is the participant demographics. Many of the participants, current and former magazine subscribers, were experts in their fields or professionals in the culture industry and many of them had either a lower or higher academic degree. Income has an effect on media consumption, and for example, the magazine subscriptions (of these particular titles) cost 90–150 euros per year, and hereby are not accessible to all people. The sample cannot be considered representative on a larger scale, but should rather be regarded as a “purposive sample” (Schröder, 1999, p. 46).

3.2 Online media diaries

The first of the four methods employed in this research was online media diaries. In this research, the diaries served three functions, of which two were associated with media engagement: first, to record the media that were used routinely; second, to obtain participants’ own descriptions of meaningful media experiences; and third, to receive information that would benefit the next methodological phase, the media landscape interviews.

All the 55 participants wrote the online media diaries. The 16–18 year-old participants wrote the diary for four weeks, and the adult participants for two weeks, as the four-week period seemed to be too long and exhausting, and only few new routines seemed to occur after the first two weeks.

Diaries have been a popular method in social sciences since the 1920s but they have been employed across research fields, from medical research to economics for recording various phenomena (Couldry et al., 2007, p. 45). During and after the 1960s, time-use research became more common, even though the related diary faults were acknowledged, for instance, the unreliability of the self-reports (ibid.). More recent examples of diaries in media use research are, for example, the study of Findahl et al. (2014), in which diaries were used with questionnaires and traffic measurements in order to reveal the different sides of online media use. In Vainikka and Herkman’s (2013) investigation diaries provided one part of the data, complementing surveys and focus group interviews. Berg and Düvel (2012) have used *ethnographic media diaries* in order to grasp people’s increasingly mobile everyday media use.

Structured diaries can be divided into time- and event-based diaries (Bolger, Davis, & Rafaeli, 2003), of which the former are updated according to a predefined schedule (for instance, at 9 a.m. and 4 p.m.), and the latter when the experience (in question) occurs, which could be applied in the case of a rare incident. These forms of more structured diaries could be applied in media studies to explore time use, but more often, diaries within audience studies are semi-structured, for example when analysing media use (Hasebrink & Domeyer, 2012), citizens’ public connection (Couldry et al., 2007), or young people’s civic engagement (Kaun, 2010), and the data that are being collected are treated as qualitative. Media use can also be reported in structured way, including

other daily activities, the social context of media use, internet activities at home or other locations, web addresses, and purpose of media use (Berg & Düvel, 2012, p. 80; Findahl et al., 2014, p. 60). Diaries are considered reliable as they are available for reporting at the time the experience takes place, whereas in *single reports* participants try to recall specific experience(s) and report them afterwards (Bolger et al., 2003, p. 585).

Diaries offer a channel through which the participants can express their private thoughts in their own time, without having to interact with the researcher in an interview situation or to concentrate and participate in a discussion with a focus group (Bird, 2003, p. 12; Couldry et al., 2007, p. 46; Kaun, 2010, p. 134). On the negative side, the challenge of writing diaries stems from the lack of face-to-face communication since the element of physical and visual interaction is missing (Sade-Beck, 2004, p. 46), and thus textual ambiguities may increase. However, diaries are helpful in comparing individuals' thoughts about the phenomena being examined (Bolger et al., 2003, pp. 580, 587).

In the present research, diaries were utilised in order to record individual participants' thoughts about media-related situations and experiences and daily routines. But possibly even more important than recording the routines and experiences was recognising the participants' own accounts and ways of speaking about media and media use. In the present research the aim was to let the participants define what media meant to them and how they would describe media experiences, both important and mundane, and possibly categorise them.

Diaries are a resource-effective method to study a specific timespan in individuals' lives and any changes during the period, but it can also be applied to researching a specific phenomena's occurrence during a day or a week (Bolger et al., 2003, pp. 581, 586). Two- or four-week spans for diaries, as in this research, do not suffice when analysing changes in media use from the temporal perspective, but instead the difference in media habits on weekdays in comparison to weekends was of interest.

The reliability of diaries is largely dependent on the participant input (Bolger et al., 2003, pp. 591–592). If comparing to the paper and pencil diaries with online diaries, participant monitoring increases the reliability of the method (ibid. p. 593). For example, the researcher's monitoring of the diary process can be of help here, motivating the participants and interacting with them, for example on the online diary platform or by email.

As Bolger et al. state (2003, p. 599), the technological innovations of diary and other self-monitoring methods are evolving. For example, smart phone applications that combine subjective (self-reporting) diary features with automatic recognition of places and media that are being used have been developed (Antila, Liikka, & Könönen, 2013). Such automatic technologies increase the accuracy of the methodology, but at the same time, they might disturb or annoy the participants who are being monitored at all times, being unable to influence it without conscious actions, such as turning off the tracking device.

Thanks to the individual and longitudinal features, diaries offer a context for the phenomenon that is being examined (Couldry et al., 2007, p. 45), which

often lacks in, for instance, questionnaires or single reports. Monitoring the participants' language in combination to the contextualisation of the phenomenon also sets the participants free from being mere magazine readers, as during the diary period, the participants describe their own experiences with their own voices and vocabulary (see also Bird, 2003, p. 11) and a specific media title might have only little, or no role in their lives.

3.2.1 Media diaries for recording routines

Before the 16–18 year-old participants began to write their diaries, I met them during their class at school and gave the instructions. The adult participants were recruited by me (*Kotiliesi* group) and research assistants (*Tekniikan Maailma, Suomen Kuvalehti*) over the telephone, and also the instructions about the technical use of the platform, PBworks.com, were given on the phone one week later.

I asked the participants to write about their media use, and especially the about meaningful encounters with media, preferably on a daily basis, as the diary period was short. They were told that they could also write down the time spent with different media if they wished. The participants were not given strict guidelines to follow in writing their media diaries, which resulted in various ways of writing. They were asked to write about and reflect on their media use and experiences, thoughts about media and media content, ways of using different media, and situations in which media were used. They were asked general questions such as: Why did you use this media? Where, in what situation and with whom? Included were also questions that indirectly addressed engagement and disengagement: Did something surprise you? Was the media experience important, useful, pleasant, entertaining or irritating, and why? Did you save something? Did you share/comment something? The translated questions are in Appendix 1.

Media as a concept might sometimes be ambiguous both for the respondents and the researchers. Sometimes it means the device (TV, phone, iPod, magazine), sometimes it refers to the application (*Spotify, WhatsApp*) or the internet in general, and sometimes it means a specific title (*Desperate Housewives, Google*). The participants were asked to think about the following media: the internet, TV, magazine, newspaper, phone, console and video games, the radio, movies, DVD, and books, and also “other media – what” was given as an option.

In addition to writing the diary, the participants were also given three extra assignments. Before starting the diaries all of them answered a pre-survey addressing their media use in general and their other interests and hobbies. In the middle of the diary period they were given a task to write about a memorable or meaningful media experience. At the end of the writing period, they were asked to list seven most important media titles for them. The translated assignments are in Appendix 2.

What was interesting about the diaries was the equivalence between the media titles that were used routinely; if the participant had written the diary concisely, there might not have been many reflections on the overall significance

of the individual media titles in her/his life. Hence, it might have remained a mystery until the last assignment (listing seven most important media titles), which media titles actually were the most important for them and why. Furthermore, the function of the extra assignments was to retrieve in-depth information from those participants that would not continue to the following methodical phase.

During the diary period I or one of the research assistants read the participants' posts almost daily, and during the writing period they were sometimes asked to clarify some things (e.g. mentioning specific titles instead of only the medium), to extend their writing, and to elaborate on some issues, for instance, the contents and topics in one's own blog. This interactive feature of the diaries seemed also to inspire the participants to reflect more on their media use, as they saw that somebody was actually reading their posts and interested in what they had to say.

The online diaries were closed platforms to which only the participant and the researcher had access. The platform used for the media diaries was PBworks.com⁴, which is designed for educational purposes and pays special attention to security and privacy issues. The participants were unable to see each others' updates or content, which is a feature of only the paid version. The platform allows the participants to attach photos and external links to their text. Few adult participants preferred writing the diary on email.

With the adult groups of HOME and TECH, the diary period was set to coincide with the release of these biweekly magazines was released to see whether the participants would mention reading it or tell about media experiences associated with it in the diaries. As a weekly magazine, the news magazine *Suomen Kuvalehti* was delivered to the subscribers twice during the two-week diary period.

3.2.2 Collecting the media and titles mentioned

After the diary period, all the media titles that were mentioned in the diaries were listed to prepare for the second methodological phase – the media landscape interviews. Also Courtois (2012) has used one-week media diaries to facilitate photo-elicited card-sorting methodology. The knowledge of the editorial departments of the magazines was benefitted from identifying the competitors and the possible preferences of the participants when collecting the card deck.

After completion of the diaries, I or one of the research assistants wrote short descriptions of the participants, in order to choose eight of them for the following methodological phases. Here also the representatives of the media companies were allowed to express their opinion. The choices were based on their media habits and preferences to form as varied a group as eight individuals can form. Also their own motivation to participate in the study was a determining factor. In three of the groups, one or two participants cancelled their involvement in the research during the diary period due to personal reasons or

⁴ PBworks has also previously been utilised for researching audiences (e.g. Kaun, 2010).

lack of time, and in all groups one or two were rather economical in their written contributions. However, a concise writing style had proved in the pilot study to not be a sign of lack of motivation but more a personal feature.

As is noted in previous audience research, writing might feel more comfortable for women than for men (Bird, 2003, p. 11; Couldry et al., 2007, p. 50). Also in this research project, women wrote in a more detailed and descriptive manner than men. In particular, the female participants in the 16–18 and 45–55 year-old groups enjoyed describing and reflecting on their everyday media experiences. But as Bird (ibid.) notes, some methods suite other participants better than others, and gender is not the determining feature in the ways of participating in a research. Some participants who took part in this research wrote their diaries briefly, but instead, were very talkative in the interview encounters.

As the frequency of updating the diaries was not determined, and the writing style about media use and experiences was unstructured, the results varied substantially. Some of the recordings were short, listing only the media titles that were used during the day, whereas some described their media experiences in three hundred words, nearly on a daily basis.

3.3 Media landscape interviews

The second method that was applied was *media landscape interviews*, which is based on and inspired by Q methodology. The objective of the method was to map the participants' overall media use and see the interrelations of different media and individual media titles. Of interest was also to examine out how media titles that contain similar topics are perceived and used in relation to each other. For instance, a variety of media titles contain content related to food and cooking: women's magazines, special interest magazines, newspapers' food sections, cooking programs on TV (e.g. Jamie Oliver), reality TV cooking competitions (*Master Chef*), online services of consumer and free delivery customer magazines, and food blogs among others. I aimed to investigate what meanings are given to different titles that are similar content-wise, how they are used and why. Media landscape interviews were conducted with 39 participants, of who all also had also written online media diaries in the previous phase.

Q methodology was designed in the 1930s by psychologist-physicist William Stephenson in order to compare and map individuals' subjective meanings (Davis & Michelle, 2011). The method has advantages in audience reception research: it provides both quantitative and qualitative data, and offers a ready-made frame for collecting material, especially when compared to more traditional interviews (ibid., pp. 529–532). Since the 1970s, it has been widely applied in audience studies (Davis, n.d.), responding to a variety of interests, such as, viewers' perceptions of TV series *West Wing* (Zenor, 2005), stereotypes of French in American media (Ferber, 2008), "worthwhileness" of Danish news media (Schröder, 2010), or global audience's engagement with *Hobbit* the movie (Davis et al., 2014).

In short, the procedure of the original Q methodology is as follows. The participant is given a specific amount (usually 20–60) of cards, (Q cards), of which each represent a statement that is associated with the specific phenomenon under examination. Different Q studies have used different amounts of Q cards, for example: Zenor 2005 35 cards, Schröder 2010 25 cards, Ferber 2008 63 cards, Davis et al. 2014 38 cards. The statements in Q cards could be defined based on interviews or other preliminary data or theory. Q cards need not be written statements, but they can be images as well, and as in Schröder’s case, names of news media titles. The participant then sorts the Q cards on a pre-structured nine-scale grid (see Figure 3 below) from more important/relevant into unimportant/irrelevant, according to her/his perception or agreement on the statement considering the phenomenon (e.g. Davis & Michelle, 2011; Schröder et al., 2003).

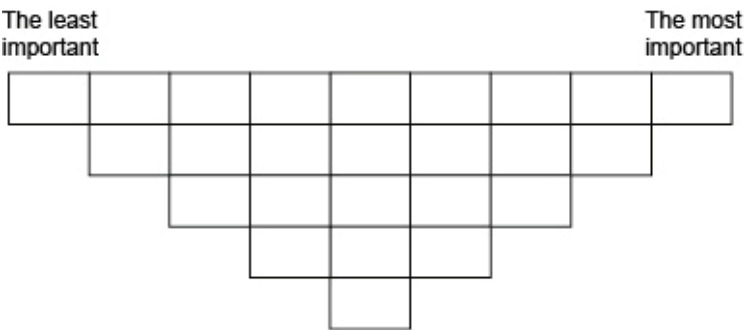


Figure 3. In Schröder’s (2010) study of Danish news media, the participants were asked to sort 25 Q cards on a structured nine-scale grid, each card referring to a specific news media title.

Thus, in Q studies the form of the grid is similar between the participants, but the placing of the cards differs, as the importance of the statements in Q cards is individual. In comparison to survey methods the advantage of Q methodology lies in the *relational* placing of the cards: each statement (card) is placed in relation to the other statements (cards) (Schröder et al., 2003). Thus, it provides a “map of the participant’s meaning universe” (ibid., p. 362).

In Schröder’s adaptation of the method, the participants speak aloud during the sorting to elaborate on the process of meaning making, which also increases the “explanatory power” (Schröder, 2012, pp. 809, 820; Schröder et al., 2003, p. 45). After Q sorting the grid and placement of cards are factor-analysed to find patterns or typologies. The interview material during the sorting process, the thinking aloud can be used as a qualitative means, similarly to any other interview data (Schröder et al., 2003).

Schröder (2010) has developed and applied Q methodology to study individuals’ use of Danish news media. In their research the interviewees were given 25 Q cards selected by the researchers with each card marking a specific news media item. The participants arranged the cards on a nine-point grid according to the role of the media in their lives (see Figure 3). Schröder’s study of Danish news media and their *worthwhileness* also had an everyday life as-

pect, and the Q sorting interviews were followed by another individual interview in which the participants told about their previous day regarding their news media consumption.

Davis et al. (2014) have employed Q methodology in studying prefigurative audiences' expectations and engagement with the movie *The Hobbit*. In their research the participants sorted 38 statement cards concerning engagement with the film using an online tool (*FlashQ*). These 38 statements were opinions that were articulated through public commentary (e.g. discussions on online fan communities, *Twitter*) that preceded the pre-release of *The Hobbit*. The participants then sorted the cards on a forced nine-scale grid according to their agreement on the statement (from strong agreement to strong disagreement). The individual Q grids were factor-analysed and resulted in five audience segmentations.

3.3.1 Sorting hundreds of media titles

In the present research, Q methodology was expanded and adjusted to cover an individual's whole media landscape, not only one genre or opinions about a specific media title. I named the method and will call it from now on *the media landscape interview*, as the outcome illustrates an individual's personal media landscape (see Figure 5 later in this section).

Modifications to the original Q methodology were made in two stages: 1) not limiting the number of Q cards but rather allowing the participants to freely define the number based on the media they use, and 2) allowing any number of cards under each category of importance instead of predefining the number of cards under the categories. This results in individual media landscapes, which differ from participant to another, and thus, are not statistically analysable as the grids in the original Q methodology.

In the individual sorting assignments, the participants were given a card deck of approximately 90–260 cards⁵, each with a photograph or logo representing one media title (or medium) that had been mentioned in the media diaries. Also competing and popular titles were added to the deck by the researcher in order to help the participants reflect on the process of meaning making during the sorting process. Information was also collected about the age group's most popular web sites, blogs, magazines and newspapers from different statistics (e.g. National Readership Survey; *Alexa.com*). Also, other known competitors for the interest and time of the readers were added, such as free delivery customer magazines *Pirkka* and *Yhteishyvä*, which provide recipes and other seasonal tips and human interest stories and offer content similar to, for instance, women's general interest magazines. The pile of cards also contained a few blank cards, which the participant could fill in if a media title that was important for them was missing in the card deck. Each participant sorted not only the media titles she/he had mentioned in the diaries but also all the other participant titles. Each group had their own card deck; the

⁵ The 16–18 year-old participants' card deck contained 90 cards, and the adult groups' card decks 200–250 cards.

16–18 year-old participants' card deck differed a great amount from, for instance, the 45–55 year-old female readers' card deck.

The large amount of cards was needed to outline the entirety of the participant media landscapes. If the focus of the research questions had been limited, for example, to news or entertainment or a certain medium (e.g. only magazines), the card deck would have been smaller. However, the participants placed most of the cards in the category of ‘no use at all’, as the card deck was similar for every participant within the group.

The participants arranged the cards on an eight-scale grid that reflected the importance of the media title or medium for them, and they were asked to think aloud during the sorting process, analysing their meaning making. After the sorting they were asked more detailed questions, such as: Why do you use this title? In what situations? Do you use other titles for similar purposes? What makes this title important/unimportant? How would you compare these similar titles (e.g. knitting magazines, knitting blogs, knitting books and online knitting forums)?



Figure 4. Sorting the cards under the most important categories in media landscape interview. The most important media titles are on the right.

The outline of the interview followed more or less the same structure with all the participants, but the more important media practices were paid special attention to. As the participants' individual preferences and habits, hobbies and other interests that effect media use, and the most important media titles for each had become familiar during the diary period, these features were taken into account in the interviews. One of the functions of these interviews was to explore the interrelations between the media titles, i.e. compare the engaging titles with other similar title choices. Hence the focus was on the most important media titles choices. For example, if the most important title for the participant was the national newspaper, special attention in the interview was paid to news media in general, and which news titles she/he followed, which not, and why. Or if fashion as a topic of interest was important, the interview concentrated more on those different titles that the participant used, read or

watched to follow fashion-related content. All media titles in the personal media landscape were reviewed during the interview, but not in as detailed manner as the most important.

The discussions in the interviews meandered from childhood memories and detailed reflections of memorable media experiences to the mundaneness of everyday media use. Many participants seemed to enjoy the active assignment of placing the media products they use in an order of importance and of elaborating on their meaning making. They were even delighted as they found their 'own' media titles, such as marginal blog titles or online sites, from the card deck. The visual cues, the cards, worked as reminders and seeing them helped reflect on one's relationship to it: "When I see this kind of matter-of-fact image, it seems that this particular morning TV show is somewhat important. But actually I don't watch this almost ever."

As the participants were allowed to reach their own definition of 'importance', some found it at first difficult to decide on what basis they would classify the most important media titles for them. For some the importance of media titles was established through frequency of use (for example the daily use of *Facebook*, many times a day), whereas for another it was the useful features of an online service (such as online bus route service). For a third participant the importance might have been based on her/his own interests (e.g. hobby or association), and the fourth valued the possibility to relax with a media title, whether it was a TV series or a blog. In most personal media landscapes a single category of importance could not have been named as 'relaxing media' or 'utility media'; instead, the placing of cards reflected the intertwining of motivations and interests, usefulness and frequency of use, and preferences towards a specific medium. Also, when defining the most important media titles, the participants also faced a situation where they showed the researcher what kind of people and media consumers they were. Thus, placing the media and assessing 'importance' can be seen as public and conscious identity work influencing the results. In research context social desirability may drive people to flatter their media use in order to give a smart image of themselves, for instance, emphasising reading newspapers and watching documentaries, or underestimating reading tabloids, or watching soap operas; a phenomenon, which Höijer (1999) finds this phenomenon to result from cultural values, such as, appreciating work over leisure. I will return to this contradictory phenomenon later in the analysis chapter 5.

The length of the interviews varied from forty minutes to two hours, depending on the extent of the individual's personal media landscape and the talkativeness of the participant. The interviews were video-recorded for the transcribing process and to return to the sorting process during data analysis. The outcomes of the interviews were collected into individual personal media landscapes (an example in the following section), which we have used to illustrate the diversity and individuality of the participants' media use.

3.3.2 Analysis of personal media landscapes and the most important media titles

As visualised outcomes the personal media landscapes were compared and contrasted both within the participants in the specific groups as well as between the groups. The categories of importance were not quantitatively analysed, as it comes to the amount of titles in categories, or the type/genre/medium of the titles. Different media were marked with different colours to illustrate the division of media and genres and to build a general picture for visual comparison (see Figures 5 and 6 below). Furthermore, in the analysis phase, the most important categories were relocated to the left and the less important to the right in order to improve the readability of the figures.

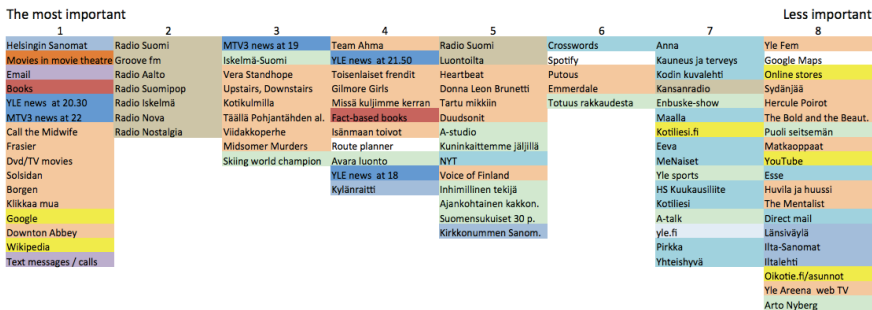


Figure 5. Personal media landscape maps all the media used by one participant. They illustrate the importance of specific media titles, but also the individual importance of different media and genres. An example of a personal media landscape of a 45–55 year-old female former reader of Kotiliesi magazine. The most important media titles are on left and less important on right. The titles are not listed in the order of importance within the categories.



Figure 6. Different media are marked with different colours.

As the research interest in the present research is especially in magazines, and thus, for instance, blogs that may contain similar themes as magazines are marked with a different colour than other online media. Online media, e.g.

Youtube, Google and Wikipedia as well as online stores and online sites (other than blogs and news) are marked in yellow.

News media are divided into online news, print news and television news to differentiate these platforms. As the titles of the cooperative media companies included both print and online news titles (*Helsingin Sanomat*, *Hs.fi*) it was of interest to see whether there are differences between the participant groups in their news preferences. Hence, the dividing of news media within the personal media landscapes was easier to detect.

In the 16–18 year-old participant group there were only entertaining TV titles (orange), but television titles were further divided into ‘TV other’ (orange) and ‘TV topical and documentaries’ (mint green) after conducting media landscape interviews with adult participant groups, since they named many important documentary series and current affair programs.

Useful online tools, such as route planners, weather forecast services and music services were left white as there were only few of them.

After the modifications made to the original Q methodology (unlimited amount of cards per grid and participants’ personal decisions regarding the amount of cards under each category), the instrument provided no statistically analysable data, as the outcomes, personal media landscapes, differed substantially between the participants. Hence, I added an extra module to the methodological phase for the adult groups: a list of the 21 most important media titles in the order of importance. Based on this listing, ten most important media titles for the adult groups were calculated statistically in a straightforward way: the more important the title was on the individual list the more points it scored. In addition, the more important titles gained proportionally more points to emphasise the differences.

The ten most important media titles for the 16–18 year-old participants were analysed in a way different from the adult groups. The youngest participants did not list the top-21 titles, as the media landscape interviews had not yet been complemented with this feature. Hence, I analysed the three most important categories in their personal media landscapes for the top-10 list. I manually identified the most frequently named media titles and graded the titles according to the category of importance. Thus, the titles that were categorised under the most important category scored higher than those in the third category.

3.3.3 Personal media landscapes as a stepping stone for the following phase

Media landscape interviews provided a contextualised perspective to the everyday media use and media practices. ‘Contextualised’ in this case means, in particular, the broad perspective to people’s everyday media choices without excluding certain titles, genres, or media. It shows not only those media and titles that are used, for example, to follow a specific topic of interest, but it maps all media titles that the participant faces regularly in her/his life.

Based on the media diaries and media landscape interviews, longer portraits of the participants were documented, and one or two important media or me-

dia titles were chosen for each participant to be discussed and observed at the home environment in the third methodical phase.

3.4 Ethnographic visits

The third method that was conducted was ethnographic visits to observe the everyday contextualised use of the most important media, titles and media practices for the participants. The intertwining of media and people's lives demand a perspective to everyday life also in audience studies (Bird, 2003; Schröder et al., 2003). The aim of the short home visits to the participants' homes was to understand the role of the everyday milieus and social situations that have an effect on media use and choices, and possibly also media engagement. 25 participants were involved in this third, methodological phase. Some of the participants in the TECH groups decided not to participate in this phase due to personal reasons. (The three ethnographic visits with the participants in the TEENS group were excluded from this study.)

Murphy (2011, p. 348) compares ethnography to a patchwork quilt: there is not just one correct ethnographic approach, but multiple ones. Ethnographic data can be gathered from many sources – ranging from photo albums and diaries to classic, long-term immersion in the culture under observation (ibid.). Classic anthropological ethnographic observation is time-consuming, and researchers need to immerse themselves in the culture studied (Deger, 2011). New, less time-consuming methods have been developed for industry and organisations (Pink, 2006), and the debate about appropriate methodologies continues (see Nightingale, 2012) as different modern ethnographic approaches are sometimes regarded as superficial (see Deacon & Keightley, 2011, p. 313).

Rapid ethnography refers to the multi-method approach of gathering ethnographic data from several sources within a short time span (e.g. Baines & Cunningham, 2011, p. 74). Applied ethnography is adopted when addressing the differences between applied and academic anthropology, of which the former is often client-driven and has more predefined goals and “matrices” for its methodologies (Pink, 2006, pp. 18, 69, 87). However, both, applied and academic, approaches have theories of anthropology in the background, their methodologies are reflexive and participatory, and also applied research often results in some sort of intervention benefitting the research participants (ibid.).

Bird (2003, pp. 6–7) refers to Alasuutari (1999, p. 5) when suggesting that scholars could move beyond the classic notion of ethnography, as many (audience) researchers do not stay in the field for months, even if it is the original presumption for “pure ethnography”. Bird underlines the importance of selecting methods to suit the research project. For instance, if the culture is completely new and strange for the researcher, then classic ethnographic observation may be needed (although even then observation might not reveal all perspectives), but often fieldwork can be replaced with other methods (ibid., pp. 7, 9). In the present case of examining everyday media use, the situation is

somewhat opposite, and becoming acquainted with the field began “years before”, as part of my life (see also Alasuutari, 1999, p. 8; Bird, 2003, p. 6).

In the present study the applied anthropological approach to ethnographic observation is based on Pink’s (2006, 2009, 2012) ideas about sensory and visual anthropology and short-term ethnographic ‘visits’, which may last only one hour. The main aim is to collect participant experiences and give a voice to them (Pink, 2006). Pink herself has employed various modifications of applied observation methods in her research projects. In a study from 1999, which was conducted for Unilever (Pink 2006, 2012), she went to participants’ homes and asked them to show her around domestic practices, such as the laundry process or kitchen practices, and to share their experiences with household products, instead of allowing her to merely observe them. The aim of the research was to examine the *sensory culture* of homes, including olfactory, tacit, visual and sound-relating experiences. As Pink (2006, pp. 68, 95) notes, her role was to “facilitate their representation of the processes, practices and routines”, and thus the results are “not realist representations but expressive performances of the everyday”. These kinds of ethnographic encounters are more interactive as the participants play an active role and the researcher is not a silent observer. Another example is Pink’s community garden research from 2005–2007 (2012, pp. 84, 102), in which she facilitated walking tours in the garden with participants in order to understand how they “embed meaning in” and experience specific locations.

Pink (2006, p. 69) acknowledges that according to classic anthropology her research would not be sufficiently deep in terms of the duration of the observation and the predetermined intention of the tours. However, she continues that applied and academic anthropology should be brought closer. Applied visual anthropology has borrowed methods from academic visual anthropology, and vice versa, and many research projects that are conducted to serve industry, are applied in the academic (ibid., pp. 100–101). Pink (ibid., p. 88) stresses that applied studies, conducted for instance for marketing research, will not contribute to academic anthropology unless they are analysed theoretically and “translated” into academic concepts and language.

Even if the researcher has no time to dig deep into the cultural environment, the different methods facilitate the collection of rich data from several viewpoints. An important aspect of ethnographic research is that the process is made visible: this includes the time and the places where the user’s media experiences were observed, and the manner in which they were studied and analysed (Murphy, 2011, p. 397).

The context of everyday life, bearing in mind its socio-spatio-temporal practices, combined with the research resources, resulted in these interactive visits to the participant homes.

3.4.1 Representations of important media practices

The aim of the ethnographic visits was to provide *representations of experiences* (Pink, 2006), in this case, representations of specific media practices, and to investigate the everyday context in which media were used. Based on

the participants' own preferences in the previous methodological phases, I chose their favourite medium, genre or media title for discussion during the ethnographic visits.

As the research was partly conducted in cooperation with two Finnish media publishers, also their titles and media were included. For example, for one participant who was a former subscriber of the *Kotiliesi* magazine, the most important media titles were the national newspaper (*Helsingin Sanomat*), *Downton Abbey*, *Borgen* and another entertaining TV series. Hence these media titles and practices – related to watching television and reading the newspaper – were in focus during the visit. Obviously, as she was a participant in the HOME group, of interest was also her previous engagement with *Kotiliesi* and those practices she previously had had with that particular magazine and currently had with other women's magazines were of interest value. Thus, the focus of the visits was unique for each participant.

Not only were the media taken into consideration, but also the time of the specific media practices. If the participant had told that she read magazines after returning home from work, such an hour was arranged for the visit to observe the social settings at home. In all cases this was not possible, but then the researcher observing asked the participant to re-enact the situation as well as possible, for example, lying on the bed and reading or watching television.

In particular in those situations in which the (academic) researcher enters the participant's home, power relations between the researcher and the participant may surface (Bird, 2003, pp. 14–15). The participant possibly wants to make a "good impression", which influences how and what she/he shows or says (ibid.). In this research, entering the participants' homes was only the third methodological phase, and the researchers, including myself, were already acquainted with the participants, which could have released the anxiety of both parties. Still, in the TECH group, three of the participants eventually decided that they did not want to take part in ethnographic visits to their homes, and it was allowed for them. Also few participants in the other groups were hesitant upon initial recruitment to participate in the research project, but at the latest after meeting the researcher in the media landscape interview, they decided that it was ok for them.

During the interviews, the researcher was a facilitator rather than an observer, as she/he had an active role in asking questions (see also Pink, 2006). The participants were asked to show and describe the situations in which they would opt for a specific medium/title. During the observation, the participants were asked to elaborate on certain issues: How does the location affect your media use? How does other people's presence impact your media use? The visits were short, ranging from 25 to 90 minutes. During the visits, the participants told what kinds of situations were normal and how other family members might influence those situations. They also showed the places where they typically used media at home and also the devices and specific furniture settings.

One participant in the YOUNG ADULTS group elaborated his daily use of Hs.fi to the researcher. He usually read it in the mornings and evenings, but

not during the day time. When waking up, he checked the headlines on mobile in bed, but concentrated more on the content later in the morning when he read it at the corner table using the laptop, accompanied by a cup of coffee. He had chosen the particular spot for reading because of the good view from his top-floor apartment (Figure 7 below). He also explained that reading the newspaper was his “own time” and thus he read news only at home in order to concentrate on the activity.



Figure 7. The preferred place for reading online news site Hs.fi on laptop.

One current reader of *Kotiliesi* magazine had two high stacks of magazines on the side table in the kitchen. I counted forty magazine titles in those stacks as she leafed through them: free customer magazines, women’s magazines, her children’s comics and her and her husband’s professional magazines. Some magazines had unopened plastic wraps around them, and she explained that she just does not have enough time to read them all (Figure 8 below).

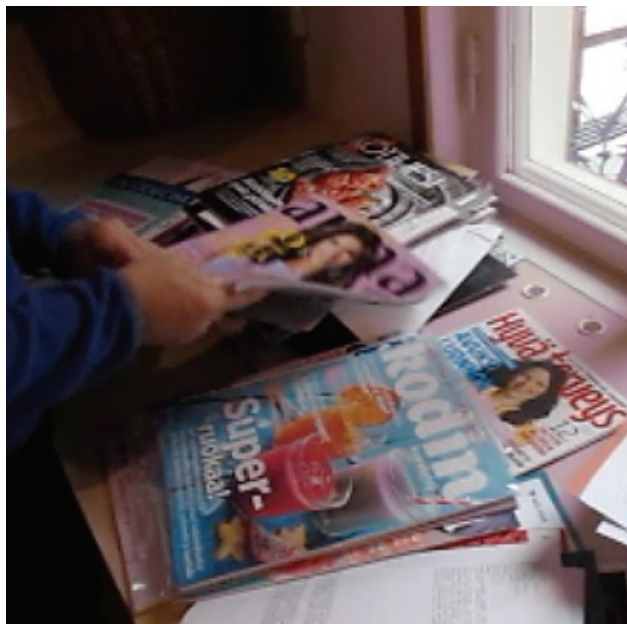


Figure 8. Stacks of magazines on participant's side table. Some of the magazines' plastic wraps were still unopened.

The participants spontaneously shared also those media titles or media experiences that had been a topic of discussion in the preceding methodological phases. One of the participants in the TECH group showed the researcher the saved volumes of the magazine that he had stored in the warehouse.

It was interesting to see how the different (mostly print) media drifted around the participant homes. One participant in the HOME group read the morning newspaper and the less important profession-related magazines in the kitchen, and after reading them she threw them away. Those magazines she enjoyed more she first took to the living room table, where she had four, five issues of *Kotiliesi* and other women's or special interest magazines. She had a habit of reading those issues while watching television, or before taking an afternoon nap. She also had a well-organised filing system for the past magazine issues. After she had read those issues on the living room table, she put them on a side table on the living room where they laid around for a couple of weeks before she decided whether to throw them in the recycle bin, save them or give them to her sister. If she decided to do the latter, she placed the magazines on the bookcase where she had possibly twenty, thirty issues, waiting to be given to her sister or being filed to folders that were filed according to the season. This cycle could take close to half a year.

The limitations of this form of ethnographic research, due to the shortness of the sessions, need to be addressed. Even in a specific place – in this case the homes – media practices can differ strongly. Despite people's media use often being fairly routine and specific media being used in the same places, at the same times, it cannot be assumed that everyday life is static. Moreover, media use and practices may be unconscious, and the participants may find it diffi-

cult to reflect on them in exhaustive detail. For instance, during the visits, the participants were also asked to demonstrate in what kind of bodily positions they usually were during media use and to describe the typical situation. Some participants felt this difficult, which might be due to the unconscious practices of media use, or possibly due to the unnatural situation of a researcher standing next to her/him.

As Bird (2003, p. 16) states, the choice of methodologies requires understanding of the culture that is being examined. Especially, regarding the media use of the 16–18 year-old and 18–25 year-old participants, for instance watching TV content, is becoming increasingly mobile and is thus not limited to the home environment. In their case, the observation could have taken place also in other places beside their home. On the other hand, many of the 16–18 year-old participants revealed that they did not like to read blogs on their smart phones, as the screen is not suitable for enjoying of the visual content. They might rather have checked the updated content on a mobile and later at home return to the content using the computer. Thus, methodological decisions should also consider participant practices. Even though in this research the ethnographic visits took place at the participants' homes, the multiple methods made it possible to take into consideration also other sorts of places where media were used and to discuss them.

3.5 Reading aloud interviews

The final and fourth method was the reading aloud interview, which is based on the thinking aloud method. These individual interviews were conducted with the readers to provide information about their views of the contents in a specific magazine and how they engaged with both textual and visual content and the media title in general, and what kind of content was considered disengaging. This research contains 23 participant interviews as data.

The thinking aloud method was designed and employed already in the 1930s by Selz for studying creative reasoning and thought processes and cognitive skills, and it has been applied, for example, within the fields of psychology and social sciences (Somerén, Barnard, & Sandberg, 1994, pp. xi–2). It has been adopted for various research interests, such as professional work processes, learning processes, and knowledge engineering (Somerén et al., 1994). During the past two decades, the thinking aloud method has been often employed in usability research (see Nielsen, 2012), where the interviews provide information about the users' movements across digital platforms to design user-friendly interfaces.⁶

The method has two functions:

- (a) collecting think aloud protocols [...] and (b) analysing the protocols to obtain a model of the cognitive process that take place during problem solving

⁶ I personally have employed thinking aloud interviews in my previous studies and bachelor's thesis in relation to user interface design.

or to test the validity of a model that is derived from a psychological theory. (Somerén et al., 1994, p. 8)⁷

Even if the thinking aloud method offers a function of problem solving, it is more focused on the process of solving the problem rather than the outcome itself (Somerén et al., 1994).

The thinking aloud method has variations. In think aloud interviews focusing on user interfaces participants can be given a task to complete (such as, buying a book from an online store) and the interviewer monitors participant routes and choices, the problem solving process, and also hears their reasoning for their behaviour or actions, as the interviewee is asked to think aloud the choices and thoughts while completing the assignment (Somerén et al., 1994). In *retrospective interviews*, participants conduct the task uninterrupted and only afterwards explain the choices she/he made, whereas in *introspective interviews* participants are asked questions about specific steps, such as decision on navigation strategy (ibid.). The retrospective method has some similarities with stimulated recall interviews (e.g. Engeström, 1999), in which the researcher shows visual data to the participant, for instance, from a preceding ethnographic encounter, and asks her/him to recall what happened and what kinds of thoughts she/he had in that situation. In addition, think aloud interview has been applied in examining comprehension of news (see Mathieu, 2009). The thinking aloud method can also be seen as related to Obsläs methodology, which has been employed in researching readers' remembrance of newspapers' advertisements and editorial content (see Hujanen, 2007; Kariniemi, 2010).

Both in the retrospective thinking aloud interview and the stimulated recall method the challenge lies in the participant's ability to recall the thoughts or choices during the task or examined situation, which may lead to "false reports" (Somerén et al., 1994, p. 25). For example, Hermes (1995, p. 12) found in her research on women's magazines that even though the readers are engaged with the magazines they read year in, year out, they do not recall content and they need to browse the magazines in order to discuss them. On the other hand, the participant may be disturbed by the interviewer questions and the demand for speaking aloud during the process, which can also result in distorted data (Somerén et al., 1994, p. 25).

As reading aloud interviews in this thesis is the only method that directly focuses on the content, the written and visual text, few words about the text as a starting point in audience research are in order. Couldry (2010, p. 38), among others (e.g. Sandvoss, 2011), has criticised the text as the starting point in audience reception research and has proposed media practice theory as a more fruitful approach to studying audiences. The interests of the practice approach do not lie in the varieties of reader interpretations of texts or the text itself. Instead, in focus are "the range of practices" that are related to the phenome-

⁷ 'Think aloud protocols' are verbal products of thinking aloud interviews that are applied in analysing the processes that are examined. They can also include observing the participant and amount of time she/he spent completing each step of a task. (For an extensive overview see Somerén et al., 1994)

non. (Couldry, 2010, p. 46) The aim of reading aloud interview is not to study the readers' different interpretations of the content, the *polysemy* of texts (Sandvoss, 2011, p. 241), but the different kinds of engaging and disengaging experiences that are associated with the content. I perceive this not as re-naming and thus going around the tricky question of textual polysemy, but as emphasising the individual experiences that link meaning-making about the content with the reader's relationship to the magazine, instead of individual readings of the content.

For example, when a participant in the *Kotiliesi* group considered the age of models in a fashion editorial "unrealistic", I do not focus on the Western visual conventions or the acceptability of different body shapes in commercial imagery. Instead, I count this disengaging experience as a part of the reader's relationship to the magazine, among other engaging and disengaging experiences.

3.5.1 Expressing engaging and disengaging experiences about magazine content

My adaptation of the methodology does not include the problem-solving function of thinking aloud interviews, but is more concerned with the individual thought processes that take place during reading.

Before the interview, the latest magazine issue was delivered to all the participants (within the participant group) unless they were subscribers to that magazine. The participants had from three days to two weeks to read the magazine. They were asked to read it through, in a similar way they would have read it in normal circumstances. Thus, if some topics did not interest them, they could skip those. To reduce pressure, they were emphasised that the forthcoming interview had nothing to do with remembering content.

The interviews took place at the university in a video room with a video camera on the ceiling for recording visual information afterwards, such as turning pages or pointing specific topics and photographs. The interviews began with warm-up questions: the length of the subscription period, reasons for ending the subscription, describing one's relationship to the title and general feeling after reading the issue. Then the participants were first asked to demonstrate how they usually started reading the magazine, and then they were asked to read aloud– to leaf through the magazine, page by page, and recall and think aloud the thoughts and emotions that crossed their mind during the first reading of the magazine issue at home.

After the reading aloud phase, the participants were asked questions that were related to both the specific issue and also the magazine title in general: What were the most memorable / interesting / irritating contents in this issue? What subject matters would you like more/less? What thoughts did the visuals (photographs, illustrations, layout) stimulate? How would you compare this issue to this magazine title in general? The interviews lasted from 25 to 60 minutes. The questions are listed in Appendix 3.



Figure 9. Participant elaborating on her thoughts and experiences about reading a magazine.

Many participants seemed to enjoy talking about their relationship to the magazine. Even if in the preceding three methodological phases, the title did not seem to play a significant or major role in their everyday media life, they had much to say about the issue, the content and the title in general. This indicates that applying a single method when studying audience reception might pose risks. On the one hand, there is the risk of over-emphasising the significance if the method concentrates on only a single medium, genre or title. On the other hand, the individual and rich relationship to the title could stay hidden if not addressed and if the research setting is rather general.

My employment of the reading aloud method complements observation. Through merely observing the reading of a magazine or newspaper would possibly tell about the time, bodily position and location when the title is used. Instead, it would not tell much about what the reader is thinking during the reading. In addition, if the reading aloud interview was conducted during the first reading, the interviewee focus might be on the first-sight perceptions. Before the actual interviews, I conducted pilot interviews with research assistants and tested the questions for the interview. In these interviews, the participants were not acquainted with the issue, and thus the participants' focus was on the visible content: the photographs and the overall topics. Instead, the reflection of one's reader relationship to the magazine, or the thoughts about the content and the engaging and disengaging experiences were lacking.

Reading aloud interviews combine both retrospective and introspective features of the thinking aloud method (see Someren et al., 1994) as the participants had first read the magazine at home and only after that the title was leafed through and read aloud with the interviewer. This could be seen to increase the reliability of the method.

In order to raise more discussion about the engaging and disengaging experiences that were associated with specific stories and visuals, a focus group interview might have been a proper method or supplement. On the other hand, as the stories that stimulated more emotions and thoughts had extremely intimate topics – such as the mother-daughter relationship, or reflecting one's

stance and economic situation towards luxury cars – the participants possibly would not have shared their deepest and most private thoughts with a group of strangers.

3.6 Data

The table below illustrates the number of participants in each methodical phase, the types of data gathered with each method, and the preliminary data analysis that was conducted between the phases in order to facilitate the succeeding methodical phase.

	Number of participants	Type of data	What was analysed for the following method
Online media diaries	55 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ten 16–18 year-old (TEENS) • Twelve 18–25 year-old (YOUNG ADULTS) • Ten 35–45 year-old males (TECH) • Twelve 45–55 year-old females (HOME) • Eleven 45–55 year-old (NEWS) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participants' own notes • Weekly assignments • Open-ended pre-survey 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Media titles that were mentioned in the diaries were collected into a card deck • The most important media titles and practices for each participant to lead the succeeding interview • Short descriptions of the participants to choose participants for the following phases
Media landscape interviews	39 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Eight 16–18 year-old (TEENS) • Eight 18–25 year-old (YOUNG ADULTS) • Seven 35–45 year-old males (TECH) • Eight 45–55 year-old females (HOME) • Eight 45–55 year-old (NEWS) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Video-recorded and transcribed interviews • Visual personal media landscapes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More detailed descriptions of the participants • The most important media titles and media practices for the participants for the ethnographic visits
Ethnographic visits	25 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Six 18–25 year-old (YOUNG ADULTS) • Three 35–45 year-old males (TECH) • Eight 45–55 year-old females (HOME) • Eight 45–55 year-old (NEWS) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Partly video-recorded material and photographs • Transcribed excerpts • Field notes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The most important media practices at home • Practices related to magazines
Reading aloud interviews	23 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Six 35–45 year-old males (TECH) • Eight 45–55 year-old females (HOME) • Eight 45–55 year-old (NEWS) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Video-recorded and transcribed interviews 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Engaging and disengaging experiences that were associated with specific textual and visual content • Combining the analysis with the previous analysis of the most engaging media titles

Table 1. Number of participants, types of data and iterative use of methods between methodical phases.

The data were collected in 2012–2013 as a part of a larger, four-year research programme, Next Media⁸. The intention of the programme was to advance cooperation between Finnish research participants and media companies and develop innovative media concepts. There were four sub-projects under Next Media, and this research was part of one of them, Personal Media Day (PMD). PMD contained several audience and consumer studies from the viewpoint of everyday media use.

During 2012 I gathered and analysed data gathering on 16–18 year-old high school students. In 2013 the data were collected and coded by me and three research assistants, Aurora Airaskorpi, Aino Alatalo and Kennet Härmälä, as the amount of participants was significantly larger and the methodological setting was complemented with one additional method, reading aloud interviews. I started by coding and analysing the data concerning the first participant group (HOME), and based on these codes, one of the research assistants coded the data from the other participant groups, after which I completed the possible ambiguous parts. I conducted the qualitative data analysis and wrote research reports for the research programme.

A key feature – or problem, if aggravated – of qualitative research data is the few possibilities for generalising (Schröder et al., 2003, p. 355). As the samples are often small, representativeness is more difficult, or even impossible to achieve (*ibid.*). However, as generalisations, next to validity and reliability, are the cornerstones of academic research, also qualitative studies must yield generalisable information (*ibid.*). As the settings and questions of qualitative research differ from quantitative the generalisations, such as typologies, undermine the depth and delicacy of the data, and hence, qualitative research must stick to its strengths: participant voices and data contextualisation (*ibid.*). In the next subsections is described the data coding process in general, followed by descriptions of the data analysis regarding the reading aloud interviews, in particular.

3.6.1 Data analysis and coding ‘engagement’ in online media diaries, media landscape interviews and ethnographic visits

Saldaña (2009, p. 4) describes the coding process within qualitative research as an “interpretative act”. However, even if the outcomes of a coding assignment performed by two individual coders would presumably differ from each other to some extent, the coding process of a qualitative data should be explainable and transparent to other researchers in order to increase research reliability (Jensen, 2012; Schröder, 1999).

The interviews were transcribed by external transcribers, and the ethnographic visits were partly transcribed by the project researchers and combined with field notes. The whole data set was coded in detail on Atlas.ti. The coding was completed in three rounds. Round zero involved automatic coding of the media titles that were in special focus during the research and their closest and

⁸ All in all, information about seven participant groups’ (plus a pilot group) media use was collected during these two years, but the present study only examines five groups to focus on the detailed nuances of engagement.

most common competing titles (i.e. mostly Finnish magazine and news titles, as well as *Google*, *Facebook* and *Youtube*). In the first actual round we manually coded the media and their genres (magazines, women's magazines, association magazines etc.; newspapers, television news titles) and categories of importance of media landscape interviews, media experiences (engaging and disengaging experiences) and researchers' notions of the empirical data. The first round of coding was conducted by two researchers, including me. The second round of coding, conducted by myself, was based on theoretical conceptions and their emergence in the empirical data, as well as further and more nuanced experiences related to media engagement.

The first-round coding was *simultaneous coding*, which refers to a manner where a single datum, even a single phrase can include more than one code (Saldaña, 2009, p. 62). For example, if a participant talked about her use of a specific media title in a media landscape interview, the codes could have referred to a specific title, medium, her engaging or disengaging experiences associated with the title, or the category of importance in the media landscape interview. Hence, the coding process included both unambiguous attributes (e.g. basic information, such as media, genres, and media titles), supplemental numeric information (e.g. categories of importance), and more ambiguous features (e.g. engaging and disengaging experiences) (Saldaña, 2009, pp. 55, 58). In the first round, I also made theoretical notions of media use, for instance transitional use of media, talk about self as part of a target group, or speech about oneself as a media user.

In some studies, data coding is predefined and relies on a theoretical background, research questions and researcher knowledge (Saldaña, 2009, p. 62). For instance, practice theory provides units of analysis, such as the subject, tools or know-how, physical space, action and image (applied e.g. by Korkman, 2006, pp. 25, 52). In Livingstone's research project concerning children's media use, the *gratifications* of media use were pre-named, such as excitement, relaxation, relieving boredom, learning about something, and not wanting to to feel left out (see Livingstone, 2002, p. 90).

In the present research the theory-informed coding was related to the presumptions about the features of engagement with media. These features have been researched in several audience and media studies, including identity and social interaction (Livingstone, 2002; Schröder, 2010), community (Bird, 2003; Johnson & Prijatel, 2013), values (Töyry, 2005), habits (LaRose, 2010), routines and rituals (Silverstone, 1994), and sensory experiences (Pink, 2006; Ytre-Arne, 2011a). In addition, the various conceptions of engagement were addressed; for instance, the engaging experiences of Peck and Malthouse (2011), such as entertainment and diversion, utilitarian, anchor camaraderie, visual were adopted as inspiration for coding.

The excerpt below (Table 2) is from media landscape interview with one of the participants in the HOME group (translated in English). Also the codes are marked in order to show the details of the coding process.

Excerpt from an interview	Code	Code	Code
Riitta: Then there are Hercule Poirot, Vera Standhope and Call the Midwife. How was it...? Didn't this season (of Vera Standhope) just end during the diary period? "Anne": Yeah, it ended then. And now also the Poirots ended. I don't even know how many times they have shown the reruns [laughter] R: So you liked to watch them? A: They are just so well produced. R: Do you have now something new that would've replaced them? A: Well, this Midwife is now broadcasted at the same time as Vera Standhope used to be. It's like, we usually go to our summerhouse on Friday evening, and when I've unpacked the foods it begins. Like it's convenient to watch it there. R: Ok. What is it that attracts you in these, Vera and Hercule? A: Well, they are well produced, they have the particular zeitgeist, and like... I can't say... they are kind of innocent, I could say... even though there is blood, but they are somehow innocent and they have sort of moral... Maybe it's the innocence that... The world is after all innocent, there are lots of good things, even though also lots of evil. R: What about Vera then? A: Well it's kind of similar, but then again this is so different. Like Poirot is such a frivolous series. But then this, Vera; they pursued to find a societal viewpoint to the stories, and those characters they had. Then I was attracted by the middle-aged, chubby, tired woman. [Bursts into laughter]	Engagement: quality of content Engagement: schedule Engagement: quality of content Engagement: genre of content Engagement: genre of content Engagement: values Engagement: identifying with	Media practice: television	Q2 category

Table 2. An excerpt from media landscape interview including the codes.

As *engagement* does not translate easily into Finnish it was not mentioned or discussed with participants during the methodical phases. Hence, engaging and disengaging experiences were identified and named in the participants' accounts when they answered questions: What makes this important for you? What makes it better than others? Why do you not like it? How do you use it?

In addition to the theory-informed experiences and activities, much of the coding in this study was inductive, grounded on data. Such a process is called *provisional coding* (Saldaña, 2009, p. 120). Whenever engaging (and disengaging) experiences and ways of using media occurred in the transcriptions, they were coded. At start, new codes appeared more often, and thus the data had to be scrutinised twice to include all the codes in all the data. For example, 'engagement general' was applied if a suitable code at that the time of coding was not available. When similar experiences began to emerge more often, they were given their own code. After the coding most 'engagement generals' were re-coded under a more descriptive code. As the different groups were coded separately, new and group-specific codes emerged. This also explains the differences between the groups and their preferences. For instance, experience related to 'intensive use of or concentrating to media content' emerged in the

HOME group 21 times and in 18–25 year-old's group 16 times, whereas the participants in the TECH group did not mention it even once.

Examples of the open (or provisional) codes related to engagement included 'guilty pleasure', 'concentration/intensity', 'nostalgia', 'being absorbed in', 'break from the work or everyday' and 'connection with one's own life'. Also more complex experiences emerged, such as 'device' (preferring a specific device, such as smart phone or television set); 'temporary' (being engaged with a specific TV series for the time that it is broadcasted), 'schedule' (media title that is used because it fits one's schedule; mostly TV programs), 'time-place transition' (using media in order to switch from week to weekend, or from work to leisure), 'national' (easier to identify with the Finnish mindset). Inductive disengaging experiences included 'nothing new for me', 'wrong target group', 'repetition of topics', 'demands' and 'quality'.

Media content in itself triggered thoughts and experiences, both engaging and disengaging: 'story type', 'relevance', 'matter-of-fact expression', 'realistic' and 'mood of the content'. Furthermore, content induced sensations, such as 'empathy', 'sorrow', 'delight', 'being touched' and 'irritation'. All the engaging and disengaging experiences that were coded can be found in Appendix 4.

Some media practice theorists underline the importance of starting analysis from people's activities and practices they are examining rather than starting from theoretical concepts (e.g. Helle-Valle, 2010; Peterson, 2010). For example, contested concepts, such as identity, habit, or ritual as examined from different theoretical approaches find their way into research settings, but as Helle-Valle (2010, pp. 203, 207) states, they should be analysed context-specifically, rather than taking them as given. In Peterson's (see 2010) study one participant talked about his newspaper practice as "reading" or "taking", which Peterson interprets as describing newspaper as part of one's life rather than an object of consumption (Peterson, 2010, p. 128).

In my research the participants referred to the experience of finding background information about topical issues in different words. Some emphasised topicality and others backgrounding information. Here the difference was related to choosing words, but the same code was applied to these phrases. 'Topicality' was associated with daily news, but also with other topics, such as trends in fashion. Then again, 'entertainment' and 'quality' were coded as such, but later during the analysis they were defined on the level of individual participants' reports – the different things it meant for them and which media titles and genres were considered entertaining or of quality. Because of the ambiguous and differing meanings given to the same experiences I aim at transparency when describing and analysing data in the analysis chapters.

3.6.2 Analysing engagement with a magazine in reading aloud interviews

Based on the reading aloud interviews, tables such as the one below were assembled of those articles or columns that had stimulated thoughts or emotions for more than four participants. The table consists of five columns: 1) the status of the participant (subscriber / former subscriber); 2) summary of the participants' thoughts during the interview regarding a specific article or other

piece of content; 3&4) identifying the engaging and disengaging experiences the participant had of the specific content; 5) reactions or emotions about the content. The table below (Table 3) is an example of how the analysis was conducted.

1) Participant	2) Thoughts	3) Engagement	4) Dis-engagement	5) Reactions or emotions
Subscriber	Works in a male-dominated profession herself, so the topic and the woman's experiences were interesting. Does not affirm many issues that were discussed in the profile.	Interesting topic Reflecting and building identity	Viewpoint	
Subscriber	The topic was interesting and it stimulated (positive) thoughts about the contradictory female/male work culture.	Interesting topic		Stimulated thoughts
Subscriber	The profiles in <i>Kotiliesi</i> are often about interesting persons so she read this story as well. Found several points of identification with the subject, e.g. knitting as a hobby.	Story type Identifying with the subject		
Subscriber	The topic and person were interesting, but the traditional angle was irritating.	Interesting topic	Viewpoint too conservative (values)	Irritation
Former subscriber	An interesting angle. The story aroused confused thoughts and the subject's actions felt strange (e.g. going to sauna with male colleagues).	Interesting topic		Confusion
Former subscriber	The headline and the black and white photographs caused confusion. She knows many female physicists, and the viewpoint felt strange and unfamiliar. "Why is it so hard for this magazine to write about women who have power or work in the field of technology?"		Viewpoint conservative (values) Visuals	Disappointment
Former subscriber	An interesting topic. She had thought that she would read this later but had forgotten.	Interesting topic		
Former subscriber	An interesting topic, she thought that she would read it later.	Interesting topic		

Table 3. Analysis of readers' engaging and disengaging experiences concerning a specific story in *Kotiliesi* in the reading aloud interviews. All of the participants within the group did not elaborate on all articles in the magazine.

An article in *Kotiliesi* featured a profile of a woman who worked as a physicist in a male-dominated work environment. In this case, all the participants commented on the story. The headline of the article was *A stranger in men's world* and the photographs of the story were black and white. In the profile the subject, for example, told that she had gone to sauna with her male colleagues because all the important decisions were discussed there.

In this example, many of the interviewees considered the topic interesting. Three current subscribers experienced positive thoughts when reading the profile. Three participants felt irritated about the conservative angle of the story. The values of the story did not feel familiar and even the dark visuals emphasised the feelings of confusion. Later, these analyses were employed to indicate the most engaging and disengaging contents and the amount of engaging and disengaging experiences within the participant groups.

In *Kotiliesi*, 15 articles or collections of odds and ends were analysed, and a total of 81 engaging experiences and 53 disengaging experiences surfaced in participant reports. In *Tekniikan Maailma*, 16 articles or collections of odds and ends were analysed, and all in all 78 engaging experiences and 37 disengaging experiences were identified. In *Suomen Kuvalehti*, 13 articles or collections of odds and ends were analysed, and altogether 64 engaging experiences and 33 disengaging experiences were found in the spoken reports.

3.7 Iterative use of the four methods

In qualitative research iterative often refers to a process of data analysis where the data is inductively coded in constant interaction with the theory (Srirastava & Hopwood, 2009; Tracy, 2013). In this research the iterative research process refers more to the iterative use of the methods, meaning that the data were partly analysed between the methodical phases, which also facilitated the succeeding phase. Figure 10 illustrates the research process: phases of collecting data and preliminary analysis. (See also Table 1.)



Figure 10. The iterative use of four methods. The research project for one participant group lasted for approximately 4–5 months.

First the participants wrote media diaries for two or four weeks. All the media titles that were mentioned were collected into a card deck for the media landscape interviews. In addition, each participant's most important media titles and practices were addressed in the discussions in the media landscape interviews. Short descriptions of the participants' media use preferences were written in order to choose eight participants with different media use preferences for the following methodical phases. As the diaries functioned more as a stepping stone for the next method, a more detailed analysis based on the diaries was not conducted, instead the diaries were analysed to complement the media landscape interviews and ethnographic visits. In this way the media diaries functioned as a *performative* method (Mathieu & Brites, 2015) and they provided the individual context for each participant for the following two methodical phases, in which the focus was on the most engaging media instead of a specific medium or genre.

Media landscape interviews provided the largest and most multifaceted data set of all the methods. The interviews lasted approximately 90 minutes and besides the interview data, they provided visual personal media landscapes and lists of 21 most important media titles. Based on the preliminary analysis of these data, more detailed participant descriptions were written and the most important media titles were chosen for the ethnographic visits. As the data gathering was partly done as a cooperation project with media companies, the data and the preliminary results were presented to the research staff and editors-in-chief between the methodical phases.

The social and spatial settings related to participant media practices were discussed during the ethnographic visits to participant homes and special attention was paid to their magazine reading practices.

Reading aloud interviews were conducted more independently by drawing on the previous three methods, as these interviews were based on a specific issue of a specific magazine. However, there was already a substantial amount of information about the participant's media preferences, the most important media titles for her/him, and the relationship to the magazine title. In the reading aloud interviews, the participants' were asked the same questions and thus the data were also more uniform.

Issues and experiences that had not emerged in the previous methodological phases surfaced in the reading aloud interviews. These were related to the magazine content and experiences that derived from interaction with the content. For instance, for the male readers of *Tekniikan Maaailma* (the TECH group) the magazine appeared as a medium that enhanced dreaming. The tests and articles of luxury and premier car models worked in the same way as online car or boat selling forums: "maybe some day". The female readers of *Kotiliesi* (the HOME group), then, contrasted their own identity on the stories of women and issues that *Kotiliesi* contained.

After the research was conducted and the data coded, I described and preliminarily analysed the whole data set and wrote research reports of the media use and engagement experiences of each participant group. These reports and data analysis have profited the present thesis, in which I have further analysed

them in relation to theories and theoretical concepts academic audience studies. The advanced analyses in the analysis chapters (4, 5, 6) of this research focus on the everyday experiences with media from the theoretical perspective.

3.7.1 Portrait of ‘Helena’ – Iterative use of methods

When reporting on the findings of ethnographic research, both the researcher and the reader rely on written and visual representations of experiences that could be very sensory or embodied (Pink, 2006, p. 57). Pink (ibid., p. 88) states that the participants’ “experiences cannot really become ours and will always to a degree be incomprehensible”. Thus, some translation is needed, whether it is translating a culture of a group into something we can understand from our perspective. As Pink (ibid., p. 60) notes, referring to Okely (1994), empathy and shared experiences have a strong role in this cultural translation, in which the researcher is the translator, adopting different forms of representations, whether visual, textual or some other mediated forms.

This portrait depicts the intensity of the research for the participants, but also for the researcher. Hopefully, it also transmits the nature – the complexity, variety and richness – of the data, the way that the data have cumulated over the four methodological phases, and the personal relationship that me and the research assistants had with the participants in the groups.

Media diary

“Helena” is 51 years old, living with her husband. Their children have already moved away from home. She has two academic degrees and is working with social and juridical issues. She participated in the research as a former subscriber to the *Kotiliesi* magazine.

Helena’s interests lie in culture, economics, fashion, gardening and topical issues, such as social politics. In the pre-survey she stated that she follows these topics in magazines, such as *Suomen Kuvalehti* (news magazine), *Taloussanomat* (economics magazine), *Kanava* (political magazine) and *Gloria* (women’s/fashion magazine). In addition, the national newspaper *Helsingin Sanomat* is in daily use, and she watches the TV news of the public broadcaster YLE. She uses no social media services, but she follows two political and expert blogs, which are of interest to her professionally.

On the first day of the diary period, in February, Helena’s spouse makes her breakfast and leaves for work. She reads the morning newspaper and focuses on national and local topics, politics, economics and culture. As she is getting ready, she also listens to *Yle Puhe*, a conversation radio channel. On her trip to work, using public transport, she does not read the free newspapers or use any other media. At work Helena occasionally, very briefly, may check news on YLE’s online site or read an online local newspaper from the district of her summer cottage.

Back at home she turns on the radio, but is a bit disappointed with the Finnish variety of radio channels. She would like to listen to a quality channel like the BBC. While preparing evening tea she watches a Swedish entertaining

home decoration show on TV, because sometimes she finds these kinds of programs relaxing. After her husband comes home, they talk about a wind turbine project that is planned in their summer cottage district. She has read about the topic earlier on online news, and now they search for more information online. In the evening, they watch an episode of a Finnish drama series together, and before going to sleep Helena reads Finnish fiction in bed.

During the following days, she repeats the morning routines in the diary, but occasionally she describes some irritating or highly interesting experiences of the radio program she is listening.

Helena has replaced the remaining subscription to *Kotiliesi* with *Anna* (weekly women's general interest magazine), and on Thursday it is delivered. She does not feel the magazine "as her own", but she finds one interesting topic in the current issue, which she reads and reflects in the diary. Later this week she makes a note that like *Kotiliesi*, also *Anna* has started to remain unread due to lack of interest.

Friday Helena describes as a true media day, as their favourite weekly magazines *Suomen Kuvalehti* and *Taloussanomat* are delivered. Helena thinks that the news magazine *Suomen Kuvalehti* "belongs to the media landscape of a person with an academic background" even though she considers the magazine rather conservative. This Friday, however, she is doing renovation work at home with her husband and they do not have time to read the magazines, but instead they watch a documentary on TV.

During the weekend, Helena's media routines change, but not remarkably. Helena and her husband spend more time reading the morning newspaper. She elaborates on the recent tabloid reform of the newspaper – she feels that she does not remember the topics afterwards as well as before. On Sunday evening, his parents come for a visit, and Helena's mother-in-law brings *Gloria* (women's glossy) to her. Even though they have guests, she wants to immediately leaf through the fashion stories.

The second week of the diary period is much like the first. Helena reflects her media use:

This day with media was fairly similar: in the morning "Hesari" [the national newspaper] where the most memorable offering was the comic strip *Kamala luonto* [Awful nature] at which we laughed together with my husband. At work I clicked "YLE" news a couple of times to follow what they reported on the nuclear testing in North Korea. At home I was listening to the news on "Radio Suomi".

Helena and her husband spend the following weekend at their summer cottage. *Helsingin Sanomat* is delivered also there, so the morning routines resemble their home routines, although on Sunday they have time to read the newspaper only in the afternoon, after their skiing trip. They listen to the radio from the early morning, but avoid listening to religious programs that are broadcasted on YLE *Radio 1*. They also watch on TV the same documentaries and entertaining series as at home. Helena tries to watch a Finnish reality series about weddings (*Satuhäät*), but she feels strong compassionate embarrassment and she has to switch the channel.

After the diary period she lists seven most important media titles for her, which are: 1) *Helsingin Sanomat*, 2) TV news on YLE (public broadcaster's news), 3) YLE Radio 1 (national radio channel), 4) YLE *Puhe* (conversation radio channel), 5) *Suomen Kuvalehti*, 6) *Kauppalehti.fi* (economic newspaper's online site), 7) blog of Osmo Soininvaara (Finnish politician).

After the media diary period, Helena was chosen to participate in the succeeding methodological phases, because her media use was more factually and socially oriented than the other participants', but she also had entertaining titles in her media collection. In addition, she read many magazines that seemed to be somewhat important to her. She wrote the diary actively and reported the media titles that she used. All in all, she mentioned thirty media titles during the two-week diary period.

Media landscape interview

A card deck of approximately 250 cards was collected for the media landscape interviews. Each card represented one media title (or medium) that the participants in the HOME group mentioned in their media diaries. Thus Helena sorted in the interview also those media titles the other participants in the group had mentioned. In Helena's case, based on her diary, the interview focused on factual content (news, documentaries, blogs), magazines (of different genres from news magazines to women's glossies), and also entertaining TV content was of interest as she reported watching "frivolous" TV series on a weekly basis for relaxation. In the following description of Helena's media landscape interview, the category under which Helena sorted the specific title is mentioned in parentheses; for instance, "2nd category" indicates that Helena sorted that specific title under the second important category in her personal media landscape.

Helena reflects on her news consumption and the most important news titles, national newspaper (1st category in media landscape interview) and public broadcaster newscasts (1st category) during the interview. She finds that the role of *Helsingin Sanomat* is more one of a backgrounding source, since she watches news daily on television, and also increasingly online during the workday. Thus she is acquainted with many of the news on the printed newspaper when she reads it the next morning.

If I had to choose either it would be difficult to say which one is more important. They are for different times; I never watch television in the morning, and rarely I read "*Helsingin Sanomat*" after work.

She also follows a few blogs (1st category) to find background information for political and economics topics and issues concerning her profession. Topical TV programs, which she watches almost weekly she places in the third and fourth categories.

Helena emphasises the importance of the magazines *Suomen Kuvalehti* (1st category) and *Talouselämä* (1st category) a few times during the interview. Those magazines are delivered to households on Fridays and Helena and her husband read and discuss them on Friday evening. Reading them also contin-

ues over the weekend. The most important content in *Suomen Kuvalehti* include national politics and cultural topics, and also the main in-depth article that is usually about a current phenomenon. *Talouselämä* provides an overall image of economics, but also stories of working life.

Recently Helena and her husband have watched a documentary series about the ancient Finnish kings (*Kuninkaittemme jäljillä*) (2nd category). She praises the visuality of the series, the expert interviews and the overall narrative. She finds it one of the most highest-quality series she has ever seen. The Finnish drama series, *Uusi Päivä* (2nd category), which she mentioned a couple of times in the diary, turns out to be almost a daily habit to Helena and her husband.

We watch it daily, but I don't feel that it would be as important for me as news.

Gloria (2nd category), a women's glossy, is a magazine Helena has contemplated subscribing to when her current subscription to *Anna* (3rd category) ends. At the moment, she receives it from her mother-in-law. She finds *Gloria* relaxing and somehow important. The magazine keeps her updated concerning fashion trends and cultural topics. Even if she finds it occasionally disgustingly elitist and unrealistic, she thinks that the editorial staff has succeeded in its genre. When comparing *Gloria* to *Anna*, she regards the latter targeted to younger readers and also as a expendable title, whereas some of *Gloria*'s issues she has saved. *Anna*'s worldview also feels different as it contains stories of celebrities, whereas the interviewees in *Gloria* have other merits. However, she finds *Anna* relaxing with all the culture society columns and photographs, but she does not want to continue the subscription. One magazine title, which she had not named in the diaries, *Svensk Damtidning* (4th category), she buys approximately six times a year, because she enjoys reading about the Swedish royal family, which has a leading role in the magazine's content.

Occasionally Helena watches entertaining "frivolous" TV series (4th category).

But after watching a couple of episodes I get a feeling that I really can't use time for watching these. They have a concept, which becomes old and boring very soon. And sometimes I start to wonder if they are real people. But... sometimes I might see if there's anything to watch if I'm alone at home.

Helena places the *Kotiliesi* magazine, which has been in her life since her childhood, under the sixth category, with other women's and customer magazines. She reflects in detail on her increasing frustration with the magazine and the decision to cancel the subscription. She, for example, had visited the magazine's online site and was devastated about the amount of commercial content and advertisements on the site. She had had a somewhat social image of the magazine in her head, but instead it started to feel overly commercial and consumption-oriented, whether to food or garden. She herself has two gardens, but she felt pressured by the magazine to fuss about the garden and house decoration. She would want the magazine to be more ecological and economical and felt that the magazine has lost readers like her.

We briefly went through all the media titles, which Helena had placed under the less important categories but paid less attention to them than the ones in the first three categories.

Helena had a multifaceted definition for ‘importance’ as she sorted the cards under the categories of importance. She emphasised frequency of use, for example visiting *Yle.fi* or reading *Helsingin Sanomat* daily. She also took into account the social and habitual media use, such as watching the daily Finnish drama series *Uusi Päivä* (*New Day*) or *Midsomer Murders* with her husband and relaxing. On the one hand, she appreciated matter-of-factness and quality of the titles, for example documentary series and professional blogs. On the other hand, she valued entertainment with women’s magazines and the “frivolous” TV series, too. However, the most important titles under the first category were all matter-of-fact titles, whereas the entertaining and lighter titles she placed in the second category. Thus, her reasoning and card placing system was similar to other participants in the same group.

The amount of media titles in Helena’s personal media landscape (90 titles) was close to the average size of the other *Kotiliesi* group participants’ personal media landscapes (average 101 titles). Helena’s personal media landscape is presented in Figure 11 below.

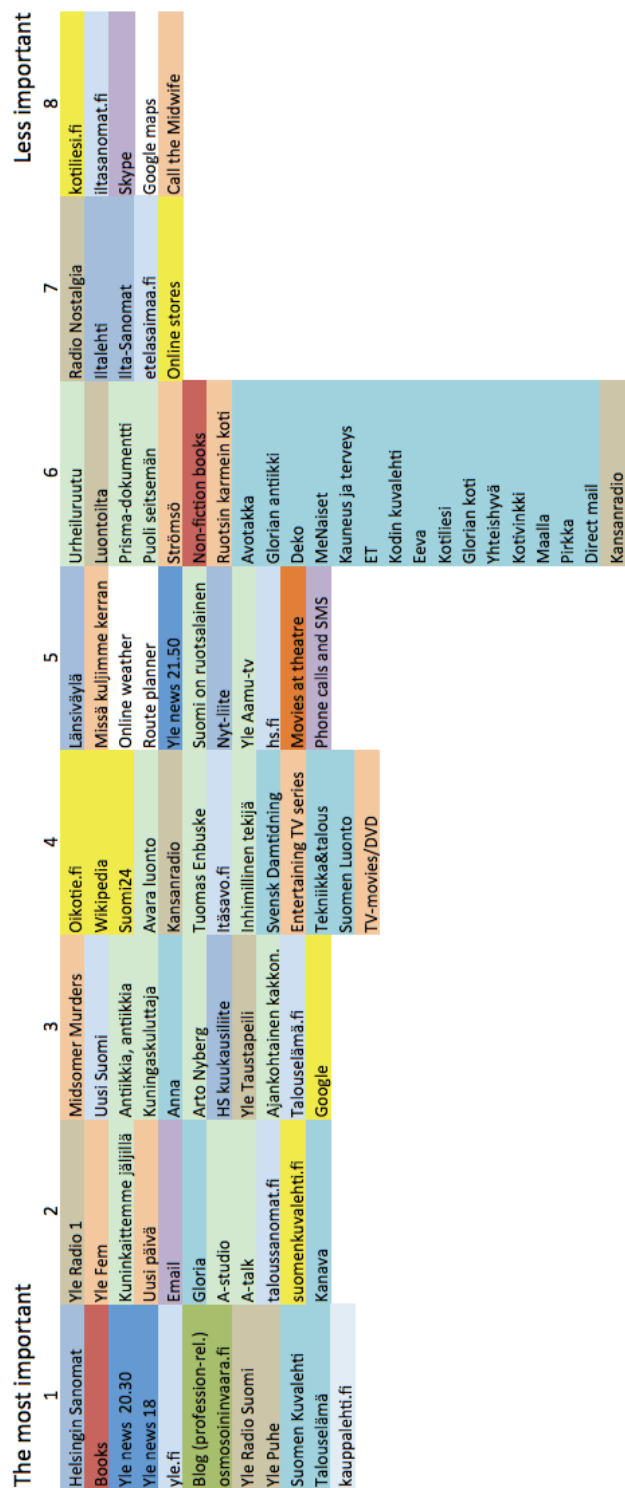


Figure 11. Helena's personal media landscape.

After the media landscape interview I chose *Suomen Kuvalehti*, *Talouselämä* and *Gloria* for observation for the third methodological phase. These magazines played an important role in her everyday media life, and she reflected on them already in her diary, and again, in more detail in the media landscape interview. These magazines are of different genres, and I hoped to observe Helena's practices related to them.

Ethnographic visit

As *Suomen Kuvalehti* and *Talouselämä*, which were of importance for Helena, are delivered to households on Fridays, and this, according to her was the "true media day", we agreed on the ethnographic visit to take place on Friday evening after she comes home from work after three.

Helena and her husband have a bright and modern home, containing art and classic furniture. Usually she makes herself a cup of tea and then she leafs through the magazines at the dinner table. She describes how they usually do the weekend grocery shopping with her husband, and after dinner they read the magazines in their armchairs, sipping a glass of wine, and talk about the topics in the magazines.

Now Helena is sitting at the dinner table and leafing through the magazines. She makes a note about the lack of females in those magazines (and recalls how she once did a simple content analysis of a bank's customer magazine: it contained images of 45 men and five women). As *Suomen Kuvalehti* and *Talouselämä* are both weekly magazines, their lifespan is short and they are thrown away quite soon.



Figure 12. Helena's practice of reading magazines at the dining table after workday on Fridays.

In contrast, she reads the women's magazines *Gloria* and *Anna*, on the couch, possibly lifting her feet up. Reading *Gloria* has the status of a luxurious experience, and she does not read it all at once. She finds *Gloria* visually inspiring with all the fashion photographs. Sometimes she searches for tips for shopping

clothes on the weekend. She reads *Gloria* also in bed, but *Anna* is – in literary means – too light for bed.

During the visit, the significance of the setting of furniture and media was accentuated. Helena and her husband have arranged their living room in a way that there is no view from the dining area or kitchen to the TV set. Helena also reports that the TV is not turned on before six. The only valid reason to turn it on earlier is the Parliament question hour. If Helena is home alone she may watch TV more than in the presence of her husband.

The television corner contains other media, as well: non-fiction books (art, architecture) are placed in the bookcase and fiction upstairs. Upstairs are stored also old magazines; she has saved a few issues of *Kotiliesi* and *Avotakka* for her children (home decoration magazine) as representations of *zeitgeist*.

Helena shows me an issue of *Kotiliesi* from the 1970s, which she had described as more modern than the contemporary *Kotiliesi*. She shows me some topics and photographs in the issue, which reflect her taste and perception of the modern woman better than those rag rugs and lace curtains that are often illustrated in the current issues of *Kotiliesi*. Hence she justifies, also by visual means, her frustration with the magazine and the decision to end the subscription.

Reading aloud interview

First we discuss Helena's previous relationship with *Kotiliesi*. She recalls the magazine being the most valuable to her when she was a young mother, around her thirties. She remembers being interested in old dishes, renovating the home, and plants. Little by little, she started to detect differences between the values and worldview of herself and the magazine.

Helena admits that she could not read the current issue without letting her prejudices and the research impact the experience. She says that she found one or two stories nice or touching, but often she also experienced irritation and confusion.

As she starts going through the magazine page-by-page, story-by-story, the engaging and disengaging experiences with the content begin to take shape. These examples are marked in bold in the text.

She, for example, feels **identification** with the editor-in-chief, who wrote about her daughters and motherhood in the editorial. Helena finds the bits and pieces at the beginning of the magazine concerning culture **interesting** and **topical**, because she likes to go to theatre and read books. Thus, the critiques and tips are welcome.

A profile about a physicist (the engagement/disengagement analysis of the profile is in section 3.6.2.) Helena finds on the one hand close and **identifiable**, because she has the same interests as the interviewee. On the other hand, the viewpoint of the story is confusing, because she does **not relate** to the wondering angle to women who work within engineering. Her own daughter studies to become an engineer, and she would not like to read a **reactionary** story about the topic. She asks why it is so hard for *Kotiliesi* to write about women who have power.

The couple of gardening articles she finds somewhat **useless**. She thinks that even if she has two gardens of her own, she has completed the basic designing for them and does not need help anymore. In contrast, she finds the stories about the future summer festivities **useful**, as her child would get married in the summer.

One of the house decoration stories she finds **nice**, as the main idea of the story was to **renovate and preserve** old instead of renewing everything. Food stories and recipes she considers a bit **flavourless**, but the wine tips are of **interest** due to the forthcoming wedding. Clothes in the fashion editorial are **too decorative and sweet** for her taste.

Occasionally also advertisements are **topical** for her, such as book or shoe advertisements. But she criticises cases in which content and advertisements start to complement each other, such as **advertorials**. Likewise, if one advertiser seems to have a leading role in an individual magazine title, she becomes **suspicious**.

Finally, she thinks that she might save the issue because of the useful content with regard to the wedding. But, eventually, her conception of the magazine has not changed. She finds that there is very little to read in the current issue.

After the interview was over and we had parted, Helena sent me an email. There she continued to reflect on her relationship to *Kotiliesi*. She told that she would expect *Kotiliesi* to contain topics related to fixing and repairing things yourself, such as clothes and knitting, if her reader relationship was to renew itself. In addition, she wished for more social and controversial or opinionated reportages. Table 4 (below) summarises the data provided by the four methods.

Method	What kind of information the method provided?
Online media diaries	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Overview of media routines• Personal descriptions of everyday media use and media experiences• Media titles used during a fortnight
Media landscape interview	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Visual outcome, i.e. <i>personal media landscapes</i>• Frequently used media titles mapped in the order of importance in personal media landscapes• Purposes of using, preferring and disliking media titles• Comparisons of and interrelations between similar media titles• Comparable data between groups and within groups• 21 most important media titles for statistically comparable data between the participants and groups
Ethnographic visits	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Actual spatial and social surroundings and context for media use• Multisensory media practices• Media floor plan of homes and routine locations for using different media
Reading aloud method	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Reader's relationship to a magazine: reasons for subscribing to or ending the subscription• Engaging and disengaging experiences that the content that one issue provides• Visual and textual media content available for reflecting

Table 4. What kinds of information the four methods provided.

During all the four methodological phases, the portrait of Helena deepened. The diaries gave an insight into her everyday life and the regularly used media titles, and into what kind of purposes she uses media for. Media landscape interviews mapped the dozens of titles in the order of importance and showed the interrelations of the titles. Ethnographic visits revealed actual media practices in the environment where they are performed. Reading aloud interviews provided rich information about the reasons of engagement and disengagement, and deepened the knowledge about her former media relationship with *Kotiliesi*. It seemed that *Kotiliesi* had been an extremely significant media title in her life, considering the frustration and reflection Helena wrote and spoke about during the different research phases.

3.8 Forewords to analysis chapters

The following analysis chapters differ from another even though they draw from the same data. The chapters move from more general into more detailed. The theoretical focus and concepts vary between the chapters and they also different participant groups are apparent in each chapter.

In Chapter 4 the focus is on the fragmentation of the personal media landscapes of five participant groups: 16–18 year-old high-school students (TEENS), 18–25 year-old participants (YOUNG ADULTS), 35–45 year-old current and former male subscribers of *Tekniikan Maailma* (special interest magazine of technology and vehicles) (TECH), 45–55 year-old current and former female readers of *Kotiliesi* (women's general interest magazine) (HOME), and 45–55 year-old current and former subscribers of *Suomen Kuvalehti* (news magazine) (NEWS).

In Chapter 5 the questions concern engaging media practices and experiences in the everyday lives of the adult participants (YOUNG ADULTS, TECH, HOME and NEWS).

Chapter 6 examines the current and former subscribers' and readers' engagement with a specific magazine (*Tekniikan Maailma*, *Kotiliesi* and *Suomen Kuvalehti*).

4. Fragmentation of media use at micro level

Media fragmentation is often addressed from the viewpoint of advertisers or media publishers due to the decrease in audience sizes (Napoli, 2010) as the audiences are divided between more media titles. Studies of media selections have been utilised to overcome the challenges of the cross-media environment, especially the increasing use of online and mobile media (Hasebrink & Popp, 2006, pp. 369–370), and, for example, fragmentation from the perspective of audiences' exact time consumption with media, or how exposure to content divides across media have been of interest. Contrastively, this research examines fragmentation from the user perspective: How does fragmentation emerge in people's *personal media landscapes* and their everyday media use? In this chapter *micro-level fragmentation* constitutes a central concept (Webster & Ksiazek, 2012, p. 45). It means the scattered media landscapes of users – the variety of media products and platforms that one uses or follows (*ibid.*).

I have developed the concept of *personal media landscape*. Personal media landscape covers the entire media use and choices of one media user, and it illustrates media use at the users level, the micro-level. Personal media landscapes also allow users to define what they actually mean by *media*, as, for instance, some want to emphasise a specific TV channel, and others a specific television series. The term *media title* refers to specific titles, for example, specific magazine titles, online sites, or TV series. To complement their personal media landscapes, the participants also listed the 21 most important media titles for them.

This chapter discusses three different kinds of externalisations of micro-level (user-perspective) media fragmentation. First I describe *fragmentation in relation to the amount of media titles* in the personal media landscapes and differences between participant groups. Second, I analyse *fragmentation as individualisation of media titles* and differences between participant groups. Individualisation refers to the amount of those singularly named titles that only one participant mentioned on their top-21 list which no other participant within the group mentioned in their personal media landscape. Third, I address *fragmentation in the speech and practices* of the participants. As the analyses in the following sub-sections are grounded on different combinations of participant groups and methods, I briefly mention the specific combinations at the beginning of each analysis section.

4.1 Conducting media landscape interviews in order to study fragmentation of media use

In the present study, the analyses of fragmentation are mainly grounded on individual media landscape interviews and their outcomes: personal media landscapes and the lists of the 21 most important media titles. Each media title or medium the groups mentioned in their online media diaries was collected into a card deck, which the participants individually sorted under eight categories of importance in the media landscape interviews. The amount of media titles in each group's card deck was 180–260. The participants thought aloud during the sorting. They were asked to reflect on the meaning making behind their choices and elaborate on why they had chosen one title over others. They were also asked questions about which media titles they used for similar purposes. After the sorting, the adult participants listed 21 most important media titles for them in the order of importance to collect comparable and statistically analysable information. In addition, analysis of participant experiences of media fragmentation is based on their online media diaries discussions during media landscape interviews and ethnographic visits.

Media landscape interviews were conducted with five participant groups (total 39 participants): eight 16–18 year-old high-school students specialised in media curricula (referred to as TEENS); eight 18–25 year-old readers and users of *Hs.fi*, *Ruutu* and *Cosmopolitan* (online site for national newspaper, online TV service, monthly women's magazine) (group YOUNG ADULTS); seven 35–45 year-old male readers of *Tekniikan Maaailma* (bimonthly special interest magazine related to technology and vehicles) (group TECH); eight 45–55 year-old female readers of *Kotiliesi* (bimonthly women's general interest magazine) (group HOME); and eight 45–55 year-old readers of *Suomen Kuvalehti* (weekly news magazine) (group NEWS). The preceding online media diaries were completed with all the participants, and ethnographic visits were arranged with 25 adult participants. The data were collected in the Personal Media Day research programme in cooperation with Finnish media publishers during 2012–2013. For detailed descriptions of the use of methods, participant groups and the respective media titles, see Chapter 3.

4.2 Personal media landscapes in different groups

The outcomes of the media landscape interviews, the personal media landscapes, provide a visual perspective to people's individual media use and choices. Personal media landscapes make visible those media titles that one participant uses regularly, and also those media titles that are used infrequently. As the interviews provide also traditional interview data, the media choices are contextualised with the participants' everyday media use. In addition to the number of media titles one uses, also the interrelations between the titles are explained during the interview by the participant her/himself. The media and genres are marked in different colours to help to read the personal media landscapes (see Figure 13 below, and section 3.3.2. for more detailed description of the colour coding system).



Figure 13. Explanation for the colours that mark different media and genres in personal media landscapes.

These categorisations are helpful in the qualitative analysis of the personal media landscapes. In the following analyses, I concentrate mostly on participants’ print, online and television use, as they were the most notable categories inducing differences between the groups. However, also the characteristics of media choices in each group are examined, because the preferences were sometimes medium-specific and sometimes genre-specific. Furthermore, I present the top-10 lists, which were statistically analysed by means of the lists in which they recorded their 21 most important media titles. The top-10 lists of the 16–18 year-old participants were analysed based on the three most important categories in their personal media landscapes, as they did not conduct the list of 21 most important titles. After these descriptive analyses I analyse media fragmentation in more detail based on the personal media landscapes. I also analyse the ways the sense of media fragmentation emerged in participant speech and practices.

Approximately eight people from each group participated in the media landscape interviews. Eight targets is not representative or generalisable by any method of analysis, but instead they provide a deep qualitative standpoint into people’s media use and choices. Furthermore, the amount of participants who participated in media landscape interviews totalled 39, a rather typical sample for qualitative research.

4.2.1 Personal media landscapes in the TEENS group (16–18 year-old)

All ten participants in this group wrote online media diaries and eight participated in the media landscape interviews. The most distinctive feature of the youngest participants in this research was their active reading and writing of blogs. Only one of the ten participants did not mention reading blogs. Most of the blogs that were mentioned in the media diaries and in personal media landscapes were popular Finnish lifestyle and fashion blogs, which were read only by the female participants in the group (there were eight females and two

males in the group). Similarly, the two male participants read blogs that were related to their individual interests, music and games. Six out of ten participants were writing or had been writing their own blog. Two participants had had more than one blog.

There are varying results from reading and writing blogs among young Nordic media users. According to Kangas and Cavén (2011) 20 percent of 15–19 year-old Finnish media users wrote blogs and over 50 percent read them. According to Vainikka and Herkman (2013), on average 15–20 percent of 18–30 year-old Finnish media users (of which many were journalism students) wrote blogs and 60–70 percent read them. In the study of Kalmus's et al. (2009) approximately 15 percent of 11–18 year-old Estonian youth updated their own blog.

The participants in this group were high-school students with media curricula. This may be the explanation behind the high activity of reading and writing blogs. For comparison, no other group in our research projects during 2012–2013 considered blogs as important.

Facebook was the most important social media service for many of the participants, although three participants categorised it in the less important categories. All of the participants named email as an important online service and categorised it under the two most important categories. However, they utilised it for official purposes, for instance, for contacting possible employers, and not for keeping in contact with friends.

Some participants followed many television series and most were American popular series, such as *Jersey Shore*, or *Anatomy of Grey*. Games, such as *The Sims*, were also played significantly more in this group than in the adult groups. Both females and males played console and mobile games. The participants read a few magazines related to their individual interests, such as, music, games and fashion, but they used more online media to follow similar topics.

In this participant group, the amount of media titles differed from 37 to 92 titles (average 66 titles), which means that some participants followed many media titles, whereas some followed fewer. There were three participants who followed significant amounts of entertaining TV series and blogs.

Below are two personal media landscapes. The first one, Figure 14, is of an 18 year-old female. This shows the importance of especially TV content (orange) and blogs (light green). She read a few magazines, and unlike many others in this group, she also followed news. The most important titles are on the left, and the less important titles on the right. For comparison is a 17 year-old male's personal media landscape (Figure 15). The hobby of this participant was playing online and console games. He also had a co-blog with his friends that focused on games. In addition, he followed game-related content on *Youtube*.

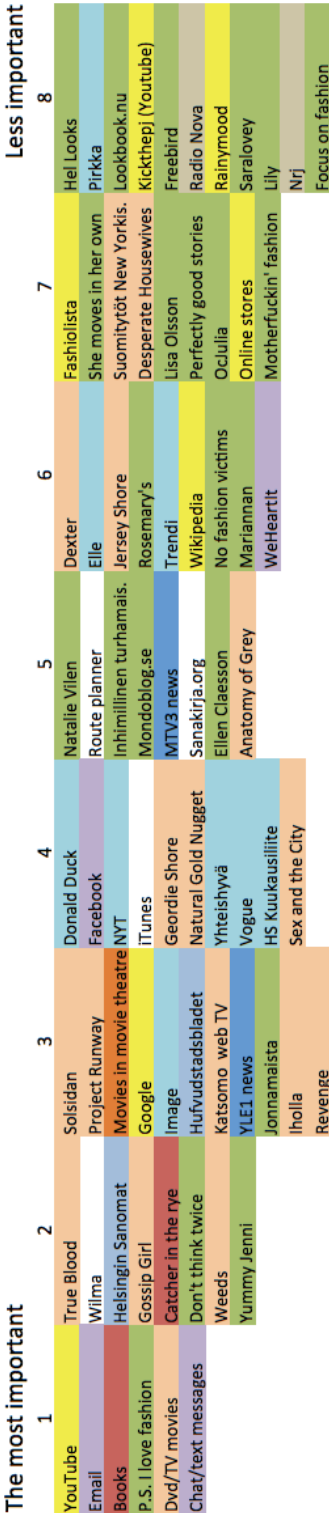


Figure 14. The personal media landscape of an 18 year-old female

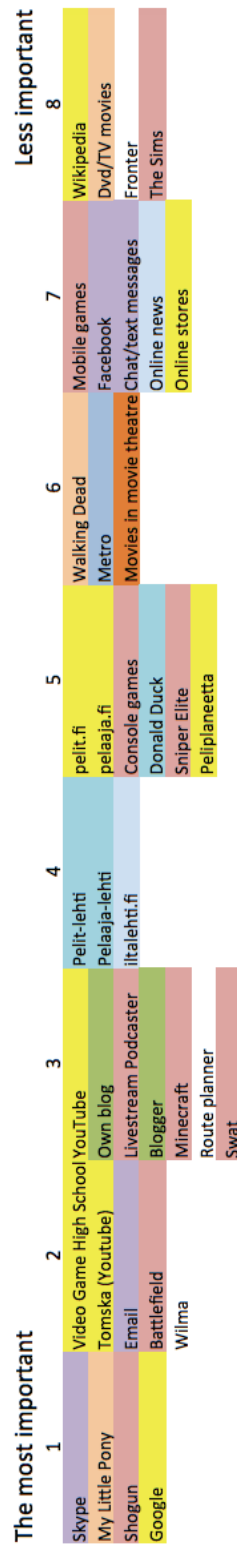


Figure 15. The personal media landscape of a 17 year-old male

The most important titles, based on the three most important categories in the personal media landscapes, for the participants in the group TEENS were:

1. Email
2. Google
3. Youtube
4. Chat/SMS
5. Facebook
6. Books
7. iTunes
8. Wikipedia
9. Own blog
10. Spotify

The top-ten list consists of those titles that are mentioned by many participants. Furthermore, most of the media titles are online services that are used in order to follow content based on individual interests and recommendations (*Youtube*, *Facebook*). Instead, the list does not show the individually important titles that were named by only one or two participants. For instance, many of the participants in this group mentioned specific blog titles that they followed frequently. But as only one participant mentioned this title, it was not graded. If 'blogs' had been one single elicitation card, blogs would have been number one on the list.

4.2.2 Personal media landscapes in the YOUNG ADULTS group (18–25 year-old)

The 18–25 year-old participants in this group were assembled from the users, non-users, readers and former or non-readers of three media titles: *Hs.fi* (online site for the national newspaper), *Ruutu* (online TV service) and *Cosmopolitan* (women's magazine). Twelve participants wrote media diaries and eight of them participated in the media landscape interviews.

The group of YOUNG ADULTS was more heterogeneous in their media practices and preferences, if compared with the other three adult groups in this research. One reason behind the group heterogeneity may be that they were chosen as users of three different media titles, whereas the adult participant groups were selected as readers of only one (magazine) title. The participants' title preferences and ways of using media differed within the group. What was common for most participants was, however, the significant role of social media services (e.g. *Facebook*, *Instagram*, *Twitter*) and text message or chat applications that many participants used frequently and considered important. They appreciated useful online services, such as route planners, *Wikipedia* and *Google*. Two of these participants did not consider email important for them. Most of these participants had smart phones, which they used throughout the day for various purposes.

Their everyday media practices seemed to be as routine as for the older participants, but what was different was many participants' disinterest towards

news content. Where the older participants in the other groups had the habit of following print and TV news in the morning, many of the 18–25 year-old participants often accessed news content through other online media and friends' recommendations, especially on *Facebook*. News in general did not have an important role, except for two participants. The media use of the participants was in many cases motivated by individual interests, for example music, technology fashion, and also news, which led to individual online titles, for instance blogs or *Al Jazeera*. Listening to the radio and using online music services (e.g. *Spotify*, *Soundcloud*) was common. They watched television mostly via different web TV services, and entertaining series, especially *How I Met Your Mother*, were popular.

The participants in this group were similar to the younger participants' group regarding the amount and variation of media titles: some of them followed close to a hundred media titles and some only less than forty. The extent of the personal media landscapes in the group YOUNG ADULTS varied between 37 and 100 (on average 63).

The first media landscape (Figure 16) depicts a media user who used various social media and followed much TV content. News did not have an important role in her everyday media life.

The second media landscape (Figure 17) illustrates a rather extreme media preference, even in this participant group. Most of the media titles this participant preferred were international online media. Even though he also followed few Finnish news titles, he did not consider them as valuable as the international ones.

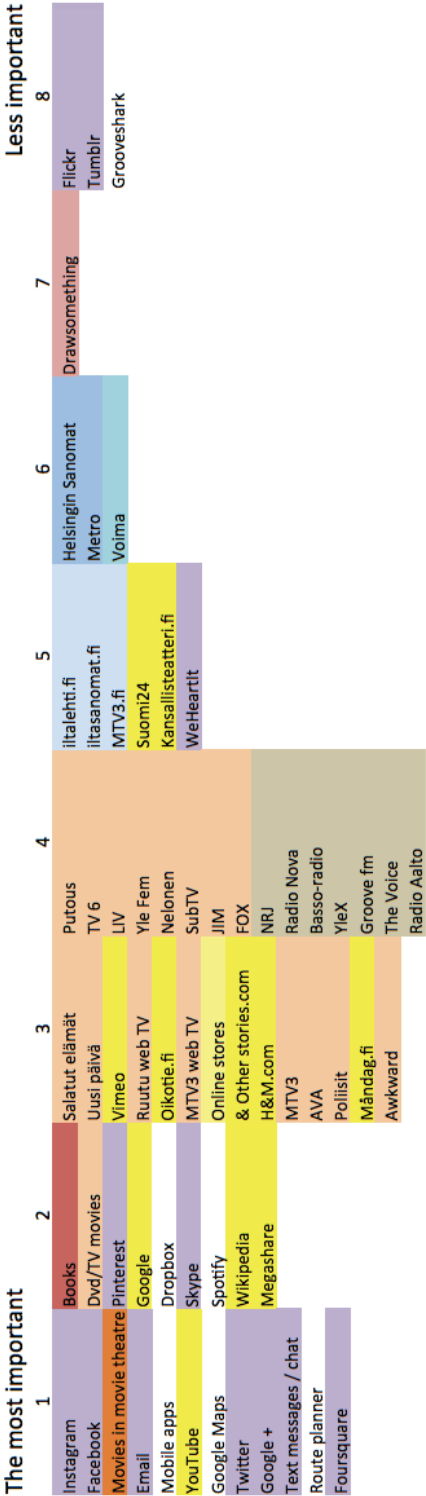


Figure 16. The personal media landscape of a 19 year-old female

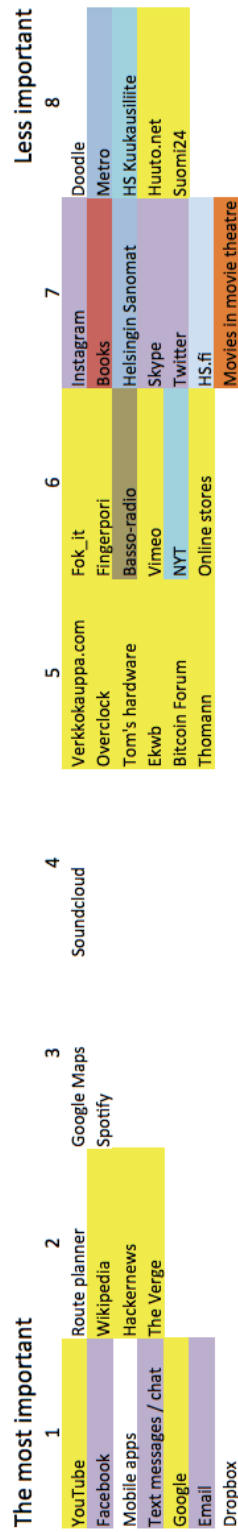


Figure 17. The personal media landscape of a 20 year-old male

The ten most important media titles, based on the top-21 lists, for the participants in the YOUNG ADULTS group were:

1. Facebook
2. Google
3. SMS and chat applications
4. Youtube
5. Email
6. Hs.fi (national newspaper's online site)
7. Spotify
8. NRJ (radio channel)
9. Books
10. Something Awful (online general discussion forum)

Online, social and mobile are the features that describe these participants' media use and title preferences. They used many social media services, and their online use was driven by their individual interests. Most of them were uninterested in news content and they read only few print magazines and newspapers. Instead, they listened to the radio more than the other groups, and also other music services were popular. These participants followed only entertaining television content, often via online TV services.

The same problem that was apparent in the data concerning the TEENS group emerged also in the data of the group YOUNG ADULTS. The media titles the 18–25 year-old participants mentioned in their top-21 lists were so miscellaneous that the top-10 list distorts the results. For instance, *Something Awful* was mentioned by only one participant in the top-21 list, but as he mentioned it as the most important title, it was statistically graded with top points. Thus, also in this group, the personal media landscapes and the top-21 lists are more fruitful and reliable source of the media choices and media use of the participants than the top-10 list.

4.2.3 Personal media landscapes in the TECH group (35–45 year-old)

The media use of the 35–45 year-old male participants in the TECH group was in many cases utilitarian and fact-driven. Even though much of their media use materialized online, they also watched linear television, read print magazines and listened to the broadcast radio.

Social media services, such as *Skype* and *Lync*, served a useful function in their work. Skimming, scanning and surfing characterised their media use: the radio or TV was on in the background, and magazines and newspapers were leafed through perfunctorily. Even though the media use of the TECH group was routine – choosing the specific and same media titles at specific times of the day – it can also be described as random, as they were exposed to random media content when they surfed on the internet or between television channels.

The use of online and social media of the TECH group was closer to the YOUNG ADULTS than the 45–55 year-old participant groups. However, the

participants in the TECH group followed news media significantly more than the younger participants. All participants in this group categorised some news titles (or aggregators) in the most important category. They followed newscasts routinely on television and appreciated the main national newspaper, *Hel-singin Sanomat*. During workdays they often read the online news sites of the evening papers.

TECH participants read more print magazines than the participants in the YOUNG ADULTS group, for instance, magazines related to the professions and individual interests of the TECH participants, such as economic affairs, cars, computers and other technology. They also followed the same topics on online sites, for instance, *The Verge*, *Engadget.com* and discussion forums.

The average size of the personal media landscapes of the participants in the TECH group was 63. The group size varied between 46 and 109, which again reveals great differences between the participants. Two participants mentioned close or over a hundred titles in their media landscapes, whereas two others mentioned less than 50 titles.

The examples (Figure 18 and Figure 19) of personal media landscapes illustrate the media use and title preferences of two different types of media users in terms of the title amount (46 and 91). What is common for them, however, is the variety of different media. Even though the media use of the younger participants was in many cases materialized mostly online, the TECH participants followed regularly also print titles, television and the radio.

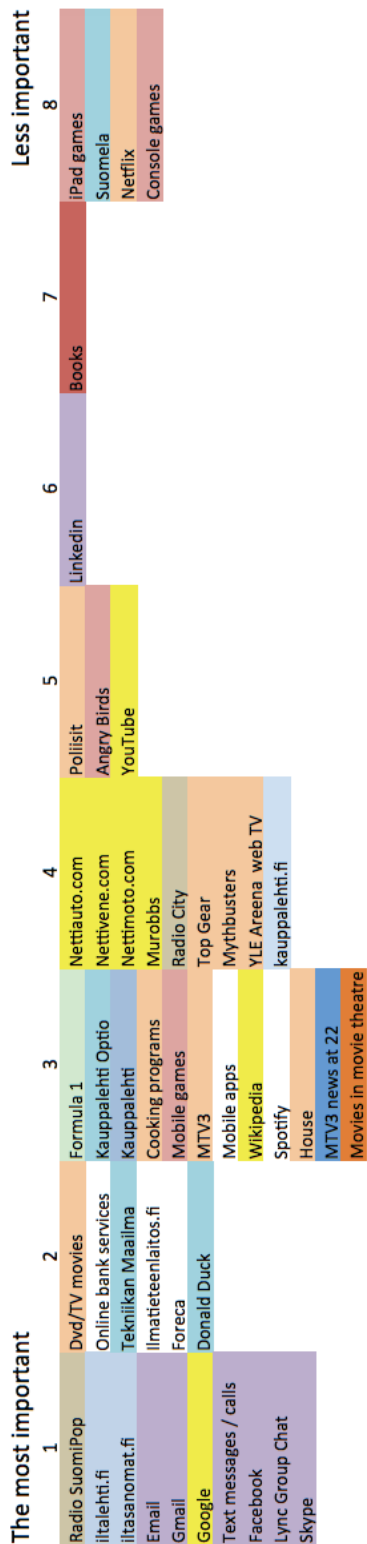


Figure 18. The personal media landscape of a 37 year-old male

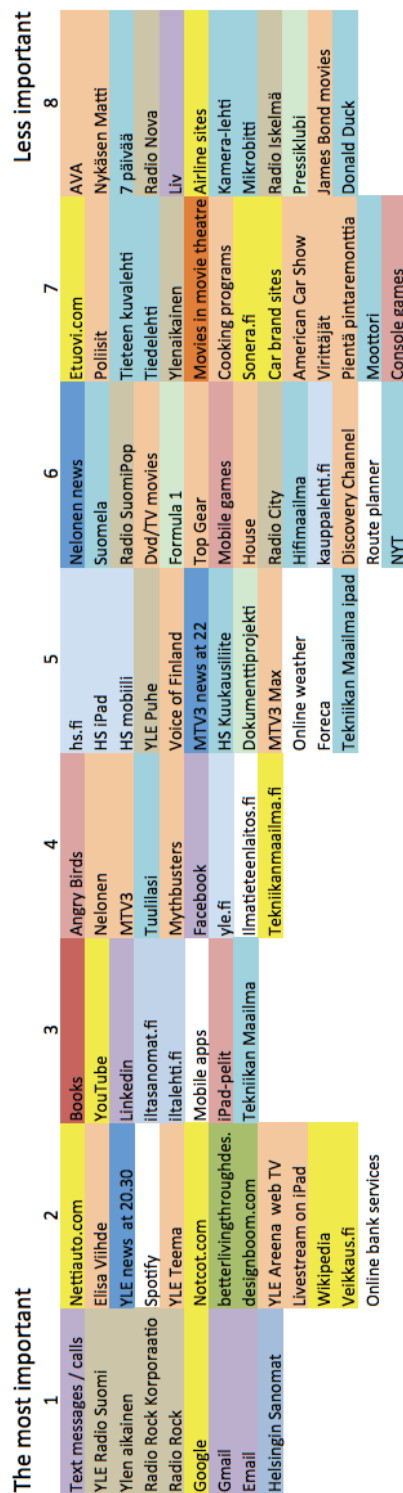


Figure 19. The personal media landscape of a 38 year-old male

The 10 most important media titles, based on the top-21 lists, for the participants in the TECH group were:

1. Phone calls and SMS
2. Email
3. Google
4. Lync (instant messaging service especially for corporates)
5. Facebook
6. Skype
7. Helsingin Sanomat (national newspaper)
8. Iltalehti.fi (online site of evening paper)
9. Yle Radio 1 (public broadcaster's radio channel)
10. Ampparit.fi (news aggregator)

The media use of the TECH participants was versatile and they followed titles evenly across media. These participants followed more news titles than the younger participants. They also appreciated useful online services, such as weather forecasts and social media (*Lync*, *Skype*) that they found beneficial for work.

4.2.4 Personal media landscapes in the HOME group (45–55 year-old)

The personal media landscapes of the 45–55 year-old female participants in the HOME group were the widest – on average 101 media titles per personal media landscape. The participants in this group varied between 84–134, which was the smallest range in this research.

The HOME group was homogenous in terms of media preferences and habits. They preferred print media, whether it was newspapers, magazines, or books. They watched newscasts on television, and also appreciated documentary series related to, for instance, history and culture. They also favoured the same TV series and genres: *Downton Abbey*, *Call the Midwife*, British detective stories, classic British series, such as *Hercule Poirot* and contemporary Nordic series, such as *Borgen*. They labelled these as quality series. Simultaneous media use was common for these participants. The TV was on in the evenings, and while viewing it, the other eye was glancing at a magazine, or they also did household work at the same time. All participants appreciated social watching of TV with their family members.

Seven of the eight participants that took part in the media landscape interviews were active readers and subscribers of magazines. In addition to customer and association magazines, they also subscribed to several other magazines, for instance women's, house decoration, food and gardening magazines.

These participants used online titles less than the participants in the other groups. Five of them followed online news during the workday, but otherwise they followed print or TV news. One or two of them also followed some blogs or online sites related to their individual interests, such as, knitting, bird immigration, or politics.

Only two of the twelve participants were on *Facebook*; instead of phone calls, SMS and email served as their social media. These participants used and also engaged with media in a more planned and conscious way than the participants in the TECH group, for example, by reading TV programme schedules, following specific television series and recording them if necessary.

What is apparent in the following personal media landscapes in Figures 20 and 21 is the lack of social media (purple) and scarce use of online titles (yellow for online content in general, light blue for news and olive green for blogs). Both of these participants followed many television programmes or series, but more topical and documentary programmes (mint green) are mentioned in the media landscape above, whereas the media landscape below presents the more entertaining series (orange). Both of these participants also considered news titles important (dark and middle blue).

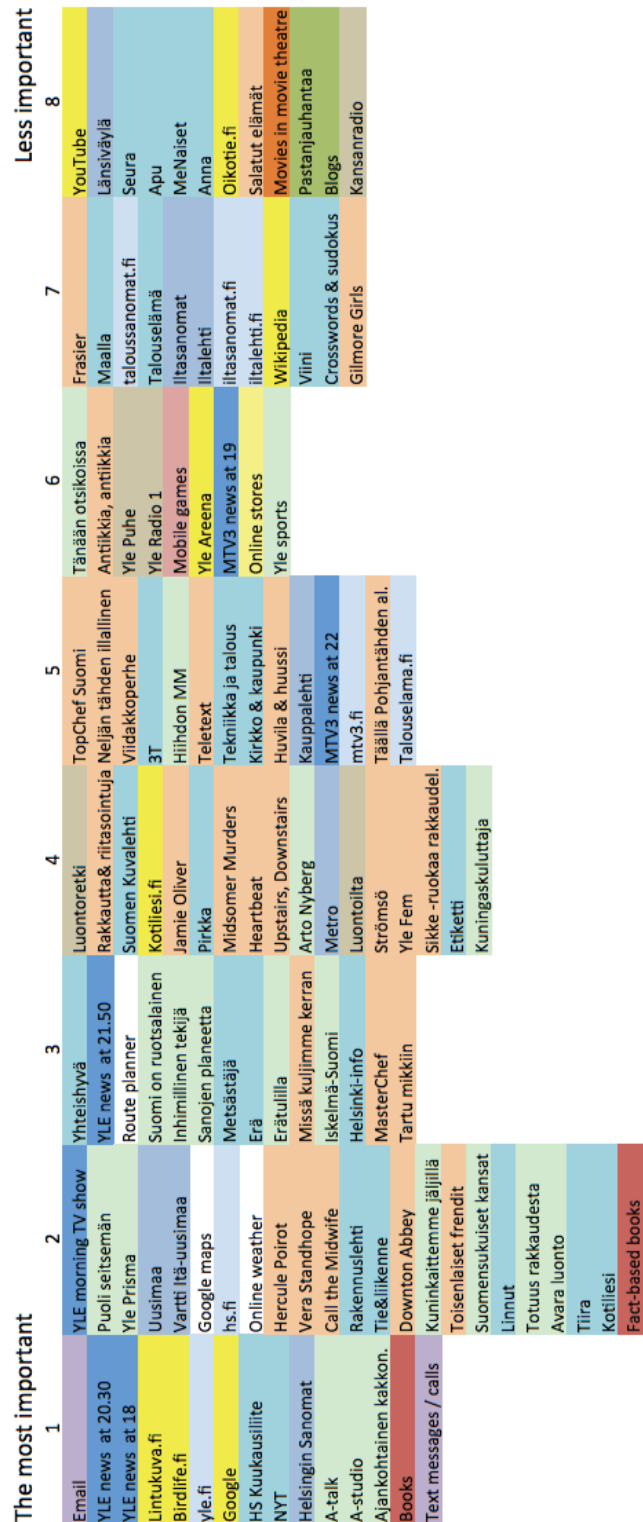


Figure 20. The personal media landscape of a 52 year-old female

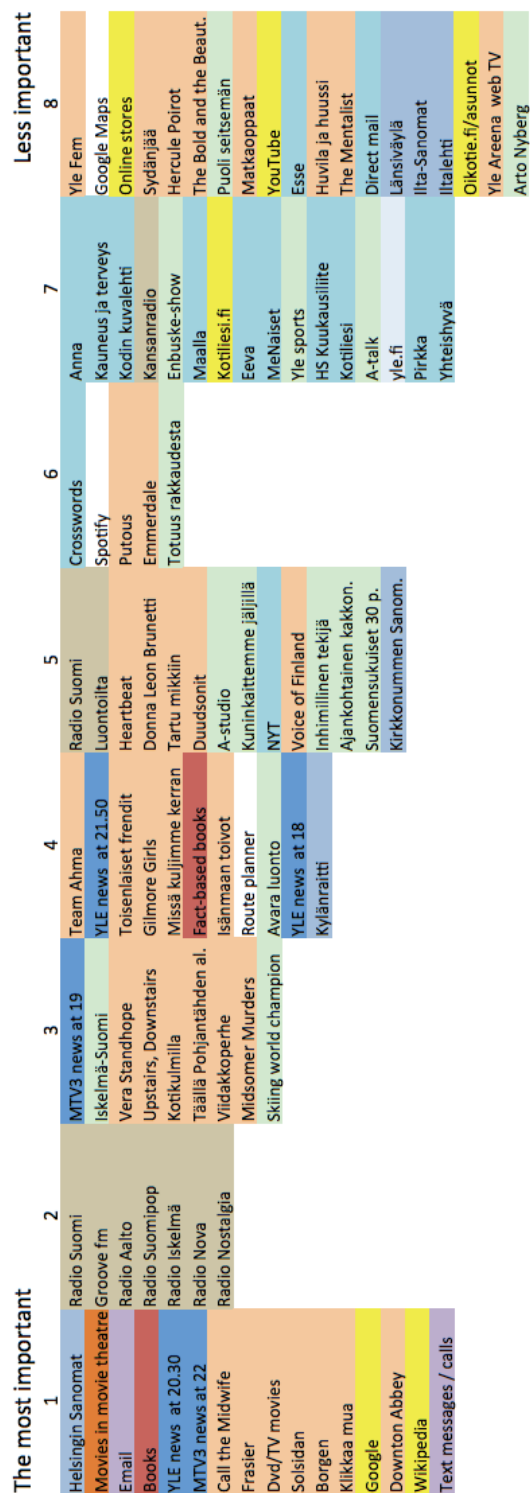


Figure 21. The personal media landscape of a 47 year-old female

The 10 most important media titles, based on the top-21 lists, for the participants in the HOME group were:

1. Phone calls and SMS
2. Helsingin Sanomat (national newspaper)
3. Books – fiction
4. Email
5. YLE1 news (public broadcaster's TV news)
6. Movies in movie theatre
7. Google
8. Yle.fi
9. Ajankohtainen kakkonen (current affairs programme)
10. TV movies / DVD

The group HOME was homogenous in their media preferences and habits. The female participants preferred newspapers, magazines and books in print. On television they followed news, current affairs programmes, documentary series and quality fiction series. They read and also subscribed to many magazines. They did not use as many online titles as the other groups, but some of them followed blogs and other online sites related to their individual interests. These participants did not use online social media services, but phone calls and text messages were their preferred social medium.

4.2.5 Personal media landscapes in the NEWS group (45–55 year-old)

The 45–55 year-old participants in the NEWS group were more media critical than the participants in the other groups. Their media use was driven by the need for topical, up-to-date and background information.

Watching TV was in most cases related to news and documentaries, but many followed also quality series, such as *Newsroom* or *Borgen*. These participants watched less television, and furthermore, less entertaining TV content than the participants of the same age in the HOME group. In the NEWS group, only two participants placed fiction TV series under the two most important categories, whereas in the HOME group only one did not.

They appreciated also other factual print titles besides the national newspaper and books; for example, *Suomen Kuvalehti* and *Hufvudstadsbladet* (national Finnish-Swedish newspaper) were on their top-10 list. They also subscribed to or frequently read print magazines which were related to their individual interests, or professions.

These participants in the NEWS group used more social media services than the participants of the same age in the HOME group; *Facebook* and *LinkedIn* were popular among half of the eight participants who took part in the media landscape interviews. Otherwise online media preferences were individual, such as online sites related to their professions.

The personal media landscapes in the NEWS group had on average 93 media titles. Within the group, there was variation between 61 and 116 titles. The

participants in the NEWS group had slightly narrower media landscapes than the same-aged participants in the HOME group.

The importance of news titles is apparent in the following two examples of personal media landscapes (Figure 22 and Figure 23). Print newspapers, online news sites and TV newscasts are in the most important categories (marked with dark, medium and light blue). The topical and documentary programmes on TV (mint green) are considered more important than the entertaining ones (orange). The participants in the NEWS group also used more online and social media than the participants in the HOME group (yellow and purple).

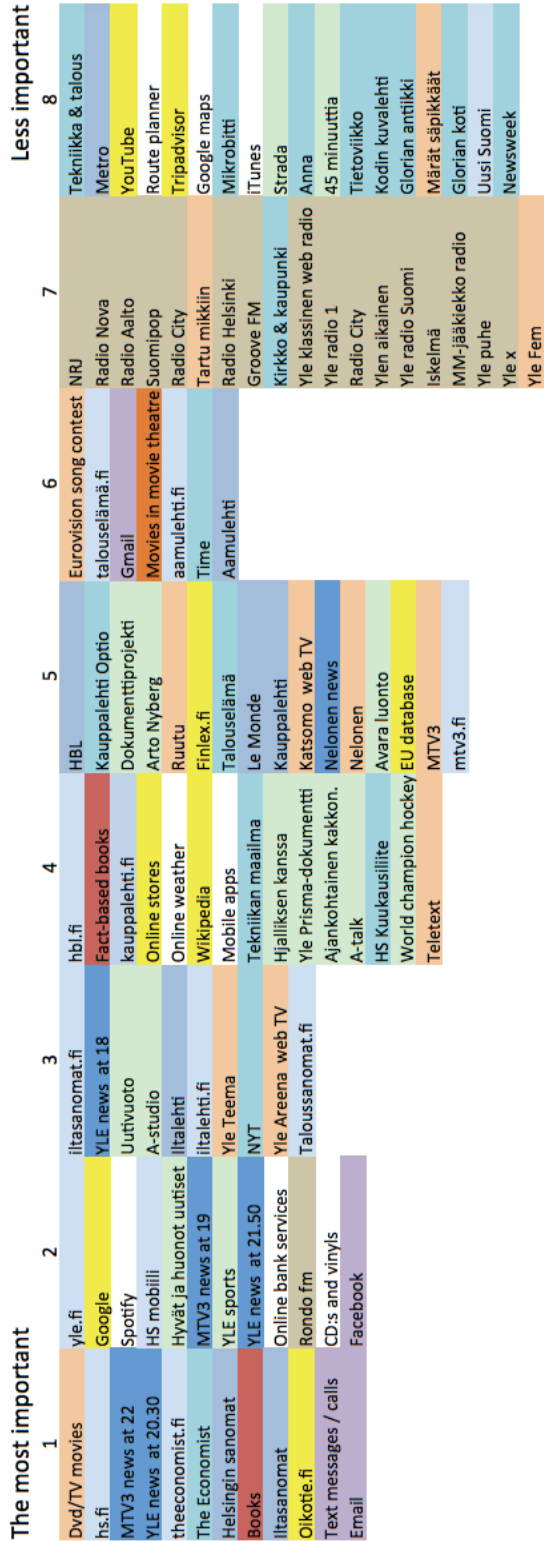


Figure 22. The personal media landscape of a 47 year-old male

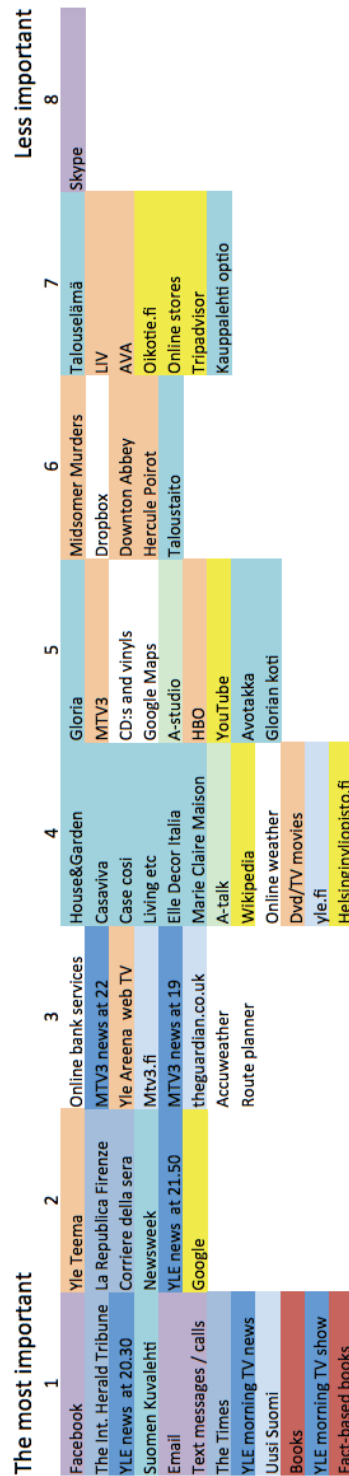


Figure 23. The personal media landscape of a 48 year-old female

The 10 most important media titles, based on the top-21 lists, for the participants in the NEWS group were:

1. YLE news (public broadcaster's TV news)
2. Helsingin Sanomat (national newspaper)
3. Google
4. Books
5. MTV3 news (commercial broadcaster's TV news)
6. Spotify
7. Suomen Kuvalehti (news magazine)
8. Iltalehti.fi (online site of evening paper)
9. The Times
10. Hufvudstadsbladet (national Swedish language newspaper)

The 45–55 year-old participants in the NEWS group were media critical and much of their media use was associated with news and other factual content. All of the participants appreciated news, and they placed a variety of news sources in the most important categories. These participants followed less entertaining TV content than the participants of the same age in the HOME group. Similarly to the participants in the TECH group, the participants in the NEWS group followed titles evenly across media.

4.3 The number of media titles in the personal media landscapes between the groups

The personal media landscapes revealed the number of individual media titles. As also Trilling and Schoenbach (2013, p. 935) suggest, the number of titles people use is a sign of fragmentation. This research yielded significant differences between the participant groups in the average sizes of the personal media landscapes. This section is based on the personal media landscapes of all the five participant groups

In the TEENS group, the average number of media titles in the personal media landscapes was 66. The participants in this group ranged between 37 and 92 titles. The participants in the YOUNG ADULTS group had the smallest average number (63) of media titles in their personal media landscapes. However, this group showed much variation, from 37 to 100 titles, between the participants. In other words, there were participants who used media in a minimalistic way and others who used a large amount of media titles.

The 35–45 year-old male participants in the TECH group had the third smallest personal media landscapes with an average size of 73 titles. Their personal media landscapes varied between 46 and 109 titles. The variation between media titles in this group was similar to the group YOUNG ADULTS.

The 45–55 year-old female participants in the HOME group had the largest personal media landscapes with on average 101 media titles (variation between 84 and 134 titles). The NEWS group of the same age had on average 93 titles in their personal media landscapes (variation between 61 and 116 titles).

The Figure 24 below illustrates the differences in the average size of the personal media landscapes between the five groups.

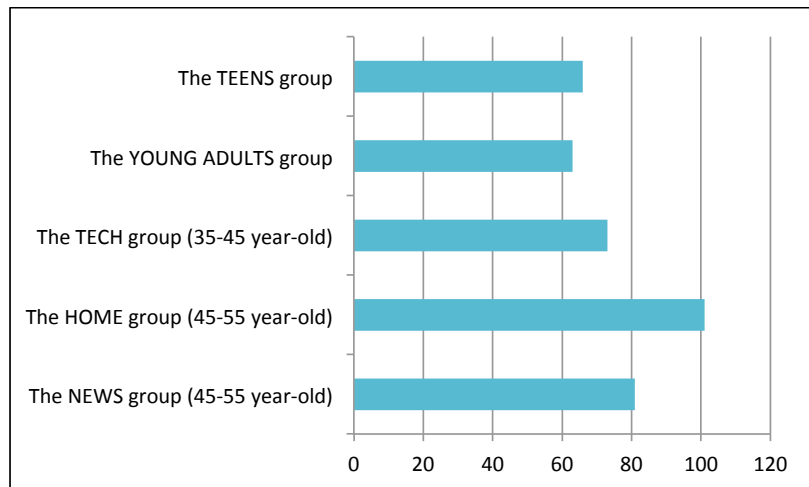


Figure 24. Average number of titles in participants' personal media landscapes in different groups.

The dozens of titles people included in their personal media landscapes were not used daily, or even weekly. The card deck in the media landscape interviews contained also those titles the other participants in the group had mentioned in their diaries, and also some titles the researcher had added. Thus, the card deck contained titles that people might have forgotten to mention in their diaries or have not used during the diary period. Hereby, the participants had the possibility to include in their personal media landscapes titles that they used infrequently, for instance, magazines they read at the hairdresser's or in a waiting room, but also titles they had engaged with some time ago, such as TV series that somebody else in the group had mentioned. In this sense, the feature of using group-specific card decks instead of person-specific ones increases the cogency of the method. It also shows more effectively the diversity of media use – especially as people categorise their titles according to their own preferences and ways of using them.

The two youngest participant groups – the TEENS and the YOUNG ADULTS – had the narrowest personal media landscapes with less than 70 titles, whereas the 45–55 year-old female participants in the HOME group had the widest average of 101 titles. Most variation was found between the amount of titles within the groups YOUNG ADULTS and TECH. This speaks of varying trends in media use preferences within the groups: in both groups there were participants who used media in a minimalistic way, and others who had significantly more titles in their personal media landscape.

Because the personal media landscapes within the group TEENS – who participated in the study in 2012 – varied so much, the methodical phase was complemented with the lists of 21 most important titles for the succeeding groups, who took part in 2013. Thus, the personal media landscapes of the

youngest participants are excluded from the following analysis of the diversity and individualisation of media preferences.

4.4 The diversity of commonly mentioned titles within the groups

After the media landscape interviews, the participants in the four adult groups were asked to list 21 most important media titles for them in the order of importance. The analysis in this section is based on those lists in combination with the personal media landscapes. The top-10 lists, which were statistically analysed based on the top-21 lists are used in order to compare the perspectives to the most important titles.

In all adult participant groups, the top-10 lists included *Google*, SMS / chat applications and books. Also mainstream news media, such as the national newspaper (*Helsingin Sanomat*), its online service (*Hs.fi*) and public broadcaster's TV (*YLE*) newscasts were popular. Most of the titles on the top-10 lists were widely used mainstream media and online services. Especially news media, social media and useful online services were on the top-10 lists. Contrastively, those media titles that were more of the participants' individual interests, for instance, hobby or profession-related magazines or online sites, did not reach the top-10 lists, as they did not gather many nominations.

However, the top-21 lists were also analysed from a different starting point: a more detailed analysis of these individual lists in comparison to the personal media landscapes within the groups. While the top-10 lists of the groups revealed the most commonly named and also general media titles (e.g. *Google*, popular Finnish news media, books), the individual lists revealed the personal preferences – *the individual and singularly named media titles that only one participant named among the top-21 list that was not named in other personal media landscapes within the group*. There were significant differences between the groups in the number of singularly named media titles.

The chart (Figure 25 below) shows the amount of singularly named media titles within the top-21 lists in each group. The participants in the group YOUNG ADULTS mentioned 32 singular media titles on their top-21 list. The participants in the NEWS group mentioned 19 singular media titles, the participants in the HOME group mentioned 14 singular media titles and the participants in the TECH group mentioned 13 singular media titles on the top-21 lists.

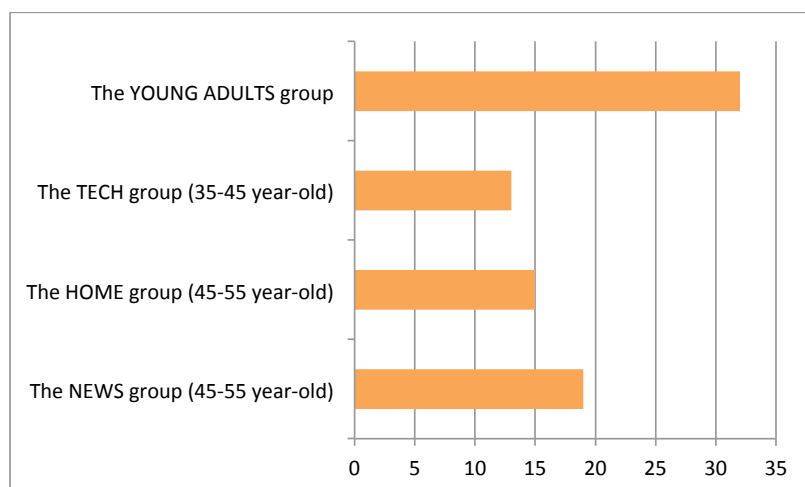


Figure 25. The number of titles mentioned by only one participant in the top 21 list that was not mentioned by any other participant within the group.

Especially interesting is the group YOUNG ADULTS. The average extent of their personal media landscapes was smaller than in the other adult groups, but at the same time, they mentioned significantly more singular media titles on their top-21 lists that no-one else in the group had mentioned in her/his media landscape (or top-21 list). Even though the average amount of the media titles was small, they also had more individually named media titles.

Even though also personal media landscapes reveal micro-level fragmentation – the scattering of media landscapes –, the statistically analysable top-21 lists show in a distinct way the fragmentation on the micro-level media selections: where the older participants named several same titles, the younger participants appreciated titles that were in synchrony with their very individual interests. Hence, in this analysis fragmentation refers to the individualisation of media preferences.

A more detailed analysis shows that these individual title preferences within all the adult groups were in most cases related to individual interests, hobbies and professions. In addition to the amount of singularly named titles, there were also differences in preferences regarding media (especially print versus online titles) between the groups.

For the participants in the YOUNG ADULTS group, the 32 singularly named media titles included mostly hobby-related online sites and blogs. They also mentioned TV series and profession-related magazine and online titles.

For the participants in the NEWS group, the 19 singularly named titles were primarily international news titles (both print and online), special interest magazines and TV programmes. In the NEWS group, one participant named seven international newspaper and magazine titles among the most important ones since she lived part of the year in Italy. This increases the amount of singularly named titles in the group. Without these seven magazines titles the number would be 12, which is closer to the TECH and HOME groups.

For the participants in the HOME group, the 14 singularly named titles were in most cases profession-related online and print magazine titles and hobby-related online sites. In the TECH group, the 13 singularly named media titles were mainly hobby-related online sites.

Before the use of the internet became as common and diverse as it is today, television was seen as the medium that offered the highly individual content to people (Pearson & Davies, 2005). In all age groups, this individualising medium seems presently to be the internet. Among the YOUNG ADULTS, 22 of the 32 singularly named titles were online titles, and for the 35–45 year-old participants in the TECH group, 12 of 13 were online titles. For the 45–55 year-old participants in the HOME group, 9 of 15 singularly named titles were online. In all groups, the singularly named titles were often professional or hobby-related.

Especially interesting is the difference between the groups YOUNG ADULTS and TECH. In both groups, the average extent of the personal media landscapes was relatively small if compared to the groups HOME and NEWS. However, the participants in the TECH group named on their top-21 lists several same media titles, whereas there is more dispersion – more singularly named media titles – between the top-21 lists of the participants in the YOUNG ADULTS group.

The chart (Figure 26 below) illustrates the number of individually named titles in proportion to the average width of personal media landscapes in the four participant groups. As can be noted in the two bars (blue and orange) of the YOUNG ADULTS, the proportion of the bars is closer to each other than in the two bars of the other adult groups. This indicates individualised media choices.

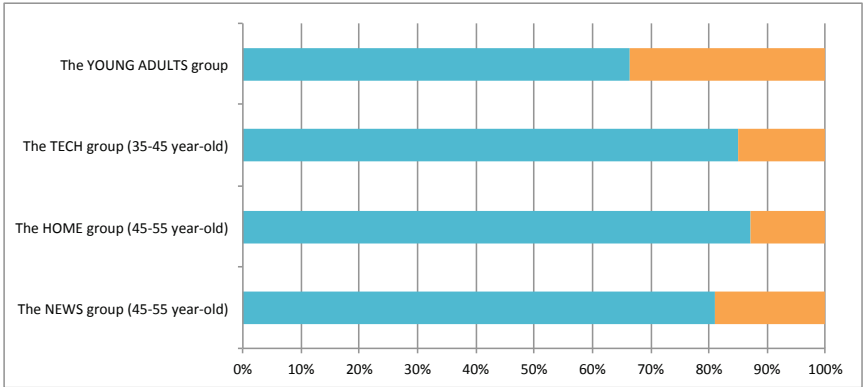


Figure 26. The chart illustrates the number of individually named titles in proportion to the average extent of personal media landscapes in the four participant groups. The smaller the proportion of the two bars the more individualisation occurred within the groups’ media titles.

A few possible reasons explain the individualisation of media use. First, the group TECH (as well as the groups HOME and NEWS) were current or former readers of a specific magazine title that may have an impact on the homogeneity of the participant group. Conversely, the group of YOUNG ADULTS were assembled of the current and previous users and readers, and non-users of three different titles, *Hs.fi* (national newspaper's online site), *Ruutu* (web TV service) and *Cosmopolitan* (women's magazine). Thus, the participants were more diverse regarding their individual interests.

Second, another aspect of individualisation of media choices is cultural proximity. People prefer content that feels like their 'own', for instance, through expressions and ways of using the cultural language (Webster, 2011). One participant in the YOUNG ADULTS group referred to the content that she considered that was written precisely for her instead of some general, unidentified reader:

I read Eeva Kolu's blog, and she like recommends to me a good book that I should read, and she tells me about the good online stores I should check to find some good basic stuff. She has gathered there [in her blog] that stuff so that I don't have to go through all the world to find this stuff. For instance, in magazines the selections are vaguely for all kinds of people. There [on blog] I can find that stuff that is targeted for me, and that interests me. Participant in the YOUNG ADULTS group in a media landscape interview (465)

Regarding the written or spoken language of media content, for the YOUNG ADULTS, foreign language posed no major issue or a problem. All of them followed also international media content. For comparison, only few of the participants in the HOME group included in their personal media landscapes titles that were not either in Finnish or translated into Finnish. (Although it must be noted that also these older participants used *Youtube* and other online services in which at least the language of the user interface is English.)

The third aspect of individualisation of media preferences is closely connected to the second. As the amount of available media titles and content are numerous, it is easier for also small audiences to find content that attracts them, and many times it may be search engines and services that lead people to content that interests them (Webster & Ksiazek, 2012). Hence, the impact of *Google* should be addressed. Even though *Google* was amongst the top-7 in all groups' top-10 lists, the younger participants used it more than the adult groups. Specific media titles were automatically coded on Atlas.ti, and the YOUNG ADULTS mentioned *Google* in all the data of the present research (within the group) 61 times, whereas the older participants mentioned it 23–33 times. More importantly, the younger participants used basic the *Google* search in a more diverse way. They, for example, searched for news on *Google* instead of going directly on news sites.

4.5 Comparison of research on fragmentation and media selections

In this section I compare five different studies – including the present research – of media fragmentation and media selections and discuss their methodological settings. Even though many of these studies are conducted from a fairly different perspective, for instance, in terms of user typologies or the criteria that underlie choosing specific titles, they all have applied either the user-centric or the audience-centric approach (Webster & Ksiazek, 2012). The studies of fragmenting media use across platforms are often also studies of media selections and the kind of patterns of use that emerge in different situations, for example, at work or at home, or regarding specific genres, such as news.

As concluded in Section 2.7.1., the most common features in studies of media fragmentation include considering the diversity of media use across platforms, combining qualitative and quantitative methods and emphasising the user perspective. However, there are still various differences between the five exemplary studies, which concern the chosen methods, the amount of participants, and eventually, the data that is the grounding under conclusions of fragmentation and media selections. The comparison of the studies is not exhaustive; rather the selected studies represent different kinds of user- or audience-centric media repertoire research including a variety of methodological combinations.

Webster and Ksiazek (2012) studied microlevel fragmentation of television and online audiences. Their data were based on Nielsen's People Meter and NetSight Meter, which measured 2771 participants' television channel and online site choices for one week. The study first included exposure to TV channels for a minimum of one minute, and exposure to web sites in active browser windows for the minimum of one second. However, they excluded those web pages in their research that were used only by a few participants, as otherwise the amount of the outlets (i.e. TV channels or web pages) would have been too high. The final amount of outlets in their research was 236, and they examined both macro- and micro-level fragmentation between these outlets. Their analysis of audience fragmentation suggests that media repertoires are not highly individualised, but the audiences of different outlets (TV channels, online sites) overlap.

In the study of Taneja et al. (2012), the media use of nearly 500 participants was examined through observation at ten-second intervals for two days. Their study observed the locations and use of predefined 59 media items (media and medium-specific genres, such as newspapers, books, TV entertainment, TV news, mobile messaging, mobile web use, web search, web news, web sports), but the amount was reduced to 42, owing to little or zero use of 17 items. These excluded items were rarely used, for instance, 'listening to radio using GPS device'. Observation data revealed some factors that often stay hidden in quantitative studies, such as, simultaneous media use and other concurrent everyday activities. Furthermore, the research was thus not dependent on self-reporting methods, which often provides false information (ibid.). This study

found four distinctive media repertoires, which were situation-specific: computing for work, television viewing, mobile media use and online media use.

Hasebrink and Domeyer's (2012) qualitative pilot study of media repertoires was conducted with only five participants, but it is a good example of a highly user-centric research on media selections. Their research interest was to identify patterns of media use through the concept of *media repertoire*, which refers, on the one hand, to individual selections of media, and on the other, to behavioural patterns behind media selections (Hasebrink & Domeyer, 2012; Hasebrink & Popp, 2006). They conducted interviews, and the participants assembled their visual media repertoires. First the participants selected the main media they use (unlimited amount of media), and then divided their time between these media. Finally, the participants complemented media repertoires with the perceived importance of the selected media (as sometimes what is used the most may not feel the most meaningful), and in addition, they associated functions with each medium. Their study identified the most significant components of media repertoires, which included diversity of media use, functionality (specific media answering to specific purposes), and competition between media titles.

Schröder's (2010) study was focused on the news genre, including 25 different media titles or genres across media (ibid., p. 23). This study was conducted with 35 participants using short interviews and Q sorting, in which the participants sorted the 25 titles under nine categories according to its importance in the participant's life, and spoke aloud during the sorting in order to provide also qualitative data. As all the participants sorted the same 25 titles or genres in a predefined grid, the data were statistically analysed. The study yielded seven user typologies concerning news selections, such as 'the popular culture-oriented digital news consumer', 'the heavy newspaper reader', and 'the news update addict'. This study was founded on a preceding survey study that was conducted with 1031 Danes, and the focus was in examining the importance of news media titles for them (Schröder & Laarsen, 2010).

The main interest of the present study has been to identify the most engaging media titles amongst the titles the participants regularly follow. In addition to addressing micro-level fragmentation, everyday experiences and practices have been considered. The method behind the analyses of fragmentation and individual selections – the personal media landscapes – is media landscape interviews, inspired by Q method. In the individual interviews, the participants first sorted the media titles they use (or are better acquainted with) under eight categories of importance. In my modification of Q sorting, the participants were allowed to sort whichever amount of titles under each category, and hence the outcomes between the participants differed, for instance, regarding the disposition of cards (media titles) and the variation between the titles within the groups. In the original Q method, the card disposition is predefined, and the amount of cards is usually limited. Each group had their own card deck for sorting during the interview. The cards on the deck were mainly based on those media titles the participants had mentioned during the two-

week diary period, with additional cards from the researcher, and also blank cards for completing the deck.

Similarly to Schröder's (2010) study, the participants in the present one spoke aloud during the sorting of the elicitation cards, and after the sorting, they were asked questions about reasoning and categorising the cards and also about their media use in general. Thus, in addition to the visualised outcomes – the personal media landscapes – also participant speech was analysed.

The Table 5 (below) summarises selected studies that concern fragmentation of media use, or people's media selections.

Study	Research focus	Predefinitions	Methods
Webster & Ksiazek 2012	Micro-level (user) and macro-level (media) fragmentation between online and TV 'outlets' (i.e. TV channels and online sites)	TV channels and online sites (excluding those online sites, which were used by only a few participants)	Nielsen's People Meter and NetSight Meter measured exposure to online and television outlets for one week
Taneja, Webster, Malthouse, Ksiazek 2012	Media repertoires across platforms Dividing of time between different media	59 medium-specific and predefined categories/genres i.e. 'media items' (e.g. TV was categorised as commercial, entertainment, news, channel surfing)	Observation of participants all media use for one day at 10-second intervals in different locations (work, home, commuting)
Hasebrink & Domeyer 2012	Patterns of media use	No predefined media, genres, or functions. Components of media repertoires were media, time, importance, and function.	Semi-structured media diary (1 week) Interview and visual methods for assembling media repertoire
Schröder & Laarsen 2010; Schröder 2010	People's news media selections	25 predefined media titles or genres across media	Interview Q-method
Tammi 2016	Fragmentation of media use Engaging with media	No medium or genre-specific predefinitions.	Semi-structured online media diaries (2 weeks) Media landscape interviews

Table 5. Comparison of five exemplary studies of media fragmentation and media selections.

Participants	Data	Outcome	Study
2771 participants (1020 homes)	Data on dividing of audiences between 236 media outlets	Media repertoires are not highly individualised, as the audiences of different outlets overlap	Webster & Ksiazek 2012
495 / 476 participants	Time use of 42 media items (medium and genre) based on observation notes	Four distinctive media repertoires in different situations: Computing for work, Television viewing, Media on mobile, Media online. Print in general is excluded from these.	Taneja, Webster, Malt-house, Ksiazek 2012
5 participants (pilot study)	Interview data Visual media repertoires (consisting of media, time, importance, function)	Relevant components of media repertoires: diversity, functionality, competition	Hasebrink & Domeyer 2012
1031 participants (survey) 35 participants (Q-method)	Interview data Q-grids for statistical analysis	Seven typologies of cross-media news consumption	Schröder & Laarsen 2010; Schröder 2010
39 participants' personal media landscapes	Personal media landscapes Lists of 21 most important titles Interview data	Amount of media titles in personal media landscapes. Fragmentation i.e. individualisation of media preferences within groups. Sense of media fragmentation in everyday life.	Tammi 2016

Next, I will continue comparing these studies from the viewpoints of predefinitions and pre-categorisations and the individual media selections as the outcomes of the studies.

4.5.1 Predefinitions and pre-categorisations in studies of fragmentation

Studies of fragmentation and media selections consider media use through different platforms, media genres and titles, or functions of use. Whereas some studies predefine or pre-categorise, for instance, the genre, some focus only on specific media.

The present research centres on specific media titles, and occasionally also medium-specific categorisations, such as, text messages, or fictional books. However, the titles, genres and media were grounded on the participants' own categorisations of their media use, and thus there were no predefinitions – except the categories of importance in media landscape interviews.

Hasebrink and Domeyer (2012, p. 764) note the contradiction between quantitative and qualitative user methodologies in media studies: quantitative studies rely on previous definitions of use categories (e.g. which media people use for which purpose), and thus, the options that are proposed for the respondent are predefined. Small-scale qualitative studies, such as Hasebrink and Domeyer's and the present study, have more flexibility in their methodical and analytical settings, as the samples are often smaller. Contrastively, limiting the options in quantitative studies might be necessary in order to restrict the amount of data. However, these choices influence the nature of the analyses and results.

For instance, Taneja et al. (2012) pre-categorized 42 media items (e.g. TV entertainment, TV news, mobile messaging, mobile web use), of which time use and location were recorded by observation. Thus, recording the use of 42 media items may seem minor in light of the data in my research in which the participants had unlimited possibilities to define their media use and choose the titles they follow. Some of them mentioned even over a hundred individual media titles in their personal media landscapes

Webster and Ksiazek (2012, p. 48) also recognize the problem concerning the number of outlets when conducting media use research across platforms. In their study, the use of only two media (TV and the internet) was monitored and the most popular outlets, 236 TV channels and online sites, were included in the data. Those web sites were excluded that only few participants used. Studying both media and audience fragmentation between all media and titles – in a vein similar to Webster and Ksiazek (2012) between exposure to TV and online media – would require different tools and measurements and converting the use of each media into equivalent units. In comparison to my study of the participants' personal media landscapes and thinkin aloud during the sorting process, Webster and Ksiazek's study reveals no personal experiences of media use and media fragmentation.

4.5.2 Media selections of individuals

Research on the media selections of individuals approach these selections from different perspectives. Sometimes the perspective may be more functional (for what purposes media are used) and sometimes it may be media-centric (which media are used). The chosen perspective, combined with the various kinds of predefinitions that were addressed above, results in various outcomes and conceptions of media selections.

Taneja et al. (2012) examined people's media selections across platforms, but they also limited media and genres into 59 predefined categories and three locations: work, home and commuting. Their results suggest that media repertoires are situation-driven, and indicate those media categories, or media items that were used in each situation. However, in their study, specific media titles remain hidden.

In Schröder's (2010) predefined 25 media titles or genres, which the participants then sorted following the Q method. This results in predefined news selections, as all participants sort the same 25 titles. However, in this study the specific media titles and genres were visible and people had the possibility to elaborate their own meaning making behind the choices. Furthermore, the study focused on identifying user typologies concerning selection of news, and, in particular, the same forms of Q grids made the statistical analysis possible.

While Hasebrink and Popp's (2006) concept of media repertoire is a fairly fixed selection of a person's regularly used media titles, personal media landscapes are, inevitably, a more random set of media titles that people face in their everyday lives. The difference between media repertoires and personal media landscapes derive from the ultimate purpose of these two concepts. Both emphasise the user, but media repertoire emphasises active assembling of media titles according to specific purposes of use, whereas the objective of personal media landscapes is to show the variety and fragmentation of media use.

In media repertoires, people identify the main media and titles they use, but personal media landscape contains all media titles the user encounters in her/his everyday life. The aim is to include also those titles that are disengaging, again, to compare them with the engaging ones.

Although the results of a study where media repertoires were used indicated the "non-selective", inactive, ways of choosing media (Hasebrink & Domeyer, 2012, p. 769), the concept of media repertoire still implies that there is a certain degree of coherence within the repertoire:

[W]ithin a repertoire-oriented approach the interrelations and specific functions of the components of a media repertoire are of particular interest since they represent the inner structure or coherence of a media repertoire; this reflects our basic claim that the media repertoire of a user is not just the mere sum of different media he or she uses, but a meaningfully structured composition of media. (Hasebrink & Domeyer, 2012, p. 760)

Hasebrink and Domeyer (2012, p. 772) also found that media repertoires reflect the needs people have in a specific life phase. Their participants pursued specific aims when choosing media, such as educating oneself for work, on the

one hand, and on the other, following media content that feeds their leisure time and identity. Also this feature of media repertoires can be seen as more functional and time-oriented than personal media landscapes, which leave initially more room for coincidence and expand the temporal aspect as previous engagements are not excluded by time.

4.5.3 Personal media landscapes as a tool in examining media selections and fragmentation of media use

Those participant groups that were focused on one media title (TECH, HOME, NEWS) were more homogenous in their media use. Most variation occurred in the media use of the group YOUNG ADULTS, and thus a larger sample could be useful in achieving more accurate results on the individualisation of media use. The group TEENS were rather homogeneous in their media preferences, and this may result from the same school, class and circle of friends, whereas the participants in the YOUNG ADULTS group were recruited via different channels and with different backgrounds.

Time consumption with media and specific media titles is frequently examined, for example, by television and radio broadcasters, magazine publishers, online producers and other public and private research institutes. However, these studies do not combine specific titles across media that specific groups follow. Thus, also the amount of media titles (and which titles) that people regularly follow, are not examined. In this sense, personal media landscapes provide novel information about everyday media use and also indicate the diversity of media titles that are in frequent use.

As stated, personal media landscapes illustrate the diversity of individual users' media preferences and how those personally significant titles are inter-related with other similar titles. The top-10 lists that were analysed based on the lists of the 21 most important titles show merely those common and popular titles that also *Alexa.com* and similar online metric services provide. Top-10 lists offer some information about group-specific preferences, for instance, the importance of online versus print titles. Nonetheless, personal media landscapes combined with individual top-21 lists broaden the perspective to the intriguing personal preferences and meaning-making processes behind media choices, which in many studies remain hidden.

In the following chapter I present a qualitative analysis of how fragmentation emerged in the participants' oral accounts and practices.

4.6 Media fragmentation in participants' speech and practices for decreasing the sense of media fragmentation

In addition to the notable amount of media titles the participants' personal media landscapes and the individualisation of media titles, fragmentation also emerged in the spontaneous accounts of some participants, in many cases as an anxiety over too many media titles in one's life. Even though users and readers need not directly worry about the smaller audience sizes – unlike pub-

lishers and broadcasters – they face more media titles and new possibilities of where, when and with which device to use or follow media content.

Media fragmentation, as such, was not addressed with the participants, and it was not a purposeful topic of discussion or a separate question in any methodical phase, either. Instead, it emerged spontaneously when the participants described their everyday media use in online media diaries, media landscape interviews and ethnographic visits that were conducted with the YOUNG ADULTS, TECH, HOME and NEWS groups. The data consist of written descriptions about the everyday media use from the media diaries, and interview data from the media landscape interviews and ethnographic visits.

Especially the 45–55 year-old participants in the HOME and NEWS groups sensed fragmentation of life in general, or fragmentation of media use situations. These participants referred to fragmented media content and they also described strategies for tackling fragmentation. Nine out of twelve participants in the HOME group and three out of eleven participants in the NEWS group expressed their observations of fragmentation. One 35–45 year-old participant in the TECH group addressed fragmentation. Eleven of the participants who referred to fragmentation of life, media use, or media content were female.

Nine 45–55 year-old participants in the HOME group, and three participants of the same age in the NEWS groups referred to fragmentation of life and media use situations, most often with an anxious or wondering tone. The abundance of available interesting media titles was not addressed in a positive tone. Especially email and online services were of concern and even stressful for these participants.

The internet is full of goof information and good services but I've noticed that using it is often pretty chaotic surfing on different sites, if there isn't any beforehand-plan, that is if I don't go online for a specific purpose. Participant in the NEWS group in online media diary (478)

The large amount of media titles surrounding people was a common topic that the participants reflected on both in their online media diaries and during the media landscape interviews. Especially the quantity of print titles – newspapers, consumer magazines, customer magazines, association/organisation- and profession-related magazines – that were delivered to households caused annoyance. They experienced that there was not enough time to read everything.

Media use was intertwined with other practices in life, which eventually affected the ability to concentrate on media content. Some of these participants referred to simultaneous media use, which had a similar effect: poor concentration.

During the half-eight newscast I read in "Nyt" an article about Maria Guzenina-Richardson [minister of health and social services], and I didn't pay any attention to the news. Doing two things at a time doesn't make any sense. Participant in the HOME group in online media diary (425)

As media fragmentation emerged in particular in the lives of the 45–55 year-old participants in the HOME and NEWS groups as slight sense of anxiety about the great amount of media titles, they also had strategies to cope with

the situation. Avoiding simultaneous media use, leafing through print or online content in a superficial way, concentrating only on the most relevant or interesting contents, or limiting the amount of media titles in one's life were common solutions to control the sense of fragmentation and make the everyday (media) life simpler.

On Fridays I get a bunch of these medical magazines and a bunch of these economic and technology magazines, their titles and headlines change from Friday to Friday. But it's like bulk that comes. And then I leaf through only those that are interesting. Like I don't have time to read them all. Participant in the HOME group in media landscape interview (481)

Some participants had consciously decided to use only specific titles, such as, the newspaper, to lessen the sense of media fragmentation in life. These situations with the morning newspaper were described as concentrated and peaceful before the workday. Similarly, some media titles fitted fragmented situations, because they were rather meaningless for the participants, or they were not considered something that needed concentration.

In addition, media content was seen as fragmented. Print media were often regarded as more relaxing to use than online media (see also Ytre-Arne, 2011a), but some participants felt that magazines seemed to be filled with odds and ends, instead of deep and focused articles. One participant shared her concern for visual fragmentation in resulting a deeper cultural impact on people's behaviour.

I've sometimes wondered that whether this restless, disorganised and splintered [visual] aggression has, for its part, a connection to that people often seem to be have a short attention span and anxious. What would people become like if they constantly were offered only this kind of visual stimuli? At the same time the decrease of harmonic and pleasant stimuli makes me sad. Participant in the NEWS group in online media diary (484)

There was a difference in perceiving media fragmentation between the participants in the YOUNG ADULTS group and the participants in the HOME and NEWS groups. Six out of the twelve 18–25 year-old participants (four female and one male) referred to fragmentation, but whereas the twelve participants in the HOME and NEWS groups talked about fragmentation with a stressful voice, the experiences of the younger participants were neutral and matter-of-fact perceptions of the media environment.

Fragmentation of life in general or the amount of available or accessible media titles was not addressed by the participants in the YOUNG ADULTS group. Six of these participants referred to fragmentation of media use (both fragmentation of attention between different platforms during simultaneous media use and the amount of time used with media), but in most cases they did not consider it a problem. Four of the participants mentioned they wanted to be available through social media at all times, and five participants referred to simultaneous media use, which they considered a good way of minimising waiting, for instance, during commercial breaks while watching television. The following participant perceived media use on the bus to minimise boredom.

On bus trips I won't put my mobile phone down even for a second. I'm constantly on "facebook" reading how my friends are doing or reading online news on "Iltasanomat.fi" and listening to music. I'm totally screwed if I forget my earphones at home or if the battery is too low to use the internet. I can't imagine going back to the time before smartphones, the bus rides would be exhaustingly boring. Participant of the YOUNG ADULTS group in online media diary (463)

Only one participant in the YOUNG ADULTS group addressed the excessive amount of time spent using media. She reduced her mobile and online media use during the diary period as she realised the vast amount of time she was online. The other participants depicted "getting stuck" in online environments more as a fact of life rather than a problem.

Fragmentation – whether of media life, media use situations or media content, or the amount of media titles in one's life – was most stressful for the 45–55 year-old (mostly female) participants in the HOME and NEWS groups, of which twelve detected some formation of. These participants also had the widest personal media landscapes. On the contrary, the participants in the YOUNG ADULTS group did not refer to fragmentation with an anxious voice; six of them mentioned it, but for them it seemed to be a normal feature of everyday media life.

The older participants also had strategies for managing media fragmentation, such as, limiting the amount of media titles in use or concentrating only on the most interesting titles. Sometimes rather fixed media selections are seen as a way of tackling the endless amount of media titles (Taneja et al., 2012; Webster & Ksiazek, 2012). However, in this research, the novel approach to people's personal media landscapes – all the titles the participants use both regularly and randomly, and also the titles they have used previously – indicated no conscious controlling of media use by means of media selections. Examining ways of controlling media fragmentation would, subsequently, require an altogether different research setting and questions.

4.7 Conclusion

The focus in this chapter was on how fragmentation of media use emerges in the personal media landscapes and everyday lives of the participants. Furthermore, especially the visual personal media landscapes but also the top-10 lists indicate the media preferences of the participant groups.

The participants in the group TEENS were the only ones who regularly produced their own media content, in most cases blogs. The most important media for them included blogs, other online content and social media services and also entertaining television series. They followed news content less than the participants in the adult groups but followed more magazines than the 18–25 year-old participants. The 45–55 year-old participants in the HOME and NEWS groups mentioned many news titles as the most important ones. This can be seen as increasing of social desirability (e.g. Höijer, 1999) during sorting process in the media landscape interview, but at the same time the partici-

pants in other groups did not have the same amount of news titles among the top-10.

In my research, fragmentation of media use and the media choices of the participants were analysed both qualitatively and quantitatively, even though the sample size was relatively limited. I concentrated on the micro-level fragmentation – the fragmentation of individual participants' media use. The analyses were mainly grounded on media landscape interviews. Before the media landscape interviews, the participants were asked to record their media experiences and the media titles they used in online media diaries for two weeks. These titles were eventually assembled into a card deck for media landscape interviews, in which the participants sorted those media titles they followed or were acquainted with under eight categories. In addition to media landscape interviews, online media diaries and ethnographic visits provided information of the dozens of titles people face in their everyday lives and also about their sense of media fragmentation.

The personal media landscapes revealed the number of media titles followed and fragmentation at the individual micro-level. Especially in the HOME group, the average extent of the personal landscapes was huge: 101 irregularly or more frequently followed media titles. The youngest participants in the research mentioned the smallest amount of titles in their personal media landscapes. The TEENS group had an average size of 67 titles, and the YOUNG ADULTS group yielded the lowest average number of media titles in their personal media landscapes: 63. On the contrary, the YOUNG ADULTS had the most singularly named media titles (titles that only one participant named) among their lists of 21 most important titles, 32, whereas the amount of singularly named titles in the older participants' groups was below twenty.

This finding demonstrates that the media choices of the participants in the YOUNG ADULTS group were particularly individualised, as their personal media landscapes were the narrowest of all the groups, and at the same time, they had the highest number of singularly named media titles among the most important titles. An opposite example of this result was the TECH group, in which the 35–45 year-old participants had on average 73 titles in their personal media landscapes (the second smallest amount amongst the adult groups), and that had thirteen, the least singularly named media titles on their top-21 lists, which means that they had the highest amount of commonly named titles within the lists.

There are some possible explanations behind the individualisation of media titles in the YOUNG ADULTS group. Individualisation of media preferences can be seen as a direct and self-evident cause of media fragmentation. As there are more media titles available, people have more possibilities of choosing between that content that is of their interest, for instance, by using search engines. In this research, especially the media preferences within the YOUNG ADULTS group were individualised based on the personal interests of the participants. They followed more international online titles than the other adult groups, and also named more singular media titles (titles that only one participant named) on their top-21 lists. These singularly named titles indicated their

personal interests and need to find deeper and more knowledgeable information about these topics. The participants in the YOUNG ADULTS group also used *Google* more, and more diversely than the older participants. Another reason behind individualisation of media preferences is the individual topics of interests that have an effect on media choices: hobbies and profession, which were the most important reasons behind the individualised media choices of the participants in the TECH, HOME, and NEWS groups. However, as Webster and Ksiazek's (2012, pp. 49–50) results indicate, many of the media titles that different audiences follow are the popular titles of large brands, but obviously variation and individualised preferences occur.

For many, in particular the 45–55 year-old participants in the HOME and NEWS groups, fragmentation translated into too many available media titles, or scattered media content, even though their media use was fairly traditional without the constant flow of online feeds. They also had specific ways of controlling media fragmentation, such as limiting the amount of media titles in everyday life. The participants in the YOUNG ADULTS group did not consider media fragmentation stressful, even though six of them referred to fragmentation of everyday media life as a matter of fact.

The present study and evidence of fragmentation indicate that in order to grasp audiences' experiences of media fragmentation in general and their individual media choices, personal media landscapes, audience researchers should adopt more qualitative methods, of which media landscape interviews is one example. As a method, media landscape interviews provided the visual outcomes in order to show the diversity of those media and titles individuals and groups encounter in their everyday lives. Personal media landscapes are, however, only the first step in exploring what makes those media titles engaging that are chosen. In the next chapter I begin my analysis from the media experiences and practices the participants associated with the engaging media titles.

5. Engagement and everyday media practices

The previous chapter approached engagement with media from the perspective of personal media landscapes and lists of the most important media titles. This section continues with a focus on those practices and experiences that the participants considered engaging and on media titles associated with the engaging practices.

The analyses concern those engaging media practices that were heightened from more mundane media use, the social and solitary experiences that were associated with the use of many engaging media and the ways the participants evaluated engaging media titles and genres.

In this chapter, the analyses examine and describe those engaging everyday practices and contexts that prevail in people's lives when using media and which also have an effect on choosing which media to use, when, where and with whom. The analyses of media engagement through everyday practices and experiences are presented from three angles:

- 1) Media practices that were associated with the important media titles in the everyday life, in Section 5.1.
- 2) Engaging social and solitary media practices at homes, in Section 5.2.
- 3) Practices related to audiencehood when talking about engaging media, in Section 5.3.

The analyses in this chapter are based on online media diaries, media landscape interviews and short ethnographic visits to the homes of the participants. The data are based on the speech of the participants; the importance of rituals, social and solitary media practices, as such, was not addressed with the participants directly, and the 'engagingness' of the titles and genres was identified in the participants' oral reports. Routines and regular media use were asked about in the pre-survey in the online media diaries, but these recurring practices emerged in the other data, as well. The data were coded on *Atlas.ti* on two rounds. During the first round were highlighted the engaging and disengaging experiences, and during the second round, the coding was based on theoretical concepts, such as routines and rituals and different forms of social

and solitary practices. The analyses in this chapter are mainly informed by the second round of analysis.

The participants whose media use and practices are examined in this chapter are: twelve 18–25 year-old readers and users of *Hs.fi*, *Ruutu* and *Cosmopolitan* (online site for national newspaper, online TV service, monthly women's magazine) referred to as YOUNG ADULTS, ten 35–45 year-old male readers of *Tekniikan Maailma* (bimonthly special interest magazine related to technology and vehicles) referred to as TECH, twelve 45–55 year-old female readers of *Kotiliesi* (bimonthly women's general interest magazine) referred to as HOME, and twelve 45–55 year-old readers of *Suomen Kuvalehti* (weekly news magazine) referred to as NEWS. All the data were collected in the Personal Media Day programme in cooperation with Finnish media publishers during 2012–2013. For detailed descriptions of participant groups and the respective media titles, see Section 3.1.

5.1 Routine media practices

In the present research, routine media use was examined in the data in three ways. First, participants were asked in the pre-questionnaire of the online media diaries about *regular use of media titles* (e.g. following a specific TV series on a weekly basis) and as more automated *routines* (e.g. checking *Facebook* automatically as the first activity every morning). These two forms of regular media use will be referred to as routine media practices in the remaining part of the chapter, as there was little difference between these titles, and many participants considered these conceptions as overlapping. Second, recurring media use was examined in the other data, i.e. in the participants' descriptions of their media use in the media diaries and in their speech in the interview data in media landscape interviews and ethnographic visits. Third, media routines were also considered spatial features of media use in the participant homes during the ethnographic visits.

In general, in all the four groups, media use was routine. In the pre-questionnaire, eleven out of twelve participants in the YOUNG ADULTS group, six out of ten in the TECH group, twelve out of twelve in the HOME group and ten out of eleven in the NEWS group answered that they used specific media or titles regularly or routinely. There were, however, differences between the groups in which titles were used routinely. In the YOUNG ADULTS group, ten participants mentioned routine use of *Facebook*, four participants reading the online site of the national newspaper, *Hs.fi*, and three participants mentioned mobile surfing in specific contexts. Three of the participants in the TECH group followed the national newspaper in the morning, three mentioned listening to the radio routinely, for instance, while driving to work, and three participants checked online news throughout the day. In the HOME and NEWS groups, printed newspaper was the most common routine media title in the participants' everyday lives. Eight participants in both the HOME and NEWS groups mentioned reading the national newspaper, *Hel-singin Sanomat*, daily or almost daily. In the HOME group, other routinely

used media were magazines, weekly television series and online titles related to one's individual interests or work. In the NEWS group, six participants mentioned regularly watching newscasts on TV, and four participants frequently read online news during the day.

Especially in the written data in the online media diaries, the participants reported recurring media practices, or using the same media and titles every day. During the two-week diary period, some of them were even surprised about their evident routines as they were observing their own media use. At the beginning of the period, their descriptions of the daily media experiences were longer and more detailed, but after a few days they began to summarise the routines, for instance,

I just noticed that my life is really boring. Every morning the same activities, at the same time. Always "Helsingin Sanomat" and news. Participant 427 in the HOME group

These comments indicate some automaticity, or even unconscious actions that are associated with specific recurring activities (LaRose, 2010). The participants referred to routine media as something that *belongs* to their day, something that occurs "always", "often", "every morning", "daily" "weekly" as well as "habitual" or "routinely".

Even though only six TECH participants mentioned using media titles routinely in the pre-questionnaire, in the remaining part of the diary period or other methodical phases nine out of ten referred to routine media use. Most of the participants in the TECH group provided less in-depth descriptions of their media experiences in the media diaries than the participants in the HOME and NEWS groups, and thus their copy-pasted lines were easy to recognise. The participants in the TECH group described their media use in a neutral way without highlighting any specific media titles.

Television is always on around half eight, whether you watch it or not, but it's always in the background. It's like the evening routine of our family. But it's quite rare that I would watch and concentrate on it, I usually glance at it with one eye. Participant in the TECH group in media landscape interview (450)

During the ethnographic visits, all participants in all groups referred to their routine ways of using media at homes. There were specific places for reading magazines, reading the newspaper, watching the television, or using the laptop for watching television content. Various factors contributed to these situations: for instance, the lightning had to be good for reading print media, the direction of windows had to be correct to prevent reflections on TV or computer screens, the couch and chairs had to be comfortable to sit for a longer time, or the table had to be large enough in order to spread the newspaper on it. Thus, the homes had specific *media floor plans*.

The participants in the YOUNG ADULTS group had smaller homes, and thus their media use took place in smaller space and fewer rooms. The older participants in the TECH, HOME and NEWS groups had more possibilities of choosing in which room they placed, for instance, the television set.

5.1.1 Recurring daily, weekly and weekend rituals

In contrast to the mundane descriptions of media experiences in the TECH group, many participants in the HOME and NEWS groups associated meaningful experiences and activities with those titles that they used from day to day and week to week. Six participants in the HOME group and seven in the NEWS group associated meaningful features with the daily use of specific media. In addition, eight participants in the HOME group, four in the YOUNG ADULTS group and three in the NEWS group emphasised the use and situations with specific media titles they used regularly, for instance, weekly, on weekends, or monthly.

The special moments were often referred to as a ritual or a rite, and at the same time, the moments were described as routine or habit. They also used descriptions such as “important”, “very important”, “wonderful”, “enjoyment”, “luxury” and “sense of belonging” when they discussed these special moments. Thus, these special and heightened moments are called *rituals*. Rituals, as such, were not asked directly about of the participants, but they emerged in the data.

Six out of twelve participants in the HOME group and seven out of eleven in the NEWS group linked special features to their use of specific daily titles. Eleven of these thirteen participants mentioned the moment with the printed newspaper in the morning, and one participant the morning news show on TV. Even though the daily practice of reading the newspaper seemed to be a custom that had its slot on the day schedule, the practice was, at the same time, heightened from the other daily practices. These participants described the important titles in a positive way, and some of them regarded the relationship to the title as an addiction. Furthermore, two participants mentioned routine watching of daily soaps after coming home from work, and two participants mentioned their habit of reading a book in the evening before going to sleep.

Whereas daily routines and rituals were often associated with news titles, weekly routines were associated with TV series and weeklies. Weekly routines emerged, for example, in relation to TV programme schedules. Especially those participants that had small children at home referred to the programme schedule of the TV and mentioned following those series that were being broadcasted, for instance, after nine.

In addition, the participants in the HOME and NEWS groups had specific media routines for weekends and days off. What eventually differentiated these from each other was the amount of available time. The newspaper was read in peace in the morning and experiences of relaxation were reported. Two participants mentioned that on weekend mornings, the TV was on, and they accentuated that it was not the news they watched but entertaining TV series. Thus, the moment of leisure was given priority and it was differentiated from the everyday routines.

5.1.2 Ritualistic features

What made the situations with the specific engaging titles rituals, then? Most of the ritualistic features that emerged in the participants' reports in relation to the ritual use of engaging titles were *social*, *multisensory* related to the *special moment* of media use (see also Ytre-Arne, 2011d, p. 219) and *nostalgia*.

First, six participants emphasised the importance of social experiences, which materialized, for instance, as giving importance to sharing the newspaper, discussing news with colleagues later during the day, or spending time with family members watching television. In these cases, both the media title and the social experience associated with media use were deemed of significance.

Second, different kinds of multisensory experiences were associated with ritual media practices. All in all seven participants in the NEWS and HOME groups addressed the combination of the morning newspaper and breakfast, and four participants associated food or wine with reading magazines, for instance, as a reward. In addition, also the material of the newspaper, the way it rustled, or the scent of printed books were mentioned.

Third, many participants emphasised the importance of the moment itself when describing the ritualistic practices with the engaging media titles. In these cases the ritual was temporal. Five participants described warmly the daily practice of reading the newspaper and taking it easy before the workday. Two of them reported allocating time for reading the newspaper in the morning, and they set the alarm on early enough. Furthermore, five participants mentioned especially the weekend ritual with the morning newspaper. These participants enjoyed the peaceful moment without having to rush to work. Interestingly, three participants mentioned the importance of following the news in general, and if the normal (national) newspaper was unavailable, it was replaced with another title. The entwining of the ritual and routine emerged in occasions in which the participant was away from the usual spatial situation, i.e. away from home. In the following citation, the meaning of the material ritual is concrete when the usual medium is replaced with another print title. Thus, the actual media title is not the most important component of the media practice.

It's like they ["Vartti", "Uusimaa", local free newspapers] are easing the withdrawal symptoms from it ["Helsingin Sanomat"]. Like you need to have the newspaper in the morning, and something that rustles. They are totally different, they have topics different from "Helsingin Sanomat". They are local, from the region where you are. Participant in HOME group in online media diary 425

Furthermore, three participants mentioned the ritual and temporal evening practices that were associated with watching newscasts or television series and reading a book. One participant in the HOME group parked herself daily by the television for the main newscast of the public broadcaster. The same participant engaged with the TV series *Downton Abbey*, and as she wanted to see the series when it was first broadcasted in Finland, she made sure that she was at home at that time. During the ethnographic visit, she explained how she wanted to have finished the domestic work before the series started, and the

washing machine could not be on while she was watching the television. She said that during her favourite series “everything else has to stop”.

Fourth, the experience of nostalgia was associated with many engaging media titles in all the groups. One participant in the TECH group, four both in the HOME and YOUNG ADULTS groups and two in the NEWS group constructed the meaning of titles through their memories from the childhood or their own relationship with the title. Nostalgia and tradition were often intertwined with the sense of familiarity and safety, which refer to ontological security, often referred to in media studies (Giddens, 1991; Silverstone, 1994). Especially the national newspaper, but also some magazine titles, the way the public TV broadcaster produced and presented their news and turning on the morning television show were associated with experiences of nostalgia. The tradition from parents, even from grandparents, seemed to strengthen engagement with the media title that had been present in one’s life from the childhood. The following citation describes one participant’s long relationship with a television series.

Those are the kinds of [TV] series, like when I’m really tired and I’m at home, I watch them and get a good mood. Easy feeling. Like this “How I Met Your Mother”, they have an awesome screenwriter. I locate this series in the second [category of importance]. It has been the backbone of my life for the past eight years. [laughter] [...] It’s really cool, really, really cool. And good actors as well, I think it’s nice to have kind of categorised persons. It’s the same with “Friends”. [...] Relaxing to watch, fun to watch. 18–25 year-old participant in media landscape interview 471

Two participants in the HOME group reflected on the media floor plan of their homes during the ethnographic visit. One of them had set the television with her husband so that it was not visible to the kitchen and dining area. The other one, who engaged with quality TV series, such as *Borgen* and *Downton Abbey*, had the best television set of the household in her own room. After she had put her daughters to sleep, she was able to lie on her bed and watch her favourite series either on television, or alternatively on digital recorder.

5.1.3 The illusion of the importance of media use

Even though the above-mentioned sections described engaging routine and ritualistic media practices and use of specific titles, many times everyday media use also seemed to be meaningless. If the above-mentioned descriptions of multisensory and ritual situations with specific media titles were seen as apparent forms of meaningful media engagements, the opposite to it might be meaningless.

Six participants in the HOME group, three in the NEWS group and one in the TECH group referred to the meaninglessness of media. Meaninglessness emerged in the participants’ accounts as references to media as a secondary activity (for instance, at the summer cottage where there were various other things to do) or “waste of time”, explaining that following specific titles only “kills time”, rather than has a purpose of use. In addition, meaninglessness

emerged in practice as not saving titles, not concentrating on the title, or not allocating time for specific titles.

Furthermore, five participants in the YOUNG ADULTS group expressed spontaneously their disinterest in news media. Even though news media were in many cases the routine, ritualistic and engaging media titles in the older participant groups, the 18–25 year-old participants were not that keen on following the news.

Well, I don't do it that much [follow news]. I've noticed that I'm really not that interested in world events and big world politics and others. Like I read about it occasionally. Like to be aware of something. Participant in the YOUNG ADULTS group in media landscape interview 461

In conclusion, the everyday media use of most participants seemed, according to their online media diaries, media landscape interviews and ethnographic visits, to be a routine and linked with weekly, daily and clock times.

However, the media and titles that were used routinely differed between the groups. The participants in the YOUNG ADULTS group used online and social media regularly and routinely, whereas the participants in the HOME and NEWS groups followed more print and TV titles, for instance, newspapers, TV newscasts, weekly television series and magazines. The participants in the TECH group used newspaper, online news and the radio regularly. The participants in the TECH group described their routines in a neutral way, whereas many participants in the HOME and NEWS groups gave special meanings to specific titles by associating ritual features with them.

The practices, which were here described as rituals were social (sharing the title or the moment with others), multisensory (gustatory and tactile), and emphasised the special experience of the moment (temporal, concentration, relaxation). These ritual features were associated with the use of engaging titles, which were also used routinely. On the one hand, these practices were described as routines or habits, and at the same time, they were given ritualistic qualities both in speech and in practice. Hereby, routines and rituals were complementary experiences. Routines occurred daily and weekly, but even though they might have been automatic or unconscious to some extent, they were not meaningless for the participants. Instead, they emerged as meaningful and engaging experiences.

The following section departs from a fairly different perspective: important solitary and social experiences and practices that were associated with media use.

5.2 Social settings at homes

The following analysis is based on online media diaries, media landscape interviews and ethnographic visits. The focus is on the meaning of the presence or influence of other people on media choices or media use situations. Media practices and the experiences the participants wanted to conduct either socially or in solitary are under examination. Those social situations are excluded that had no major social impact on the participants' media choices in their oral

report, as the objective of the analysis is engagement with media and the type of practices that are considered engaging. For example, the use of online social media (Vainikka & Herkman, 2013), or keeping in contact with others (Christensen & Røpke, 2010) are not addressed in this section. Instead, those practices and experiences in which *social* or *solitary* was a significant factor of media engagement are examined. The following analyses indicate that various social settings and situations influenced the participants' media choices, even to the extent that the social experience overrode the importance of media content (see also Hasebrink & Domeyer, 2012, p. 769).

Various social and solitary features had an effect on the media use and choices of the participants in all the four groups. Many participants in the TECH, HOME and NEWS groups had small children or teenagers sharing the home with their parents, and subsequently it was common to prefer using specific media titles alone, without interference. Vice versa, many appreciated the shared media activities of the family and media titles that suited also children were valued. On the contrary, ten out of twelve participants in the YOUNG ADULTS group lived alone, and thus they did not have to adjust their media practices to other people's schedules. However, social media experiences were important for them as well.

Social practices emerged in the everyday media life of the participants in various ways: as a preference to use media alone or directly planning and scheduling media use in order to concentrate in solitary, or choosing media content to have a social experience and reporting on unwanted solitary media use.

5.2.1 Scheduling media use to concentrate in solitary

Many participants, especially in the TECH, HOME and NEWS groups scheduled their media use to concentrate on it in peace and quiet. Many of the participants in these groups had children or teenagers sharing the home, and this might have had an effect on media use and choices, so that the participants were unable to concentrate fully on media. Two out of ten participants in the TECH group, five out of twelve in the HOME group and five out of eleven in the NEWS group either preferred to watch or read media alone to concentrate, or then they scheduled their media use according to the schedules of the other family members to manage it alone or to decrease disturbance (e.g. noise while others were sleeping).

I tend to watch TV really little, a week might pass by without watching anything. The main reason is that there is nothing worth watching for when I had time (which is after nine). Participant in TECH group in online media diary (449)

Sometimes everyday life in families allowed no peaceful moments. One participant in the HOME group said that she just takes her seat on the couch, picks up a magazine and reads. If someone was noisy in the immediate proximity, she just shouted "Shut up!" In addition, contradictions within the families emerged. Two participants in the NEWS group were married to each other.

The husband took his time to concentrate on media, and he was not disturbed by the children. The wife, however, felt that their children were more attached to her and thus she could not find suitable moments for her solitary media use. She scheduled her media use more according to the children's sleeping times.

Even though the majority of the participants in the YOUNG ADULTS group lived alone, two participants also reported the preference to concentrate on specific, important media content (a TV programme and a magazine) without the presence of other people.

Yeah, I can watch for example "Voice of Finland" and "Vain Elämä" [another music-related reality TV series] when I'm with someone. I think it's quite nice that you can comment with others. And "Putous" [comedy show on TV] also in company. But then "Prison Break" and "This Is England", they are like, I really watch them. I think it's irritating if someone's prattling there, and I can't concentrate. Participant in the YOUNG ADULTS group in media landscape interview (471)

5.2.2 Choosing media content in order to have a social experience

Especially for the participants in the YOUNG ADULTS, HOME and NEWS groups, shared media situations with family or friends were important. Six out of twelve participants in both the YOUNG ADULTS and the HOME groups and four out of eleven in the NEWS group reported media experiences that were engaging precisely due to the social feature.

In fact the most pleasant media experience is related to Saturday evening: we watched the second episode of "Midsomer Murders" with my husband. The previous episode we had seen in the previous week at our holiday cottage. It was lovely to see the English countryside, experience a bit of anxiety, hear the language and relax together. The leading actor, John Nettles, is Bergerac from our youth in the 1980s. Participant in the HOME group in online media diary (432)

Two or three participants in all the four groups justified their media use by the social experience. One participant in the HOME group had a Friday evening movie ritual at home with her daughters. She let them choose the film even when she disliked the content. Nevertheless, she tried to watch the film with her daughters, with varying success. Another participant considered that, for example, watching television was a good way of spending time with the family members even when one was not thrilled about the content.

Well, if we consider these TV series, "Mentalist", "House", and "Emmerdale". If I watch something on the television, it's those series that start at nine, they fit my schedule. And it's nice to sit with my wife on the couch for an hour, and watch them together, because she watches TV quite a lot. So I might sit there only for the company, and watch whatever is on. Participant in the NEWS group in media landscape interview (480)

One participant and her husband in the HOME group had a habit of choosing one TV series at a time and watch it together in the evenings. This participant described warmly this intimate experience. She also let her husband decide the

series in order to continue the habit, and she was disappointed if her husband did not want to start following those series that she had chosen.

It's sharing, we share the moment together, and the closeness of the other. We sit next to each other, really close, and the other one holds a hand on the other one's leg. It's the touch that is important in it. Especially my husband is really busy at work, and we haven't seen each other that much. Participant in the HOME group during ethnographic visit 431

5.2.3 Solitary media use

A flip side of the coin was the lack of social experiences. One participant in the HOME group, who lived alone, elaborated on her loneliness and its effect on media use in general. She longed for company, which she occasionally had when she was visiting her parents who lived on the other side of the country. This participant also said that she often turns on the television at home to have a sense of company.

There you noticed how the situation was different when the parents were there. There [on TV] were a lot of things that my dad commented, and told his own anecdotes. If I'm alone the experience of having other people there is lacking, and it's something that I actually miss sometimes. [...] And it's easier to laugh out loud if you're with others. Participant in the HOME group in online media diary (428)

One participant in the YOUNG ADULTS group had a solution for watching TV together with her friends even though they were not physically in the same place.

In the evening we arranged a "Facebook" date with my friend, whom with we always watch so called frivolous programmes. We agreed to watch "together" "Viidakon tähtöset 2" ["Reality Queens of the Jungle"] programme on "Sub" channel. We were both at the same time on Facebook and we commented on the series on the chat. When the programme ended, we agreed that next we'll watch "Love Cruise" on "Liv" channel. We also commented on that programme. When that programme ended, we also ended the discussion. All in all it took about 2 hours. It was fun, and it felt if I'd been with a friend, even if physically we were not in the same place. Participant in the YOUNG ADULTS group in media diary (463)

Even though many participants emphasised the importance of social media experiences, the everyday media life in the families also seemed to be "dispersed" (Livingstone, 2002, p. 137). The participants' homes often had more than one TV set. Some participants elaborated their media routines, of which may have been precisely dispersed: different family members were following their preferred titles in different rooms. In addition, personal and shared mobile devices, such as, iPads and laptops made it possible to follow media around homes in different social, temporal and spatial contexts. One participant in YOUNG ADULTS group told of her and her spouse's habit of watching TV content alone together.

At home we watched "This is England" mini series, and we spent three hours with it. We watched it together with my spouse. Although he was one episode

ahead of me and, and was watching it on his laptop, and I watched another episode on my laptop. Social! Participant in the YOUNG ADULTS group in media diary (465)

Some studies suggest that young adults’ households are highly individualised especially in terms of television viewing (Bjur, 2009, p. 250). This research provided evidence supporting this (for instance, the couple who watched the same TV series on their own laptops, sitting on the couch side by side), but also opposing examples of social media being used in an innovative way. For example, one participant chatted on *Facebook* messenger with her friend as they were watching broadcasted TV series in their own homes. Hence, social television viewing may be taking also other forms that disregard the physical place.

Figure 27 (below) illustrates the occurrence of social and solitary activities within and between the participant groups. As can be seen, those participants that referred only to solitary activities were not as many as those who referred to only social, or both social and solitary activities. Media practices linking social activities were common especially in the YOUNG ADULTS and HOME groups. The figure is only based on those participants who at some point referred to the social or solitary activities associated with media use (which makes 28 participants out of 45).

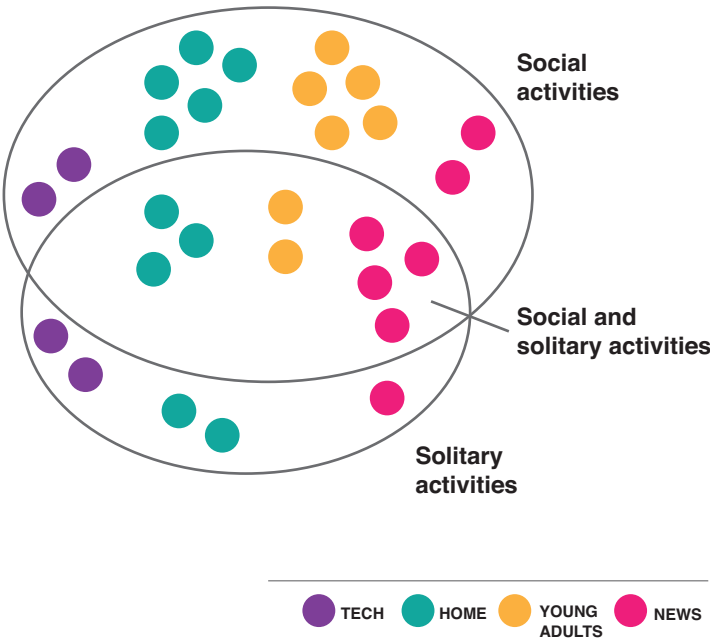


Figure 27. Occurrence of social and solitary activities within groups.

In conclusion, media experiences that included or excluded social activities with other people were common. Two participants in both the YOUNG ADULTS and TECH groups and five participants in both the HOME and

NEWS groups reported having media titles, which they preferred to concentrate on and enjoy alone without interruptions.

In order to use media alone, these participants arranged their schedules according to the practices and schedules of their family members, or they followed such media titles as television series that fitted their own schedules. The social experiences were more appreciated by the female participants who placed special emphasis on the social experiences. Especially for those participants who were parents of small children or teenagers, solitary moments with important media titles seemed to function as relaxation from the everyday life and a break from the constant interaction with other people. The position of social – and solitary – media experiences at homes indicates that the homes had *social floor plans*, which included the social, spatial and temporal arrangements and situations at homes. The social settings (Helle-Valle & Slette-meås, 2008, p. 49; Silverstone, 1994, p. 33), or the relationships between the family members, affected media use at the home environment, and the routines of family members were intertwined in ways that affected media use and choices.

5.3 Practices related to audiencehood when talking about engaging media

The following sub-sections propose a brief analysis of the meta-perspective on the participants' conceptions of themselves as audiences (Höijer, 1999, p. 179), which will be approached through their own accounts of how they evaluated the media titles they used and engaged with in their everyday lives. Whereas media semiotics concentrates on the interpretation of the text (e.g. Heikkilä & Ahva, 2015), the following analysis draws on the genres and titles the participants engaged with and which they enjoyed following regularly. The participants' own and spontaneous accounts are considered as a practice related to audiencehood, as these articulations disclose the meaning making behind their media choices. Hence, the participants' speech here, the meaning making regarding the preferences and dislikes, is considered an audience practice preceding the concrete activities of, e.g. reading or clicking (Costera Meijer & Kormelink, 2015), or the kind of routine and social practices that were analysed earlier in this chapter.

In their reports the participants in the TECH, HOME and NEWS groups differentiated two engaging categories and one disengaging category. The engaging categories consisted, on the one hand, of entertaining series and magazines related to their interests, and on the other, of news and other informational titles. The disengaging category contained, for instance, reality TV series and evening papers.

Even though the parts of speech in which the participants directly conceptualised themselves as specific types of media users are deliberately excluded, this analysis must acknowledge a common phenomenon in audience and media studies: the contradictions in people's speech and practices regarding informational and useful versus entertaining and relaxing media titles (Hermes,

1995; Höijer, 1999). News and documentaries are often said to constitute a favourite kind of content, whereas gossip magazines and TV soaps are not preferred – at least without ironizing them (Hasebrink & Domeyer, 2012; Hermes, 1995, p. 62), which can be seen as resulting from building and renegotiating identities through media choices (Peterson, 2010; Silverstone, 1994). Furthermore, in a research field, where news content and entertainment have traditionally been seen as dichotomies (Madianou, 2005), and where studies tend to maintain this juxtaposition by treating information and entertainment as opposites (e.g. Trilling & Schoenbach, 2013, p. 934), the interviewees might also feel that there is a requirement for preferring news over entertainment, fact over fiction, or learning over relaxation, which also result from cultural tendencies (Höijer, 1999, p. 189).

Similarly to the previous analyses in this chapter, also the present one is based on the 1) online media diaries in which the participants described their media experiences, 2) the interview data from the media landscape interviews in which all the media titles were sorted under eight categories of importance, and 3) the interviews during the ethnographic visits.

5.3.1 Evaluating engaging media titles and genres

The 35–55 year-old participants in the TECH, HOME and NEWS groups shared a rather unanimous opinion about which media titles, brands and genres were considered engaging and good. On the one hand, they appreciated *entertaining media titles*, and on the other, *informational titles*. In addition, one opposite, disengaging category emerged. The groups differed also in how they defined these categories. Interestingly, the 18–25 year-old participants in the YOUNG ADULTS group did not define clear-cut categories in their reports.

Category of engaging informational titles

Despite the minor nuances between the features that were associated with the category of engaging informational media and the titles classified in it, this engaging category is named *engaging informational titles*, as the titles were all fact-based and the emphasis was on following in-depth and trustworthy information and on sophisticating oneself.

In the TECH, HOME and NEWS groups, informational titles were often news media. The most engaging news titles were those that belonged to the product families of *Helsingin Sanomat* (national newspaper) and *YLE* (public broadcaster). Four TECH participants, nine HOME participants and seven NEWS participants spontaneously mentioned *Helsingin Sanomat* and *YLE* as trustworthy, with sufficient resources to produce quality and in-depth content. The differences between the groups emerged in the adjectives in defining the informational category, and in placing genres and titles in the category.

The most frequently recurring vocabulary behind the evaluation of engaging informational titles for ten NEWS participants included “factual”, “fact-based”, “factual content”, “factual journalism” and “matter-of-fact expression”. In addition, “vision”, “in-depth”, “comprehensiveness”, “backgrounding” and “pro-

fessional touch”, such as the syntax of language, increased reliability and quality in media. The participants in the NEWS group engaged with politics and information in general and appreciated a variety of news titles including *Suomen Kuvalehti*, documentaries and current topics programs and talk shows on television.

Even if it's totally idiotic it works. There is a row of people behind the table and they chortle at each others' tales. I think they are smart people. [...] But I like the topics and they are witty. And from time to time, pretty uninhibited. I think it's good entertainment. Not fact-based content, but good entertainment. Participant in the NEWS group in media landscape interview (473)

Five participants in the TECH group appreciated especially “neutral approach” and “objectivity”, “fact-based policy” and “expertise”. These male participants appreciated topics such as history and culture, and valued, for instance, TV documentaries, *Wikipedia* and *Tekniikan Maailma*.

For eight participants in the HOME group, “sophistication” and “societal interestingness”, “realism” and “rationality”, “in-depth” and “trustworthiness”, “backgrounding” and “new knowledge” were behind their evaluations of which titles and genres were engaging in the engaging informational category. The participants in this group valued content related to history, culture, society and environment, and for them the engaging informational titles included specific special interest magazines related to their individual interests, documentary television series and current topics programs.

Category of engaging entertaining titles

The participants in the TECH, HOME and NEWS groups had a shared conception of what they considered engaging entertainment. Four TECH participants, all twelve HOME participants and seven NEWS participants reflected on their choices of entertaining titles and what made entertainment engaging. The category of good entertainment is here labelled as *engaging entertainment*.

Shared engaging entertaining titles in the HOME and NEWS groups included, for instance, British detective series (*Hercule Poirot*, *Midsomer Murders*), and other quality TV series, such as *Mentalist* and *Downton Abbey*. In addition, *Master Chef Finland* was appreciated by the participants in the TECH, HOME and NEWS groups.

As informational content, also entertainment was expected, in many cases, to reach specific standards of quality. In general, more realistic and smart entertainment, learning, or finding new perspectives on the world through fictional content were considered engaging experiences. The factors of engaging entertainment were partly medium-specific. For instance, in magazines the genre of rhetorics or language, or the lack of ‘useless’ celebrities increased the sense of quality. In TV content, the quality of script, narrative and actors were engaging (see also Bird, 2003), whether the title was *Downton Abbey* or *Top Gear*.

“Top Gear” is awesome! That TV show is like... if you should be envious about something, you could envy those guys. Like they are ridiculously rich

and they make ridiculous amounts of money when doing the programme. That concept is really cool. [...] It doesn't make any sense, but it's extremely entertaining, and well designed and written narratives. Their humour gets me. Participant in the TECH group in media landscape interview (450)

Three participants in the HOME group found societal topics engaging entertainment. These experiences were provided by, for instance, *Vera Stanhope*, *Call the Midwife* and *Toisenlaiset frendit* (in English "Friends of another kind"), a Finnish good-mood reality programme about mentally disabled people.

The participants in the YOUNG ADULTS group engaged with all kinds of media content and genres from fashion blogs to entertaining TV series. However, also they used similar features in evaluating these titles, such as, "fact-based", "of quality", "trustworthy", or "standard of journalism". In this group, these features did not refer to only fact-based or news titles, but to everything from indie radio stations to international news titles, and from general discussion forums to fashion magazines.

"Costume" is the first magazine in Finland that has employed blogs and social media in making the magazine. Many of the articles are written by bloggers, or the content is based on polls or discussions on the online site [of the magazine]. Although, in my opinion the articles are shorter and somehow poorer in comparison to "Trendi" [another Finnish fashion magazine], of which texts have retained the quality. Participant in the YOUNG ADULTS group in media diary (465)

In addition, four participants in the YOUNG ADULTS group appreciated the quick updating of online content, whether the title was online news site, or online site related to their interests (e.g. *The Verge*, or *Something Awful*).

Category of disengaging entertainment

Five participants in both the TECH and NEWS groups, and six participants in the HOME group disliked some forms of entertainment, and a third category was identified in their speech that was perceived as a direct opposite to engaging informational titles. This third category is named as *disengaging entertainment*.

For many participants in the TECH, HOME and NEWS groups, the opposite to engaging informational titles was the printed versions of the two Finnish evening papers (even though their online news sites were frequently read) and the genre of reality-TV. In addition, the female participants in the HOME group considered many women's magazines and commercial TV channels to represent an opposing extreme to informational media. These opposite media and titles were described as "entertaining", "superficial", "frivolous", "filth", "attention-seeking" (e.g. evening papers) and "of poor quality".

Furthermore, the participants in the NEWS group found disengaging mistakes in facts or language, and in general, they were more critical towards all entertaining content, which for them meant also genres and topics, such as crime fiction, human interest stories, content related to food and wellbeing, or

attitude that was perceived as courting the audience. The participants in the HOME group disengaged with unrealistic, or commercial content, and they had five different words for frivolous or nonsense content (in Finnish: hömp-pä, höttö, höpö-höpö, höpötys, huuhaa).

The previous analysis did not comprise the participants' reports describing themselves as media users, or my interpretations of them. Instead, the analysis was founded on reports on those titles the participants claimed to engage (and disengage) with, and moreover, their expressed reasons for engaging and dis-engaging with them.

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter presented three separate but overlapping analyses of those practices and titles that the participants in the four groups engaged with in their everyday lives. Concerning this research, people's articulations (Bird, 2010, p. 91), their own categorisations (Couldry, 2010, p. 42) and local metaphors (Peterson, 2010, p. 129) were the most fruitful viewpoints to the media practices and everyday media lives of the participants. The participant groups investigated were: twelve 18–25 year participants (YOUNG ADULTS), ten 35–45 year-old male participants (TECH), twelve 45–55 year-old female participants (HOME) and 45–55 year-old participants (NEWS). The data in this chapter were based on the data in the online media diaries, media landscape interviews and ethnographic visits to participant homes.

The first analysis focused on the routine and ritual practices associated with those engaging titles the participants used on a daily and weekly basis. In general, the participants' media lives strongly followed routines. The majority of the titles the participants in the YOUNG ADULTS group followed routinely were online and social media, whereas the participants in the HOME and NEWS groups preferred print and TV titles, both news media and television series, but also online sites related to one's interests or work. The participants in the TECH group read the newspaper routinely, listened to the radio on the way to work, and checked online news during the day. Furthermore, media use at homes formed a media floor plan – the established location and use of media. Approximately half of the participants in the HOME and NEWS groups and four in the YOUNG ADULTS group associated ritual experiences with the engaging titles they used routinely, hence heightening these from the more mundane media use, both in speech and in practice. The ritual features were social (sharing the medium, discussing the content) and multisensory (tactile, gustatory), senses of nostalgia, and emphasising the moment of media use, for instance, relaxation, concentration and allocating time to use the title. Routines and rituals were complementary practices.

The second analysis identified the social and solitary practices that constituted a significant component of the participant media use. In particular, the homes of those participants in the TECH, HOME and NEWS groups who had small children or teenagers had social floor plans, which framed the social, temporal, and spatial settings at homes. People arranged their media practices

according to the schedules of their family members, either to have company while using media or to use media in solitary. Social activities associated with media use were more frequently mentioned by the participants in the YOUNG ADULTS and HOME groups. Sometimes the social experience was so engaging that it overrode the meaning of the actual media content. Social experiences were more appreciated by the female participants. In the YOUNG ADULTS group, in which the majority of the participants lived alone, social experiences were also important, but the participants did not emphasise them as much, possibly because they had better possibilities of concentrating on those titles they wanted and when they wanted. However, also some of these participants had found innovative ways of increasing the sense of social experiences even if they were alone in the physical location.

The third analysis revealed the practices of being an audience, audiencehood. The recurring ways of categorising – or not categorising – media surfaced through the participants' oral reports on and evaluations of their preferred media titles and genres. The participants in the TECH, HOME and NEWS groups addressed two engaging categories: informational media and entertaining media. Both categories were defined by attributes, such as factual, sophisticating, well-written, in-depth, trustworthy and of quality. The engaging titles were, for instance, news titles, documentary series, magazines related to one's interests, quality TV series such as *Master Chef Finland*, British detective series and *Downton Abbey*. They preferred such topics as politics, history, society, culture and environment. In addition, a disengaging category emerged as the opposite to the category of engaging informational titles, consisting of printed evening papers, unrealistic women's magazines and reality TV. This category was defined by attributes, such as light, frivolous, American, sensation seeking, rambling, commercial, filth, courting and containing useless knowledge. On the contrary, the participants in the YOUNG ADULTS group did not define such clear-cut categories regarding their media preferences or dislikes. Instead, they evaluated a variety of media, genres, and titles by the same criteria, for instance, quality of journalism and trustworthiness.

The previous analyses depict a portrait of the participants as media audiences from the perspective of everyday life. The analyses are founded on the participants' own accounts and practices and their preferred genres and titles. It must be noted that this conception of these audiences is everything but complete or neutral. Instead, it is coloured by the theoretical conceptions rooted in everyday life, like spatial, temporal and social perspectives, and neglect the audience paradigms of active audience, public or participation (Livingstone, 2013). However, they describe the participants as active meaning makers in evaluating media titles and genres and choosing between titles, as people whose everyday lives are composed of routines and engaging moments with media, and as people who want to spend time with family members and friends, as well as occasionally enjoy peaceful moments of concentrating on media.

What the analyses suggest is the importance of assessing everyday practices and media engagement in relation to the everyday life of people. Furthermore,

the various social, temporal and spatial contexts of everyday lives have an effect on media engagement and when, where and with whom media are used. These contexts may not be at all times under one's own control, which makes the engagement sometimes coincidental.

The media practice approach provided sound theoretical perspectives on engagement with media in everyday life. On the one hand, applying a wide perspective to everyday situations and other intertwined practices (Christensen & Røpke, 2010; Kjaerulff, 2010) and paying attention to people's own accounts of their practices and the meanings that are given to them (Peterson, 2010) have provided this analysis with the delicate details and contexts incorporated into media engagement. On the other hand, taking into account the impact of the time-based structures (Silverstone, 1994) and previous research concerning, for instance, the features of social and solitary experiences (Livingstone, 2002) enabled analysing the empirical data to engage in dialogue with other theoretical concepts and findings. Furthermore, media practices need to be contextualised with other everyday practices to not suggest that people's lives are media-centric, because often other activities override media use.

Each method that provided data for this chapter – online media diaries, media landscape interviews and ethnographic visits – had a role in the iterative research process. During the two-week period of online media diaries, the participants recorded their media routines and important media experiences with the engaging media titles. The information about the most engaging titles was further processed in the following methodical phases; in media landscape interviews the participants compared the engaging titles with similar ones that were not as engaging, and during ethnographic visits they were asked to represent practices related to the most engaging titles at home environment. Thus, the methods provided ethnographic interview data on a detailed level, offering a general view of the participants' everyday media life. In addition, ethnographic visits offered detailed information about the situational, temporal and social routines of using different media at home – the social floor plan and the media floor plan.

Whereas this chapter concentrated on the engaging practices the participants associated with titles across media, the next will focus on content of magazines. The participants' engagement with magazines will be under scrutiny from the viewpoint of the engaging and disengaging experiences that sustain – or weaken – the reader's engagement with a specific title.

6. Engaging with a magazine

Reader engagement has in previous literature been approached through, for example, the meaning of magazines to readers (Hermes, 1995), the relationship between the magazine and the reader, or magazines as “meaningful resources” for its readers (Ytre-Arne, 2011c) and the readership contract (Töyry, 2005). They all address the same issue: why readers consider magazines so engaging that they read them frequently or subscribe to them.

In the present research, engaging with a magazine is considered a multidimensional process that triggers various engaging and disengaging experiences, which contribute to the overall reader relationship. This chapter is interested in the most prominent elements of engagement with a magazine from the reader perspective and focuses on current and former subscribers’ engagement with three magazines: *Tekniikan Maailma* (bimonthly special interest magazine related to technology and vehicles; group TECH), *Kotiliesi* (bimonthly women’s general interest magazine; group HOME) and *Suomen Kuvalehti* (weekly news magazine; group NEWS). The participants were or had previously been subscribing to one of these magazines. The readers’ engagement with the magazine title is analysed through the engaging and disengaging experiences the participants expressed in their accounts and descriptions of the current or former relationships to these magazines.

The analyses examine the 35–45 and 45–55 year-old participants’ engagement with one of the three above-mentioned magazines. The analyses are mainly based on reading aloud interviews that directly focused on the participants’ experiences of reading a specific magazine she/he was or had been subscribing to, but also the preceding methods – media diaries, media landscape interviews and ethnographic visits – provided information about the readers’ engagement with the specific title, especially as comparisons with other titles and the practices of reading in the home environment. The reading aloud interviews provided information about the readers’ thoughts, reactions and experiences concerning the content in the magazines. In the interviews, the participants revealed content – whether text or visual, journalistic or commercial – that they regarded engaging or disengaging and elaborated on it in more detail. The questions during the interview were more focused on the content than in the previous methods, and all the participants were asked the same questions, as the object of the interview was the same magazine for all the participants within one group. As the questions directly concerned a specific magazine and its content, the reading aloud interviews provided detailed answers to what kind of content and topics are considered engaging or disengaging.

6.1 Studying magazine engagement through the four methods

In the following sections are analysed the engaging and disengaging experiences the participants in the three groups had about the specific magazine they were or had been subscribing to. The methodical phases are analysed separately in two parts: first, through the experiences that emerged in the reading aloud interviews, and second, through those that took place in the media diaries, media landscape interviews, and ethnographic visits. The latter three methods addressed all media use of the participants, including the specific magazine, whereas reading aloud interviews focused only on the specific magazine and its content. The experiences that emerged in the reading aloud interviews were closely related to the content, both visual and textual.

The reading aloud interviews consisted of three parts. First the participants were asked open-ended questions relating to their relationship to the magazine, for instance, why they liked or disliked the magazine. Engagement, as such, was not articulated directly, as the word does not translate well into Finnish. Instead, the participants were asked to describe their relationship with the magazine. The second part of the interview included the actual reading aloud session. As the participants had received the issue one or two weeks beforehand and had read it at home, they were already acquainted with the content. In the interview, the participants were asked to go through the whole issue and elaborate on their thoughts, experiences and reactions about the content. Finally the participants were asked open-ended questions of their afterthoughts about the magazine and their reading experience. They were asked to point out the most memorable, the most interesting and the most unnecessary articles or pieces of content. The questions can be found in Appendix 3 and more detailed information about the reading aloud interviews and the data analysis in Chapter 3 Methods and data.

The online media diaries, media landscape interviews and ethnographic visits examined all media use, and the variety of other media and titles was discussed during those interviews. The engaging and disengaging experiences of the three specific magazine titles (*Tekniikan Maailma*, *Kotiliesi*, *Suomen Kuvalehti*) stayed on the level of everyday media use and of practices of reading those magazines and were not related to specific textual or visual content of a specific issue. The written data (media diaries) and transcribed interview data (media landscape interviews and ethnographic visits) were analysed in a slightly different way from the data received from the reading aloud interviews. The data were coded on Atlas.ti by individual media titles and dozens of different engaging and disengaging experiences, so it was possible to cross-analyse these experiences.

The analyses that are based on the reading aloud interviews, refer to the *amount of mentions* within the group (see detailed descriptions of the data analysis of reading aloud interviews in section 3.6.2.) whereas the analyses that draw from media diaries, media landscape interviews and ethnographic visits report the *amount of participants who referred to a specific experience*. This is accomplished differently in comparison to the reading aloud interviews, because the data and the ways of analysing them were different.

Furthermore, especially the participants in the HOME and TECH groups reflected on their relationship to *Kotiliesi* and *Tekniikan Maailma* as magazine titles through comparisons within the genres (of women's magazines, and technology- or car-related special interest magazines and online titles), and also between single titles. In all groups, the participants constructed their conception of singular magazine titles through the topics, perspectives and values in different magazines, through their own purposes of the use of the titles and through their own identity and life. Even though the relations between different magazines were not examined, the essence of the specific magazine title condensed especially in the comparisons between magazines of the same genre: what made it the magazine they were or had been subscribing to in relation to other media titles. Thus, also these perceptions of the magazine titles are analysed in the following title-specific analyses.

6.2 Engaging and disengaging with a special interest magazine of technology and vehicles, *Tekniikan Maailma*

In the TECH group, the online media diaries were completed with ten participants, media landscape interviews with seven, ethnographic visits with three, and finally, reading aloud interviews with six participants.

When the 35–45 year-old male participants in the TECH group in the reading aloud interviews were asked about the status of their relationship to the magazine and why they liked the magazine, the answers from both current and former subscribers were similar. They appreciated the same things in the magazine and for four out of six participants, nostalgia was or had been a reason for subscribing to the magazine. *Tekniikan Maailma* had been in the lives of these participants from early childhood or teenage years, as their father or brother had subscribed to it. In addition, remembering that *Tekniikan Maailma* is a special interest magazine, specific content, i.e. technology and vehicles, constituted the significant reason for five of the participants. Three participants also mentioned their work being related to the topics in the magazine, and so the magazine had a purpose outside private interests.

6.2.1 *Interesting and uninteresting as the most frequently mentioned engaging and disengaging experiences in reading aloud interviews*

In the reading aloud interviews, for the most participants in the TECH group frequently engaging experiences were associated with an interesting topic, angle to the topic, entertaining content, or useful or potentially useful content. The most frequently mentioned disengaging experiences were, consistently, uninteresting, lacked connection with one's life or topicality for oneself, or addressed the topic from a wrong viewpoint. Many of the experiences were closely related with one another.

The interestingness of an article or topic was mentioned 31 times in the reading aloud interviews. The three articles that were assessed as interesting by four or five participants were an article on 3D-printers, a comparison of smart phones, and an article on new (train) rail technologies. These articles

were considered inspiring because either they were about a current topic, or then they contained a fresh perspective to the topic. Similarly, the engaging experience of a relevant viewpoint, which was mentioned nine times, referred often to stories that were about a topic that is rarely written about.

Those 3D printers were really interesting, because we're about to get one at my workplace. The [prices] have gone down a great deal. [...] But this was article was really good because it stated that one probably shouldn't buy the cheapest one out there, like really useful article in that sense. Participant in the TECH group in reading aloud interview (451)

The engaging experience of entertainment was mentioned six times, and it was mostly associated with short and column-kind of content that directly contained entertaining elements like anecdotes. Furthermore, content that provided useful or potentially useful information was raised as an engaging experience six times. These topics were in most cases related to consumer electronics, for instance product tests. In addition, two participants found content related to their professions useful. The participants associated potential usefulness with concrete issues or purchases that might take place in the future, not with personal issues (cf. Hermes, 1995, p. 64).

Uninterestingness as a disengaging experience was mentioned eleven times. The article that was mentioned most often as uninteresting – by three participants – focused on the Paris Air Show. A wrong viewpoint was given as a reason five times, referring especially to angles selected to luxury electronic devices or vehicles. Similarly, the second most occurring disengaging experience that was pointed out eight times was related to the lack of connection to one's life. This was associated with the price of products in relation to one's own economic situation. For instance, the luxury cars in tests were so expensive that in real life one would never have the possibility to afford one. *Real* is something reader can relate to, and it can refer to a number of issues, for instance, shared values, socioeconomic status, or life phase (Ytre-Arne, 2012).

Except then, it's nice to read about these S series Mercedes's [Benz] road tests, or something else about these kinds of cars. These, I can't even think of, I could want to buy, if I had huge amounts of money, but I don't, so... Participant in the TECH group in reading aloud interview (455)

Even if not among the most important engaging experiences, *Tekniikan Maailma* was mentioned as a trigger of dreaming four times in reading aloud interviews. The tests and articles of luxury and premier models worked the same way as, for instance, online car or boat selling forums especially in the spring time – “maybe some day”. At the same time, the articles on luxury products or cars caused irritation or envy.

During the reading aloud interviews, the participants expressed or referred to many disengaging reactions, such as frustration, irritation and confusion related to specific contents in the magazine. For example, a comparison of smart phones stimulated all of the reactions mentioned above. One participant was frustrated with the topic, another was confused because the comparison provided results contradictory to other similar tests, and the third participant was irritated as the article compared only the more expensive phone models.

Also a few positive reactions were apparent during the interviews, for instance, delight in an especially interesting article that the participant had read twice at home, or enthusiasm about an article related to motorbikes the participant contemplated purchasing. He appreciated the valuable information and hoped that there would be another, even longer article about the topic.

6.2.2 *Quality and uninteresting as the most frequently recurring engaging and disengaging experiences in online media diaries, media landscape interviews and ethnographic visits*

The most frequently mentioned engaging experiences in *Tekniikan Maailma* reported in the online media diaries, media landscape interviews and ethnographic visits were rather different from those in the reading aloud interviews, as the former three methods took into account engaging experiences and practices across media. The quality of *Tekniikan Maailma* was emphasised, and specific topics and the versatility of topics were appreciated, as well. Three participants also expressed nostalgia as an engaging experience, for instance, referring to childhood memories with the magazine.

Four participants emphasised the quality of the magazine. Objective car tests and device tests, and matter-of-fact journalistic expression were connected with validity, which was associated with quality. *Tekniikan Maailma* was considered a “trustworthy source of information”. One participant associated quality with the search engine on the online site of the magazine, which he used for searching for old content from previous issues.

Engaging experiences of specific content, mentioned by three participants, referred to the above-mentioned topics: technology and cars. The versatility of the magazine, highlighted by three participants, was associated with the duality of topics, as it contained topics related both to cars and technology. Some of the readers were more interested in the car- or vehicle-related topics, and some more in the technology issues, but both groups valued also the other topics even though they were not of their primary interest.

Disengaging – negative – experiences were not directly associated with the content in the magazine but more with the shifting of one’s own interests, and the subscription price.

Yeah, it’s a good magazine. I can’t deny it, but they have ruined it by adding there all that... they should go back to their roots and provide a magazine without any extra services and a bit more affordable. The price definitely turned out to be too high at some point. Participant in the TECH group in media landscape interview (452)

The lack of interest of two participants lead to unread magazines on the table, and thus the magazine was perceived as unnecessary even if the content itself was interesting. One participant deemed increases in the subscription price too high and not being compensated for with other value.

6.2.3 *Comparing Tekniikan Maailma with other magazines related to technology and vehicles*

Especially during the first three methods but also in the reading aloud interviews, many participants in the TECH group compared *Tekniikan Maailma* to other similar magazine titles. In the interviews, three participants compared *Tekniikan Maailma* to other Finnish car- and technology-related magazine titles, and international online titles. During the three previous methods, five participants compared the magazine with other similar Finnish magazine titles.

I also used to subscribe to “Tuulilasi” [Finnish car-related magazine] for years, I have it saved in files. But at some point it changed into a not-so-expert-like, entertaining, kind of a magazine for youth. And they market themselves as the only Finnish car magazine, which is of course true. [...] But cars, the models are the same, it doesn’t matter who writes about them. But then “Tekniikan Maailma” has also the consumer electronics and gadgets and widgets and all that stuff. And also the car articles are written with more quality style than in “Tuulilasi”. Participant in Tekniikan Maailma group in reading aloud interview 450

Tekniikan Maailma was described as more versatile than other magazines of the same genre, as it contained information of both vehicles and electronics. The participants considered *Tekniikan Maailma* more trustworthy and based on dry facts, and they appreciated its matter-of-fact stance. Furthermore, journalistic quality, which contributed to the overall sense of quality of *Tekniikan Maailma*, was considered engaging and was therefore used as an evaluation criterion when assessing other magazine or media titles.

6.3 Engaging and disengaging with women’s general interest magazine *Kotiliesi*

In the HOME group, the sample for online media diaries was twelve participants, for media landscape interviews eight, for ethnographic visits eight as well as for reading aloud interviews eight participants.

When the participants were asked about their relationship to the magazine, about why they were or had been subscribing to it and what they particularly liked about the magazine, the answers were similar. Three current subscribers had “inherited” the subscription from their mother or grandmother and three of the former subscribers and one current subscriber had subscribed to *Kotiliesi* for over two decades. Two of the former readers associated the subscription with the life phase of nesting and establishing their own homes and families as young wives or mothers (see also Hermes, 1995, p. 93). *Kotiliesi* had offered them both ideas and relaxation at that time.

The general reasons behind the significance of the magazine for them were the values and voice of the magazine. Seven out of eight participants shared the values of the magazine: *Kotiliesi* was considered modest, and it addressed also societal issues. It had a cosy attitude and contained portraits of interesting professionals who were interviewed for their expertise or actions, instead of for “just being celebrities”. In addition, two participants regarded *Kotiliesi* topical

and one participant appreciated the useful content, in particular handicrafts and food.

6.3.1 *Topical and lack of topicality as the most frequently mentioned engaging and disengaging experiences in reading aloud interviews*

In the reading aloud interviews, the most frequently mentioned engaging experiences for the participants in the HOME group included topical content, finding ideas or inspiration, interesting topic and reflecting on one's identity. The most often recurring disengaging experiences were lack of topicality or interestingness, unrealistic content and lack of new information for oneself. The experiences overlapped as in the case of the TECH group.

Topical content was identified in the analysis of the reading aloud interviews sixteen times. Odds and ends related to cultural events, book recommendations and also other kinds of current happenings in one's life were considered topical. These same topics were also considered interesting, which was referred to twelve times.

Well, then these recipes I had to read carefully. I thought of trying that strawberry cake, because we're having a confirmation party this summer. And my daughter told me to bake these salty liquorice brownies. I guess I have to make them at some point. These almond buns I thought of trying, voluntarily. At least those three recipes I found. Participant in the HOME group in reading aloud interview (435)

The most interesting article in the issue that was read aloud in the interview was the article presented in Table 3 (section 3.6.2). The article portrayed a female physician and her experiences of a male-dominated work environment. Even though the portrait stimulated positive, confusing and negative thoughts and experiences, it was, nevertheless, considered interesting by six readers.

The most frequently mentioned disengaging experiences included lack of topicality, uninterestingness and unrealism, all of which were mentioned seven times. The issue was focused on the spring and summer domestic festivities, such as graduation and confirmation parties and weddings, so the practicalities related to big parties, catering and seating etiquette were well represented. However, as most of the participants did not have to parties to organise, the above-mentioned content was considered both irrelevant and uninteresting.

Another example of the second most often mentioned engaging experience, which was mentioned twelve times, was finding ideas or inspiration. Ideas referred, for instance, to recipes the participant could experiment with, or a book one could buy, and inspiration was associated with finding images of gardens, or handicraft that one considered trying out. Especially topics about food, recipes and arranging parties provided ideas. Also cultural events and gardening topics offered inspiration.

The fourth most repeatedly occurring engaging experience stemmed from relating with a person in the magazine or reflecting on one's identity, and these were mentioned nine times in the reading aloud interviews. In most cases the-

se referred to experiences where the participants identified with the interviewees in the portraits, their messages, actions and experiences.

Well here we have this one who knitted! [laughter] I knit in meetings as well. I don't like this [cites the portrait] 'From childhood she has had to prove that she is as good as boys'. I myself have been my entire working career in a male-dominant field, and I don't like this. But then here was that she actually knitted and she really is in men's world. [...] And then here's like these [cites the portrait] "When I do something with my hands my senses stay open", and "I'm able to concentrate and I don't fall into my own world". I so know. There were some things that felt like I agree, there were quite many of those. Participant in the HOME group in reading aloud interview (429)

This citation shows the different kinds of layers of the positive experience of identifying with the person interviewed in the magazine. First, the reader had a similar habit of knitting in meetings as the interviewee, and they had both worked in a male-dominated workplace. Second, the participant found points of identification in the interviewee's comments and experiences. The participant said that she *felt* a sense of relating with the interviewee.

In narrative genres, it is possible to increase the possibility of identifying with the main character through written text of, for instance, interviewee's thoughts and feelings (Cohen, 2001, p. 257). Identifying with characters elicits emotions, for instance, empathy and sympathy, which increase engagement with the text (Busselle & Bilandzic, 2009). Empathy and sympathy refer to cognitive processes in which the viewer (or reader) is able to relive the same emotional experiences or understand other people's feelings (ibid., pp. 323–324). Furthermore, the positive emotions the participants alluded to in the reading aloud interviews were being moved by other people's stories, being grateful for one's own life and respecting a person in an interview, which are expressions of empathy, sympathy and identification.

The opposite experience to identifying in the reading aloud interviews was the experience of unrealism, which was mentioned seven times. Five out of the seven experiences of unrealism were associated with a fashion article, in which mothers and daughters of different ages were photographed wearing summery party dresses. The readers felt that the dresses would not look as good on them as on the models, the age differences between the mothers and daughters seemed too small and the photographs also seemed too superficial, sleek and "bling-bling". The participants were unable to relate with the looks of the models or the atmosphere in the fashion story.

Interestingly, the readers of *Kotiliesi* associated most engaging experiences of identification with those characters that were real (the characters in portraits are real persons with real lives and real problems), and vice versa, most of the disengaging experiences involved constructed content (e.g. fashion photographs).

In the reading aloud interviews, the participants expressed also negative, concrete reactions, for instance, irritation, frustration, disappointment and a sense of demands or expectations for the reader. Three participants felt that *Kotiliesi* set them requirements regarding everyday household work, for in-

stance gardening, or that one should try new recipes all the time (see also Ytre-Arne, 2012, p. 244).

6.3.2 *Nostalgia and wrong genre as the most occurring engaging and disengaging experiences in online media diaries, media landscape interviews and ethnographic visits*

In online media diaries, media landscape interviews and ethnographic visits the most frequently occurring engaging experiences for the participants in the HOME group were nostalgia, specific content and interesting topics. In addition, useful information and ideas and inspiration were highlighted.

As was already noted in the reading aloud interviews, many of the participants had memories of *Kotiliesi* from their childhood when their mothers or even grandmothers, had subscribed to it. All in all, seven participants referred to nostalgic reasons when they discussed the magazine in the different methodical phases.

The six participants who referred to specific and interesting engaging topics in *Kotiliesi* appreciated the recipes and especially the seasonal touch of the food themes. In addition, portraits and interesting interviews were considered a significant feature of the magazine, and one of the columnists was considered highly engaging by two participants.

Only two participants directly referred to the engaging experiences of finding ideas and useful content in the magazine, but also other participants in the group alluded to trying out recipes and finding useful cultural and topical information. The experiences of finding useful content and ideas materialised especially in the lifestyle sections: the recipes were considered seasonal and realistically doable in their own kitchens, and photographs about real-life home decoration felt cosier than the trendy home decoration magazines.

The most frequently brought up disengaging experiences were associated with the genre of the magazine and the practices of reading, which were referred to by three former subscribers. These participants considered *Kotiliesi* either too frivolous or too serious (see analysis in the following section). The rest of the disengaging experiences were miscellaneous experiences involving lack of time, lack of the magazine's social function and lack of inspirational content.

6.3.3 Comparing *Kotiliesi* with other women's magazines

During the online media diaries, media landscape interviews and ethnographic visits the participants in the HOME group compared *Kotiliesi* with other women's magazine titles they frequently read, from general interest women's magazines to fashion and lifestyle magazines. Compared to other women's magazines, *Kotiliesi* provided information about homely and practical issues, but it was not seen as a media title to relax with.

I'll just say that I don't like the kind of celebrity women's magazines that much. And neither do I like about all these "Glorias" [women's glossy] and others, it's like... there needs to be some kind of realism. Participant in the HOME group in media landscape interview 425

Two reasons that were mentioned for disengaging with the magazine represent the opposing ends. One former reader preferred more serious issues and voice than *Kotiliesi* could provide, and contrastively, two disengaged participants wanted more frivolous content in *Kotiliesi* in their current phase of life. One of the highly disengaged participants wished the magazine would still be societal influencer that would courageously take a stance on injustices, as she felt it had done previously. She had subscribed to *Kotiliesi* for decades, but eventually she had ended her subscription due to the changed and biased content policy from public to private sphere.

I felt that the aim of the online site [of “*Kotiliesi*” magazine] concerned only cooking and baking. I felt disappointed because I’d thought it as a kind of societal magazine. [...] I don’t mean that it should be old-fashioned or traditional, but it has somehow changed and became different from the surrounding society, from what it used to be. There are lots of topics, like related to gardening and baking. I don’t have anything against those, but I don’t consider those that important. I don’t know if I’ve changed, or if the magazine has changed, I can’t say. This is also funny because I myself have two gardens. [laugh] But the flood of these gardening and countryside magazines, I don’t need that. I almost feel anxiety over having to do something all the time. [laugh] Participant in the HOME group in media landscape interview (432)

The other two disengaged former subscribers had also subscribed to the magazine for several years but had ended their subscriptions because they had begun to prefer lighter, even frivolous content and experiences of relaxation. They both considered *Kotiliesi* to accommodate to a phase of life in which domestic and “serious” issues were important. Instead, these two considered their work lives so stressful that they wanted escapism rather than advice on “saving pennies”.

6.4 Engaging and disengaging with the news magazine *Suomen Kuvalehti*

In the NEWS group, the sample for online media diaries was eleven participants, for media landscape interviews eight, for ethnographic visits eight, and finally, for reading aloud interviews eight participants.

In the reading aloud interviews, the participants were asked about their relationship to the magazine, why they were or had been subscribing to it and what they liked about it. There was more variation between the motives for reading *Suomen Kuvalehti* than in the TECH or HOME groups for reading the special interest magazines. All participants in the NEWS group were or had been subscribing to *Suomen Kuvalehti* for several years, ranging from seven to twenty years. Two of them recalled memories of the magazine from their childhood home. The participants called their relationship to the magazine “a habit”, “an addiction” and “growing together”.

Three current and former readers referred to *Suomen Kuvalehti* as a magazine of quality, which had resources to produce quality journalism. Furthermore, four other participants valued the professional and factual touch, back-

ground information about topical issues and the versatile topics of the magazine. Four participants mentioned the sharp humour that was apparent especially in columns.

6.4.1 *Interestingness and lack of new information as the most frequently mentioned engaging and disengaging experiences in reading aloud interviews*

In the reading aloud interviews, the most frequently stated engaging experiences for the participants in the NEWS group included interesting topics, topicality, visuality and article viewpoint. Conversely, the most frequent disengaging experiences stemmed from the lack of new information, wrong kind of viewpoints and visuality.

Engagement deriving from an interesting topic was mentioned all in all 37 times. The three articles that were considered interesting by five or six participants were related to the political situation in Russia, curing HIV and the works and heritage of architect F. L. Wright. However, the first two of the former articles – regardless of their interestingness – were also considered to bring little new information about the topic, also for the same participants. Repetitious content and lack of new information were the most frequent reasons behind disengaging experiences within the group. Four out of the ten mentions of this experience were related to the article on curing HIV – three participants recalled reading about the topic on the national newspaper and *The Economist* a few months prior to this article.

The second most frequent engaging experience was topicality, mentioned eight times, mostly associated with odds and ends at the beginning and at the end of the magazine. Cultural topics, columns and profiles were described as topical more often than the articles backgrounding the news.

The third most frequently mentioned engaging experience, and also the second most often recurring disengaging experience was the viewpoint, either good or wrong, both receiving seven mentions. A good viewpoint or perspective was considered to be fresh and positive. The viewpoint was also brought up in connection with columns, in which the viewpoint can be sharper or more critical. The wrong viewpoint was associated with “cheap” journalism, and black-and-white presentations of issues. Especially two articles in this issue were considered to offer a substandard viewpoint. The first case was a short article concerning the social security reform, which alluded to lazy unemployed people and called them couch potatoes. The other example was a photo reportage in which the economic crisis was examined from the perspective of laypeople. Two participants considered the article elitist.

This is something like... telling to elite readers what's happening in ordinary people's lives. This is the point, cheeky, and characteristic to “Suomen Kuvalehti”, kind of human-interest [article]. What this really...? Our unemployment is around eight percent, what ever it makes, close to 200.000 or over, I don't remember on which side it is. It makes no difference whatsoever to pick three people and tell how this affects us. Participant in the NEWS group in reading aloud interview (473)

The third most repeated engaging and disengaging experience was visuality. The positive experience was mentioned eight times, and in most cases it referred to outstanding photographs. For example, the photograph of the week had captured Silvio Berlusconi with his eyes closed, standing next to his spouse, and three readers considered the photograph effective. Lack of visuality, mentioned six times, was mostly associated with scattered layout and lack of photographs.

In general, the articles and topics in the research issue of *Suomen Kuvalehti* caused the participants to elaborate on them extensively in the reading aloud interviews. The positive reactions in the interviews were connected to those articles that had a positive angle. For instance, the articles that concerned curing HIV, profiles and the extremely visual article about architect F. L. Wright triggered experiences of “lighter future”, “sense of humanity” and “pleasure”.

6.4.2 Quality and wrong voice and values as the most frequently occurring engaging and disengaging experiences in online media diaries, media landscape interviews and ethnographic visits

The most frequent engaging experiences in online media diaries, media landscape interviews and ethnographic visits for the participants in the NEWS group were quality of the magazine, interesting topics, specific and topical content and social use of the magazine.

Topical content was regarded as important by only three participants. Five participants emphasised the quality and depth of *Suomen Kuvalehti* and its content. Sufficient editorial resources and factual and professional voice constituted the most prominent factors increasing the perceived quality. Backgrounding of stories and articles was careful, and the magazine offered “flesh around the bones”. In addition, the seemingly objective, or at least invisible journalistic angle contributed to the sense of quality. One participant considered the long, in-depth articles a good counterbalance to the hasty and superficial reading practices that he associated with online journalism.

Interesting topics and specific content were both mentioned by four participants and topicality was mentioned by three. These three engaging experiences overlapped in many cases. Compared with the similar engaging experiences that were referred to in the reading aloud interviews, these experiences revealed the actual content that was considered engaging. In the three methods that considered all media use, the experiences remained on a rather general level. Especially the longer backgrounding articles were mentioned as specific, engaging content.

However, also different kinds of engaging experiences emerged between the methodical phases. In particular the topicality of *Suomen Kuvalehti* also made it a social medium for three participants; either the magazine was a shared subscription for the whole family or then it offered topics to talk about at work and at home.

The interviewee says he tries to read “*Suomen Kuvalehti*” immediately when it is delivered in the mail, because also his son is an enthusiastic reader of the

magazine and might catch it before he has read it. Also the wife of the interviewee reads the magazine, and the articles in “Suomen Kuvalehti” raise discussion in the family from time to time. With his son he talks especially about economics, and with his wife for instance culture and work life. Field-notes from ethnographic visit and interview (479)

The most frequently recurring disengaging experiences regarding *Suomen Kuvalehti* related to the conservative voice and values of the editor-in-chief at the time, which were mentioned by four participants. These personal values and viewpoints appeared in the topics and perspectives to some extent; for example, as recurring content related to Russia (or Soviet Union) and the amount of religious topics. However, the majority of the magazine was deemed so interesting that the engaging experiences overrode the disengaging experiences.

6.4.3 Perceptions of *Suomen Kuvalehti* as a source of news

Suomen Kuvalehti was evaluated by the participants in the NEWS group mostly according to its topics and perspectives, even though it was not considered to have that many competitors in the Finnish media landscape. *Helsingin Sanomat* (the main national newspaper) and its monthly supplement, *HS Kuukausiliite*, were mentioned by three participants, who considered these titles having similar editorial resources as *Suomen Kuvalehti*, which was characterised by quality and in-depth articles.

Well, I don't think so [that “Suomen Kuvalehti” has competitors]. Because many other magazines are concentrated on one field or two, and this [“Suomen Kuvalehti”] tries to be general interest. And other magazines have more entertaining, or a kind of human interest policy. Participant in the NEWS group in reading aloud interview (480)

One former subscriber frequently read (printed) *The Economist*, which for him provided content similar to *Suomen Kuvalehti*. However, he considered *The Economist* more timely, as it provided more international information relevant to him earlier and also with a better focus. In general, the negative experience stemming from lacking novel knowledge was associated with the topics that the participants had already read elsewhere.

6.5 How readers engage with magazine titles and the content?

Table 6 below assembles all the three magazine titles and the most frequently occurring engaging and disengaging experiences related to them in the order of occurrence. Only the most frequently recurring experiences are listed here, as there was dispersion between the experiences. This compilation makes apparent the differences and similarities of the engaging and disengaging experiences between the participant groups and the three titles. (See also Appendix 5 for a summarised comparison of what the most occurring experiences meant for each participant group in the context of the three titles.)

	Tekniikan Maaailma	Kotiliesi	Suomen Kuvalehti
Engaging experiences in reading aloud interviews	Interesting	Topical	Interesting
	Good viewpoint	Ideas or inspiration	Topical
	Entertaining	Interesting	Visuality
	Useful or potentially useful	Identifying	Good viewpoint
Engaging experiences in media diaries, media landscape interviews and ethnographic visits	Quality of content	Nostalgia	Quality of content
	Specific content	Specific content	Interesting
	Versatility of magazine	Interesting	Specific content
	Nostalgia	Useful ideas	Topical
			Social use
Disengaging experiences in reading aloud interviews	Uninteresting	Not topical	Lack of new information
	Lack of connection	Uninteresting	Wrong viewpoint
	Wrong viewpoint	Unrealistic Lack of new information	Visuality
Disengaging experiences in media diaries, media landscape interviews and ethnographic visits	Uninteresting	Genre of the magazine	Wrong voice and values
	Price	Wrong values and unrealism	Uninteresting

Table 6. The most frequently occurring engaging and disengaging experiences related to the magazines in different methodical phases.

Media engagement as such was not discussed with the participants as it does not translate well into Finnish. Instead, the participants were asked how they would describe their relationship to the magazine title, and these descriptions as well as constant comparisons with other magazine and media titles provided information about why the reader has chosen the particular magazine. Then, later during the reading aloud interviews when the magazine content was available for more elaboration, the participants were able to point and the reflect on the specific content that they considered answering to the original purpose of reading.

The main reason for many readers of *Suomen Kuvalehti* was or had been backgrounding the daily news, and also offering experiences of quality journal-

ism and topical odds and ends. Then again, if *Suomen Kuvalehti* provided content the readers had already read somewhere else, the news magazine lost its news value. In addition, if the readers considered the topics in the magazine repetitious or uninteresting, it also decreased the engagement with the magazine because the backgrounding in-depth articles were considered the essence of *Suomen Kuvalehti*. As *Tekniikan Maailma* is a special interest magazine, the interest in technology and cars was or had been an important foundation for engaging with the magazine: it was read to follow interesting topics and it also provided useful information. In addition, *Tekniikan Maailma* was considered versatile as it covered two areas of interests, and it was also seen providing information for one's work, beyond only private interests. The change in one's own interests or the price of the subscription seemed to have more weight in ending the subscription than, for instance, content quality or the voice of the magazine. Even after ending the subscription, the magazine was seen of quality and still partly interesting. *Kotiliesi*, for its part, had or had had a more versatile place in the personal media landscapes of its readers. The current subscribers saw *Kotiliesi* as a useful source of home-related issues and appreciated its moderate approach if compared with other women's general interest or home-related magazines. Three former readers recalled subscribing to the magazine in the phase of life of being young wives and mothers. The magazine had remained in their lives years after this period, even if they no longer needed to find that kind of useful content.

In addition to the purpose of reading, the readers reflected on the ability of the magazine title to connect with their own life and identity. The engaging experience of identifying and disengaging experiences of untopicality and unrealism in the HOME group were associated with personal issues and the phases and interests in one's life. The participants considered the experiences of relating with real-life people engaging in the articles of *Kotiliesi*. On the contrary, if the content contained no topics related to their own lives, they might have skipped the articles. Furthermore, the unrealistic content especially in the fashion article and also a portrait with a home decoration viewpoint, stimulated disengaging thoughts and reactions, such as lack of experiences of identification and envy. In addition, the engaging experiences of useful and inspirational content for the participants in the TECH and HOME groups referred to content that was perceived as personally and concretely useful in one's life. Vice versa, the disengaging experiences of lack of connection with one's life in the TECH group and lack of new information in the HOME group were associated with the readers' awareness of their personal situations of life, for instance, their economic situation, which conflicted with the content in *Tekniikan Maailma* and *Kotiliesi*. In all the participant groups of this research, nostalgia was often proposed as a factor explaining the relationship to the magazine and why it was subscribed to after moving away from home or later in life. The magazine title reminded the participants of the moments in their childhood homes, of fathers, mothers and even grandmothers. All the three magazines are old, and one of their known strengths is tradition – they are inherited from the previous generation to the next one.

For the readers of *Suomen Kuvalehti* and *Kotiliesi*, sharing the same values with the magazine and engaging with those articles and perspectives that contained those values seemed to strengthen engagement, as they felt closeness and ownership with the magazine. Conversely, if the values did not feel right, disengaging experiences emerged. Especially many of the current and former readers of *Suomen Kuvalehti* (the NEWS group) mentioned their values differed from the values of the magazine. However, even if the editor-in-chief at the time was regarded as conservative, the participants read the editorial as a statement only from him and not as the overall policy of the magazine. Two participants considered the editor-in-chief to impact the selection of topics and viewpoints. In addition, in the reading aloud interviews *Suomen Kuvalehti* was criticised for its elitist angles in two articles, which reminded the readers of “cheap journalism” in evening papers. Furthermore, the unrealistic versus realistic evaluations of *Kotiliesi* as a magazine and its content were value-charged. *Kotiliesi* was seen as a down-to-earth magazine that contained useful, interesting and topical information for the everyday life, instead of trendy, superficial, or frivolous content. It also provided points for identification in its profiles, its modest voice and lack of celebrities. However, two participants in the HOME group mentioned that *Kotiliesi* could or should take a stronger stance and be a societal influencer it previously had been. In addition, the engaging experience of quality, which the participants in the TECH and NEWS groups associated with *Tekniikan Maaailma* and *Suomen Kuvalehti* and used for evaluating other media titles as well, consisted of value-charged criteria, for instance objectivity and professional or matter-of-fact language.

6.5.1 The most prominent elements of engagement with a magazine and its content

All of the previously analysed different, similar, overlapping and interconnected experiences convey information about reader engagement and disengagement with a specific magazine title and its content. Three categories emerge, under which most of the above-mentioned engaging and disengaging experiences can be classified: *function of the magazine for the reader*, *the way the magazine addresses the reader and her/his life* and *shared values*. Reader engagement with the magazine was maintained by the function the reader had for the magazine, and to which the magazine responded with its ability to connect with the reader and her/his life, and by transmitting in the content those values that also the reader appreciated. Vice versa, the lack of these experiences diminished the sense of engagement and could have even led to ending the subscription. In addition, the participants constantly compared media titles with other similar ones, which is a significant factor in reflecting one’s engagement with a specific title to other titles in the personal media landscapes.

The first category is the function of the magazine, which is perceived and formed by the reader. The participants expected the magazine titles to contain specific kind of content and from specific viewpoints. The function the former and current readers of the three participant groups had for the magazine differed between the magazines, due to the genres of the magazines. Further-

more, the function was also reader-specific. *Function* may sound too functionalist and deriving from the tradition of Uses and Gratifications, which often assumes that people have specific and well-determined needs for each media title they use. However, needs or functions can also be approached from the people's experiences and practices – how they speak of media use and what experiences they consider important (Korkman, 2006). Hereby, function refers to the participant reports and categorisations, which they associated with the title in their personal media landscapes and how they assessed the significance of the titles. These categorisations appeared as comparisons between similar media titles and ways of using them.

What is notable regarding the function reserved for the magazine, is that it is associated both with *magazine content* and *the everyday practices of reading the magazine in relation to other media practices*. For instance, one of the former subscribers of *Suomen Kuvalehti* followed similar backgrounding content on international news sources, and he had realised that other media titles, like *The Economist*, provided him similar and even better content and also sooner than *Suomen Kuvalehti*. Similarly, one of the previous readers of *Tekniikan Maaailma* mentioned the unsuitability of the magazine format; searches on online media, such as *Youtube*, provided him with similar and relevant information when needed. Here, other titles and media served the function better than the magazine in focus. When it comes to the reading practices regarding *Kotiliesi*, due to its down-to-earth approach the title did not offer experiences of relaxation, which instead was the function – and practice – the readers associated with other women's magazines or media titles, for instance, lifestyle programmes or quality series on TV. *Kotiliesi* was considered a magazine providing useful knowledge for the everyday life. However, this contradicted with some participants seeking to find relaxation with media instead of tips concerning household work. In these cases, the practices of reading and the experiences that the title was expected to provide, useful knowledge versus relaxation, were in dissonance.

The second category is the way the magazine connects with the reader and her/his life, and the third category addresses shared values with the magazine. The engaging and disengaging experiences that can be classified under these categories emerged in all of the methodical phases. The experiences related to the connection with one's own life, for example, the childhood memories of the magazines were elaborated on especially in online media diaries and media landscape interviews, whereas, identification with and usefulness of specific content in the magazines emerged in reading aloud interviews when the content was available. Similarly, the value-charged experiences appeared in the general descriptions of one's relationship with the title or comparisons with other titles, as well as in more detailed experiences with specific photographs and articles in the magazines in the reading aloud interviews.

Table 7 below classifies the engaging and disengaging experiences under the three categories of engagement with a magazine: function, connection and values. (WO = Women's general interest magazine *Kotiliesi*; TE = Special in-

terest magazine related to technology and vehicles *Tekniikan Maailma*; NE = News magazine *Suomen Kuvalehti*)

	Function reserved for the magazine	Connection with the reader's life	Shared values
Engaging experiences	Specific and interesting content (all)	Topical (WO)	Identifying (WO)
	Specific viewpoint (all)	Identifying (WO)	Quality of content (TE, NE)
	Useful (WO, TE)	Ideas and inspiration (WO)	
	Versatility (TE)	Useful (WO, TE)	
	Topical (NE)	Nostalgia (WO, TE)	
	Social (NE)		
Disengaging experiences	Uninteresting content (all)	Unrealistic (WO)	Wrong voice and values (NE)
	Genre of the magazine (WO)	Not-topical WO)	Wrong viewpoint (NE)
		Lack of connection (TE)	Unrealistic (WO)
		Lack of new information (WO)	

Table 7. Categories of the elements of engagement with a magazine (WO = Women's general interest magazine *Kotiliesi*; TE = Special interest magazine related to technology and vehicles *Tekniikan Maailma*; NE = News magazine *Suomen Kuvalehti*).

The classification is beneficial when considering the engaging elements that might be associated with other magazine titles and genres. Even if the readers in this study were educated and the magazines represented only three different genres, the variety of the engaging and disengaging experiences and the diversity of the genres can be used as a starting point in research on both consumer and organization magazines as well as media titles of other media.

The function of the magazine emerges in relation to all the three magazines, whereas the connection with the reader's life, is relevant in relation to the women's general interest magazine (*Kotiliesi*) and the special interest magazine of technology and vehicles (*Tekniikan Maailma*), which were subscribed to because of the reader's individual interest towards the magazine topics. Then again, the experiences associated with the news magazine are common in the third engagement classification, shared values. This reflects the (media) critical way in which the readers of *Suomen Kuvalehti* evaluated the magazine. In addition, the identifiable and unrealistic content in *Kotiliesi* was associated with general values, as well as with oneself.

What is notable is that all of the magazines were compared by the readers with other magazines within the specific genre or with similar media titles. One's own perception of the genre – whether it was special interest magazine, women's magazine, or serious print news title – formed a point of comparison. The participants compared magazine and other media titles by means of eval-

uation criteria, such as quality, sense of realism and objectivity. The participants in the TECH group compared the magazine with other car- or technology-related special interest magazines, and for them the quality of journalism constituted the most apparent factor, and often *Tekniikan Maailma* was seen as the leader. The participants in the HOME group compared *Kotiliesi* to other Finnish women's magazines and the experiences these different titles provided to them. *Kotiliesi* was categorised as a modest magazine about everyday life, and the current readers did not expect frivolous content from it. Other women's magazine titles were used for relaxation. A sense of realism was in many cases the factor for evaluation. *Suomen Kuvalehti*, had few competitors in the Finnish media landscape by the participants in the NEWS group, and thus it was compared with print newspapers, for instance, with the national newspaper and its monthly supplement, and international news magazines, as well. These were evaluated by their quality of journalism, viewpoint and timeliness of topics. If *Suomen Kuvalehti* contained topics that already were read somewhere else, it was seen as providing old content.

The engagement analyses and readers' comparisons of titles and genres indicate the importance of researching media in a contextualised way. The participants compared *Tekniikan Maailma*, *Kotiliesi*, and *Suomen Kuvalehti* with other magazine titles that they subscribed to, or titles they were acquainted with. In addition, they also compared the magazines within their perceptions of the genres. This suggests that readers have a well-formed opinion of the magazine titles, and they also have expectations about what the titles contain and how they should address their readers. This horizon of expectation (Jauss, 1982; Sandvoss, 2011) seems to be one of the most prominent features in the evaluation criteria that readers apply in order to assess the suitability of specific magazines for themselves (see also Bird, 2003, pp. 131–144). On the one hand, readers make comparisons between magazine titles, but even more importantly, these criteria are being used in evaluating singular magazine titles.

6.6 Conclusion

The magazines in this research represented different genres and the reader groups in the sample consisted of both current and former readers of the titles. Researching engagement from the viewpoint of engaging (positive) and disengaging (negative) experiences the reader associates with a magazine title and its content, instead of examining the polysemy of texts, provides a personal and open-ended perspective to magazines.

The most prominent elements of engagement became visible in the context of everyday life, 1) through the function that was associated with the magazine, 2) through the way the reader found herself/himself in the content, and 3) through the values the reader and the magazine shared. First, the function provided with the magazine was in accordance with the magazine title: *Tekniikan Maailma* was read because of the specific topics: vehicles and technology, the backgrounding and in-depth articles were the essence of *Suomen Kuvalehti*, and the readers of *Kotiliesi* appreciated the modest voice and useful

content of the magazine. Then again, in many cases the former subscribers' interests had changed, the magazine did not provide wanted experiences in the current life phase, or they followed similar content in other titles that better suited their practices. Second, the connection between the content and one's life was especially important in the special interest magazine (*Tekniikan Maailma*) and women's general interest magazine (*Kotiliesi*). Here the readers found the most engaging the type of content that was inspirational, useful and relevant in relation to their own lives, for instance, product tests or seasonal topics. Furthermore, relating with the content referred to the sense of realism in connection with factors, such as the same age group, socio-economic status, profession and hobbies. Third, the shared values emerged in particular as disengaging experiences and were of special importance for the participants in the NEWS and HOME groups. The readers easily pointed out the 'wrong' values that were in dissonance with their own worldview. Too elitist viewpoint in an article and sense of unrealism or frivolity were examples of the personal values, but also objectivity and the perception of professional quality journalism were used to evaluate the content. Consequently, in addition to the actual media content that stimulated these engaging and disengaging experiences in the reader, also media practices had an important role when choosing which media title to use.

The variety of the genres of the three magazines as well as their particularities open up intriguing questions about readers' engagement with magazines, specific engaging experiences and approaching them and methodological or epistemological decisions.

Magazine titles belonging in specific genres are considered to contain specific features but in the light of this research, these expectations might be in contradiction with the readers' experiences. Women's magazines are often thought to be the escapist and relaxing medium for its readers (e.g. Ytre-Arne, 2011a). However, even if *Kotiliesi* is classified under the genre of women's magazines and contains those topics that often are connected with "women's topics" – food, home decoration, fashion, handicrafts – most of the participants considered it to be a modest women's magazine, and it was not allowed to contain frivolous content or celebrity-driven content. Instead, *Kotiliesi* was reserved a place in the personal media landscape that is partly in dissonance with its genre. Fantasy, dreaming, or relaxation were not associated with *Kotiliesi*, but with other media titles.

Readers' engagement with a magazine title is not always straightforward, as also previous research on magazines has proved (e.g. Hermes, 1995; Ytre-Arne, 2011c). Same content in the magazine could provide the reader with both engaging and disengaging experiences. For instance, in the TECH group some participants enjoyed dreaming with the articles of luxury cars, boats or motor-bikes, but at the same time considered these articles stimulating disengaging experiences stemming from the lack of money. Another example that shows the contradictory reader-magazine relationship, materialises in the criticism of the readers of *Suomen Kuvalehti*. They disapproved of the magazine due to its general policy (originating in the editor-in-chief's personal values) and repeti-

tious content, but at the same time they appreciated the journalistic quality and highly interesting viewpoints on current phenomena.

Both of the previous notions suggest that readers' experiences should be examined from the reader perspective instead of predefined assumptions. For example, the engaging experience of 'topicality' in news magazine *Suomen Kuvalehti* was associated with culture-related odds and ends instead of the in-depth articles that backgrounded current news. Then again, the readers of *Kotiliesi* often considered 'topicality' in relation to their own lives and what was topical for them. In other words, attention should be paid to the participants' own accounts and descriptions, the vocabulary they use and the most important – what they mean with these.

Engagement with a magazine as a starting point was ambiguous, but the four different methods eventually helped in offering possible explanations of the underlying reasons and purposes of choosing, subscribing to and ending the subscription to a magazine title. Asking the participants about their relationship with the magazine provided answers that did not indicate a meaningful relationship: tradition, customary and routine were mentioned in relation to all three magazines. On the other hand, in HOME and NEWS groups both current and former readers talked fondly about their magazine relationships as "friendship", "growing in together", or as "unquestionable". In addition, the way some of the former subscribers to *Kotiliesi* and *Suomen Kuvalehti* regretted the concept change of the magazine indicated that the former reader relationship had been important. Instead, the foundation of engagement with the magazines was embedded in the descriptions of the engaging experiences, eventually resulting in the three categories of engagement that were different regarding each title, but applicable to all.

The original motives for forming a reader relationship with a media title would have been difficult to access, as for many participants the relationship with a magazine had lasted several years, even decades, and for some also the motives for reading the magazine had changed during the years. If engagement with a specific magazine were to be examined, a longitudinal qualitative research would be necessary. Nevertheless, it was fruitful to examine the participants' relationships to the magazines at the time of the research: what were the elements that maintained the current engagement, and on the other hand, why half of the participants had ended the subscription to the magazine during the previous year. Other kinds of methodological decisions, e.g. narratives from the viewpoint of life phase and reading magazines (Hermes, 1995, p. 66) could have provided a better temporal conception of engagement with different titles (or genres) and a more detailed explanation of the importance of the life phase in reading magazines.

What seems to be missing in the analyses above is the meaning of the concrete practice of reading of the magazine at home. Because in all groups half of the participants were former subscribers, the practices of reading these specific magazines did not manifest themselves often. The current subscribers, however, reported the moments of reading these magazines especially during the online media diary period and showed the reading practices at home during

the ethnographic visits. *Kotiliesi* was read on the couch while watching the TV or at the kitchen table, whereas the practices of reading *Suomen Kuvalehti* resembled other news practices, such as reading the magazine as a substitute for the newspaper. The subscribers of *Tekniikan Maaailma* reported in the media diaries reading the magazine in bed before going to sleep, or in the breakfast table among other magazines and the newspaper. Clearly, there is need for a detailed study that would focus on the very materialised engagement with a magazine, at the same time taking account other media practices either at home environment or elsewhere. In this study the sensory experiences were examined with all media, including magazines, and more reflection on them is found in Chapter 5.

Methodologically, the reading aloud interviews differed substantially from the previous three methodical phases. The online media diaries, media landscape interview and ethnographic visits took into account all media use and all media titles, whereas the reading aloud interviews focused only on a specific magazine and its content. As the first part of the reading aloud interview addressed the reader's relationship with the title and what she/he liked or disliked in it, the answers provided information about the current and former status and perceptions of the reader relationship and the possible reasons why the subscription was ended or sustained. Compared with the other methods, the reading aloud method functioned as a magnifying glass to the engaging and disengaging experiences provided by the content, both textual and visual. The articles and topics in the research issues stimulated various thoughts, and the participants elaborated on them extensively. In addition, considering the disengaging experiences was a crucial component of the method. To understand why people engage with magazines, it also must be examined what content is disengaging.

The first three methods (diaries, media landscape interviews, ethnographic visits), then, provided more varied information about how the participants located the magazine in their personal media landscapes, in particular, the reasons for preferring it over other titles and practices of reading it. Instead, these three methods did not reveal the participants' evaluations about the content in the magazine, for instance, specific articles, story types or photographs. For instance, none of the participants referred to identity-related experiences during the first three methodological phases but they emerged only in the reading aloud interview. However, resorting only to reading aloud interviews would make the importance of other media use remain hidden.

Therefore, it is equally important to examine both the readers' experiences in relation to media content and the activities and practices that take place in their lives – both media practices and other practices of everyday. Acquiring such information results from providing the participants with the possibility to elaborate on their media use with as few limits as possible and reflections on choosing between titles. Moreover, taking into account also the disengaging experiences yields valuable knowledge about experiences with media.

7. Results

During the past two decades, the amount of media outlets has increased, and the amount of media content is practically infinite. Despite the positive accounts of audience autonomy in choosing among the abundance of media content and even though different recommendation systems have an impact on which titles we are actually directed to (Webster, 2014), people still face a numerous amount of media content and titles in their everyday lives. This leads to the interesting question of which titles are chosen to be followed on a regular basis, and eventually, how and why people engage with them. Hereby, the present research set out to respond to three questions:

- 1) How does the level of fragmentation of media use differ between reader groups and individuals?
- 2) What are the most important elements of engagement with media in everyday life, and magazines in particular?
- 3) What do different audience research methods reveal about media engagement and fragmentation?

The novel findings related to people's media use revolve, in particular, around the levels of media fragmentation at the micro-level and the multifaceted forms of engagement with media, and moreover, the intertwining of engagement and fragmentation in media use. In addition, the methodological developments and the iterative research process contribute to contemporary audience research.

The most prominent results of this research are presented and compared to previous research in the following sections and further discussed in Chapter 8.

7.1 Research process in brief

To examine fragmentation, media engagement and media practices in the participants' everyday lives, four different methods were adopted: online media diaries, media landscape interviews, ethnographic visits to the participants' homes and reading aloud interviews. The methods were employed iteratively, and the data were partly analysed between the methodical phases. Two of the methods – media landscape interview and reading aloud method – I developed from other audience research methods in order to examine media use

across media as well as reader engagement with a specific magazine and its content.

This research examined the media use and practices of five participant groups: ten 16–18 year-old high school students (group referred to as TEENS); twelve 18–25 year-old current and former users and readers of *Hs.fi*, *Ruutu*, and *Cosmopolitan* (the national newspaper's online site, web-TV service, monthly women's magazine; group YOUNG ADULTS); ten 35–45 year-old current and former male readers of *Tekniikan Maaailma* (bimonthly special interest magazine related to cars and technology; group TECH); twelve 45–55 year-old current and former female readers of *Kotiliesi* (bimonthly women's general interest magazine; group HOME); and eleven 45–55 year-old current and former readers of *Suomen Kuvalehti* (weekly news magazine; group NEWS). The group TEENS are included only in the analysis of personal media landscapes (i.e. media use in general), as ethnographic visits were conducted only three of them, and special attention was not paid in a specific media title, which means that they did not participate the reading aloud interviews. The participant groups, data and methods are described in detail in Chapter 3.

7.2 The most prominent results related to fragmentation of media use and media engagement

The first research question asked how does the level of fragmentation of media use differ between reader groups and individuals?

The levels of fragmentation of media use, which were investigated through the personal media landscapes assembled by the participants themselves, showed the large amount of media titles that were regularly followed and the level of individualised media preferences. Both of these forms of microlevel media fragmentation differed between the groups but also between the individuals in the groups.

First, in all the groups, the personal media landscapes contained dozens of media titles the participants followed frequently or were better acquainted with. The participants in the HOME group had the broadest media landscapes with on average 101 media titles. The participants in the NEWS group had on average 81 titles, and those in the TECH group on average 73 titles in their personal media landscapes. The narrowest personal media landscapes were in the young participant groups; the personal media landscapes of the TEENS group had on average 66 titles and the YOUNG ADULTS group 63 titles. (See Figure 24.) In the TECH and YOUNG ADULTS groups there were more variation in the sizes of the personal media landscapes within the groups, pointing to both very minimalist and fairly large personal media landscapes.

Second, the lists of 21 most important titles in relation to the personal media landscapes within the groups revealed the level of individualisation of media preferences. Especially the participants in the TECH and HOME groups mentioned many of the same media titles among their favourites (see Figure 25), whereas the participants in the YOUNG ADULTS group mentioned on their top-21 lists 32 media titles that no-one else in the group mentioned in their

personal media landscape or top-21 list. This indicates that the media preferences within the YOUNG ADULTS group were more varied and individual. Furthermore, this shows an intriguing difference between the groups of YOUNG ADULTS and TECH: both groups had relatively narrow personal media landscapes, but while the participants in the TECH group named many of the same favourites among the narrow personal media landscapes, the participants in the YOUNG ADULTS group named significantly more individual titles that no-one else in the group mentioned. Their favourites differed more often from other group members. (See Figure 26.)

The individualised media preferences in the YOUNG ADULTS group can result from various factors. The group was more heterogeneous than the other magazine-specific adult groups, as the participants were users and readers of three different media titles. They mentioned more international media titles than the participants in the other adult groups, and they also used Google in a more diverse way, which might direct to the multitude of sites related to their individual interests. In addition, there were signs that these participants did not follow ‘traditional’ news (of public and commercial Finnish broadcasters, or the national newspapers) as much as the older participants, and the younger participants also used more international media titles, including news and other genres. Even though the findings indicate no polarisation of media use or media enclaves (see e.g. Webster, 2014), the reasons behind individualised preferences require more detailed research as, for instance, the participants in the YOUNG ADULTS group used more social media services, the use of which may consist of following various kinds of media contents, such as friends, social groups, traditional news brands and media products, individual journalists and blogs. The participants in the TECH group, then, were 35–45 year-old current or former subscribers of the same magazine title, special interest magazine *Tekniikan Maailma*, which may result as homogeneity of the group – their shared topics of interest as well as ways of using media.

There was a difference between all the five participant groups in the types and genres of media titles they preferred, and how they addressed them. Whereas the younger participants followed less news content, many international titles and used a variety of online music services, the older participants used more print and broadcast media and followed the most popular titles in Finnish media landscape: the national newspapers, public broadcaster’s news casts and current affairs programmes on TV. These more general findings, for instance, of television preferences and news media consumption of different age groups follow the results of national TV viewer metrics (Finnpanel) and larger surveys (e.g. Report, 2014). The participants in the TEENS group were the only ones who produced media content: six out of the ten participants in the group had or had had their own blog. This finding differs from other studies of the blogging practices of the Finnish youth where only 15–20 percent have reported of writing blogs (Kangas & Cavén, 2011; Vainikka & Herkman, 2013), and may result from the media-specialised high school curricula of the participants in the present study.

The second research question examined the reasons of media engagement asking what are elements of media engagement in everyday life?

Media engagement was approached from two perspectives. On the one hand, it was examined in relation to the contexts of everyday life with four groups of participants, and on the other hand, specifically in relation to a magazine title and its content with three groups of participants who were current and former readers of a specific magazine title.

Everyday practices with the engaging titles

Engagement with media was tightly linked with the spatial, temporal and social practices of everyday. The intertwining of media engagement with the everyday life emerged in the daily and weekly practices that were associated with the use of the most important media titles.

In all groups the participants everyday media lives were *routine*, which can be considered one form of media engagement: frequently occurring use of specific title. Nearly all participants in all the groups mentioned routine ways of using media in their online media diaries. They reported the same media or titles taking place at specific times and days, in specific places at home. The homes had *media floor plans*, which determined not only the arrangement of media devices or specific places for using media, but also the house rules for media use. Especially the older participants in the HOME and NEWS groups did not take advantage of the online TV services, but they preferred recording their favourite series, or watching them as they were broadcasted (see also Courtois, 2012).

In addition to routines, over half of the participants in the HOME and NEWS groups and one third of the participants in the YOUNG ADULTS group referred to recurring daily or weekly moments with media that were given *ritual* meanings in speech and in practice. With these practices the emphasis could have been on the moment with media (e.g. concentration, allocating time), and similar to Ytre-Arne's (2011d) study of women's magazines, the participants in the present research enriched the experiences with the engaging titles with food and wine, and associated them with relaxation midst the hectic life.

Even if these rituals, which were associated with the most engaging media titles in the participants' lives could be regarded as a form of extreme engagement, the rituals in the present study were part of everyday routines, even though they were heightened from the more mundane forms of media use. Hence, the media title that was a part of the ritual could have been replaced with another title if needed, for instance, if the regular newspaper was not around, any other one would do. Or if one's ritual had been *Downton Abbey*, upon season end, the viewer might have at least attempted to engage with the next series that was broadcasted at the same time. This eventually differentiates engagement from media-related fandom, even though they both seem to contain features of emotional attachment to the object. However, fandom is rather far away from the more mundane relationships to daily media titles, for example, newspaper or blog. *Pop-up fandom* is a *temporary* fan-like relation-

ship or emotional engagement with a specific title, specifically television series (Askanius, 2014). Yet again, also pop-up fandom may include features of intense fan activities, such as a tight community and external events besides following the actual TV series (ibid.), which are common also in ‘traditional’ fan communities (Bird, 2003), which did not emerge in this thesis in relation to media engagement.

In addition to routines and rituals, social and solitary activities were associated with many engaging titles, or media use was justified by the importance of the social experience. Especially those participants in the TECH, HOME and NEWS groups who were parents of small children wanted *solitary* moments with media. They wished for solitary experiences with the important titles to relax and concentrate in peace. These participants adjusted their schedule according to the their family members in order to have the peaceful moment with media. Individualisation of watching the TV often refers to younger media users (Bjur, 2009; Courtois, 2012; Livingstone, 2002), but in this study it was partly the other way around. However, it must be noted that the 18–25 year-old participants in the YOUNG ADULTS group were not anymore living with their parents and thus did not have the urgent need to take their private space.

The participants in the YOUNG ADULTS and HOME groups appreciated *social* media experiences. Some participants in all groups considered media use as a quality time with their family, and in some of these cases, the participants let the others choose the media content (see also Courtois, 2012). Even if the *social floor plan* was in many cases associated with television content, social and solitary experiences were also part of print media practices. Discussing the topics in the weekly magazines with one’s spouse, sharing the newspaper in the morning, or on contrary, waking up early enough to read the newspaper in peace, and reserving the time to concentrate on the favourite magazine were examples of the social and solitary uses of print. Furthermore, many participants especially in the HOME and NEWS groups referred to the social demand of being aware of current topics, which occasionally was the reason reported for following the news (see also Calder & Malthouse, 2004).

Engagement with content and practices of reading magazines

Magazines and their content provided engaging experiences for the readers when the magazine answered the *function* defined by the reader, when the magazine content *connected* with the reader and her/his life, and when the reader found *shared values* with the title. The genres of the three magazine titles under examination – special interest magazine related to technology and vehicles (*Tekniikan Maailma*), women’s general interest magazine (*Kotiliesi*) and news magazine (*Suomen Kuvalehti*) – coincided with those functions and practices of reading that the readers associated with them. Both the function of the magazine title and its content were evaluated in relation to one’s life, for instance, interesting content about specific topics, useful content and relating with the content. The sense of usefulness stemmed from topical content to oneself, such as seasonal tips for gardening and book reviews, or product tests

the reader might one day consider of purchasing, thus referring to potential usefulness (see also Hermes, 1995; Ytre-Arne, 2011d). The content that enabled the experience of identifying concerned, for instance, the same age group or profession as oneself, similar socioeconomic status, and personal stories from other people (see also Kariniemi, 2010; Ytre-Arne, 2011c). The values in the present study were associated with personal values, such as religion or political views, but also the ethics and evaluations of objectivity in journalism (see also Heikkilä & Ahva, 2015; Rinne, 1994).

Another engaging element of magazines is the entwining of magazines with the readers' everyday practices: previous research suggests that women's magazines are read because they are easy to read in-between fragmented household work (Hermes, 1995), or they are used for relaxing purposes and as a reward (Ytre-Arne, 2011d). Similarly, in the present study the engaging experiences were not only related to the content in the magazines but also the practices of reading and the overall mindset adopted when reading a specific magazine. For instance, *Kotiliesi* was read for inspiration and useful help in the everyday life, but the readers did not tolerate frivolous content in *Kotiliesi*, nor relax with this specific magazine. *Tekniikan Maailma*, then, provided useful or potentially useful content for the readers, who additionally dreamed of being owners of the luxury cars showcased in the magazine. However, also online services provided them with useful and relevant knowledge, which was convenient in the flow of everyday life due to the easiness. Readers of *Suomen Kuvalehti* read the magazine for background information about daily news and current topics and they also exercised media criticism when reading the magazine and disengaged with the occasional conservative voices or elitist viewpoints in the magazine. Furthermore, *Suomen Kuvalehti* was not the only source for following that kind of backgrounding content of political and cultural topics in the readers' media landscapes, and, for instance, international titles provided some of the readers with more relevant information and sooner than *Suomen Kuvalehti*.

The examined magazine titles had their place and purpose in the current subscribers life, and even if they were valued and the subscriptions had lasted for decades, in most cases these magazines were not part of the ritual situations the participants reported. Not even the women's general interest magazine *Kotiliesi* was regarded a title to relax with but the exact opposite: it provided useful content about everyday topics and cultural phenomena with a modest voice. Instead, there were other kinds of everyday practices that the current subscribers associated with these magazine titles, such as reading them before going to sleep, or as a substitute for the newspaper. Thus, the value of and engagement with these three magazine titles was constructed through treating them as objects of everyday life rather than as ritualistic objects associated with the heightened moments of everyday life.

Constructing media engagement was a continuous everyday process from the perspective of the reader, viewer and user. The media title had to reclaim its place in the reader's or user's life. Not only did the title need to contain topics that were interesting enough, but the title also had to meet the expecta-

tions, maintain a connection with the reader and communicate the values of the reader or user. Moreover, during all the methodical phases, the participants evaluated the magazines in relation to other similar media titles they were acquainted with, which showed the personal knowledge of specific genres and titles.

The present study offers a relatively similar conception of media engagement as Peck and Malthouse's (2011) conception of engagement as *a set of experiences*, and Schröder's (2010) concept of *worthwhileness* that consists of seven dimensions that contribute to the overall perception of what makes the media title worth using. In particular, correspondingly to Calder et al. (2004) study of readers' experiences with newspapers and Malthouse and Calder's (2003) investigation into experiences of reading magazines, the engaging and disengaging experiences were examined in a detailed manner, resulting in dozens of experiences. However, contrary to the previous two studies the present research scrutinised media engagement title-specifically instead of medium-specifically. The data analyses indicate that examining practices on a very general level (e.g. practice of 'reading magazines') would not have provided sufficient information about the engaging and disengaging experiences with a specific title. Instead, focusing on title-specific practices reveals the nuances of the practices and the meanings that were associated with different titles as well as genres.

Intertwining of fragmentation of media use and media engagement

The present research combined media fragmentation with media engagement from the viewpoint of an individual. The entwining of fragmentation and engagement in people's everyday media lives and using different methods presents a kaleidoscopic view on media engagement associated with the amount of media titles and those one has time to follow, the changing media environment and one's own interests and the routine ways of using media.

First, the especially the 45–55 year-old participants included dozens of media titles in their personal media landscapes, but inevitably, they did not have enough time to follow all those titles that they might have wanted to. Hence, they limited the use of titles and concentrated only on the important – the most engaging – ones.

Second, the overall amount of media content, the media manifold, changes and grows every day (Couldry, 2012; Webster, 2014), and also people's personal media landscapes change regularly. For example, from the perspective of media structures, the lifespan of television series is relatively short, new media products and services are created and others meet their end. In addition, from the individual's viewpoint, life phases and interests, which in this study proved to be significant drivers of choosing media, change as new interests and preferences occur. However, the routine ways of using media, which emerged also in this research, seemed to be strongly established, and some signs indicated that the actual routine of using media is more important than the media title.

Third, in comparison to studies of media repertoires, in which media choices are seen as an active process and the stable feature of repertoires is empha-

sised (cf. Hasebrink & Domeyer, 2012, p. 762), the present study provides more possibilities for understanding temporary engagement and random encounters with media. Random does not refer, for instance, to interests changing on a daily basis, or arbitrary fluctuating media choices. Instead it refers to former media engagements, important media practices that do not take place very often, such as going to the movies, reading the local newspaper of the region where one previously lived in, or Googling and finding useful information on random web pages. Furthermore, these previous, random and temporary media engagements provide new points of comparison for other similar titles. Thus, a qualitative approach to the variety of media titles people use was a well-substantiated perspective when examining both the fragmented media environment and engagement with media.

7.2.1 Frame of engagement

From the viewpoint of the participants in the magazine-specific groups (TECH, HOME and NEWS), the essence of the magazine title they were or had been subscribing to was apparent even if these conceptions differed slightly between the group participants. The magazine titles served individual functions assigned to the magazines by their readers, whether the function was related to a specific interest, finding useful knowledge or backgrounding the news. Thus, the media title was assessed in relation to one's life and how well it served the function. Furthermore, the magazine title and its content was analysed in relation to one's values, life phase, events, and other purposes of media use, and occasions in which a variety of other media titles were used.

Taking into account the fragmentation of people's media use, their preferred engagement experiences and practices, and their knowledge and conceptions of genres and titles, I suggest a model, which illustrates the continuous everyday process of constructing media engagement with a specific title in the fragmented media environment. The function assigned to the magazine, the reader's own life and the personal media landscape form a frame where engaging and disengaging experiences take shape and where media engagement with the media title is constructed. I have examined this frame in context with the person's everyday life as a *frame of engagement* (see Figure 28 below).

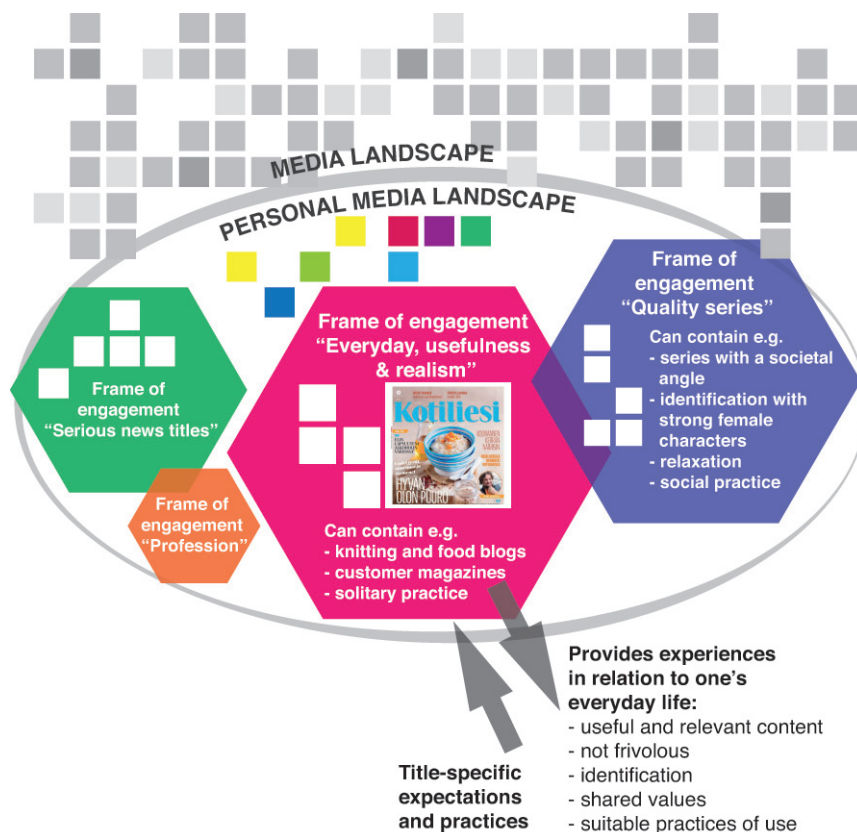


Figure 28. The continuous process of media engagement. Several media titles are used within a frame of engagement. Media titles can also overlap between frames.

The frame of engagement contains the experiences the reader has regarding a specific media title. People may have a long relationship with the title, which poses *expectations* for the media title, its voice, viewpoints, values and topics. This *horizon of expectation* (Jauss, 1982; Sandvoss, 2011) materialises as the personal knowledge people have about media titles and genres. In addition to media content, people associate different media practices with different titles, and thus, also these media practices and activities are part of the frame of engagement.

For instance, three current readers of *Kotiliesi* read the magazine because it provided them with useful and everyday information from a realist perspective. Thus, their frame of engagement for *Kotiliesi* was formed of *everyday, usefulness and realism*. The magazine was considered engaging and the readers experienced ownership when it provided these experiences, transmitted these values and the readers were able to identify with the content. However, even though some magazines belong under the same genre, for instance, women's magazines, in the reader's life they may serve different functions, and thus they are evaluated within different frames of engagement. For example, the participants in the HOME group regarded many other women's magazines as titles that contained more frivolous content, and in these titles the extravagant

photographs of luxurious products, young and slender models, or frivolous stories of shallow topics were accepted, and a activity of relaxing with the magazine may have been the function. These magazines then, were read within another frame of engagement. Instead, if *Kotiliesi* differed from its everyday perspective, which is what the readers expected from it, the readers experienced disengagement. Hence, the expectations and practices of reading were title-specific, not genre-specific.

On the other hand, if the reader's expectations for the magazine function and title are explicit, the reader may allow little deviation for the magazine. For example, the readers of *Suomen Kuvalehti* read it in order to find back-grounding articles on a variety of topics, including the daily news. At the same time they used also other titles (newspapers, online news sites, current topic programmes, international online and print titles) for following similar content, which might have responded to the function and expectations better, and in some cases *Suomen Kuvalehti* lost its place in the frame of engagement. Also in this example the function and expectations were entwined with content, the practices of reading and other media titles. Similar examples were mentioned also in other groups. Former readers of *Tekniikan Maailma* and *Kotiliesi* referred to the changes in their own interests and expectations for both the content and practices of reading/using, and thus, these titles no longer served the function the readers had previously assigned to the magazine.

Hereby, the frame of engagement operates on and between two levels: *the level of the reader's everyday life* and *the level of the abundance of media titles*. First, readers do not evaluate singular media titles as separate from their own lives. Instead, phases of life and personal interests determine the practices of reading and the function that is assigned to the magazine title. Readers engage when finding topical content in relation to one's own life events, identifying with the content, and sharing the same values – and disengage if the magazine fails to provide these experiences. Second, readers do not evaluate magazines in isolation from other media titles in their personal media landscapes, but they constantly compare similar titles with each other, and evaluate their suitability for oneself. Conversely, their conceptions of and expectations for media titles are a significant part of these criteria, criteria that is applied when constructing engagement with a specific title.

I suggest that media engagement is a continuous process, in which a media title, its content and suitability for oneself are evaluated in relation to one's own life, the practices of everyday and in relation to other media titles in the media landscape.

7.3 The importance of the iterative research process and using multiple methods

Examination of media use fragmentation and the elements of engagement with media were conducted with a multi-method iterative research process, which generated novel and intriguing results. Each of the methods had their specific function in the methodical setting. Moreover, the conclusions that can be

drawn from the iterative use of the four methods addressed both fragmentation and engagement.

The online media diaries combined both structured and open-ended features. The pre-survey and extra weekly assignments were the same for all participants, but the daily reports were not given structures of which to follow, for instance, tables to be filled with the length, time, place and purpose of media use (cf. Berg & Düvel, 2012; Findahl et al., 2014). Instead, the participants were presented questions to inspire their reflections and own accounts on media use, and they provided various data about the everyday media routines and practices.

The media landscape interviews were developed to map all media used by the participants. The original inspiration for the interviews was Q methodology (Davis & Michelle, 2011; Schröder, 2012), which has been used for various purposes within audience research from news media users (Schröder, 2010) to global movie audiences (Davis et al., 2014), often in order to identify typologies or patterns. However, in media landscape interviews the participants mapped 200–250 media titles (that their group had mentioned in their media diaries) under eight categories of importance to see the individual and differing media preferences, which resulted in data that was not statistically analysable. The outcomes, *personal media landscapes*, were further complemented with top-21 lists to acquire statistically comparable data between the participants and groups. Even though personal media landscapes were not used as a motivational tool similar to media repertoires that take into account the function of use (Hasebrink & Domeyer, 2012), the purposes of use were addressed in all methodical phases, also providing knowledge about the meaning making behind choosing which media and titles one uses.

Short ethnographic visits to the participants' homes followed Pink's (e.g. 2006, 2009, 2012) idea of increasing the voices of the participants in studies of them. Regardless of the short length of the visits, they provided rich data about the social, spatial and temporal media practices and activities that were part of the most engaging media titles and reading magazines. Contrary to the classical anthropological studies employing long-term observation among the participants (e.g. Aveyard, 2012; Deger, 2011; George, 2012), in the present study during the visits the researcher was active in asking questions to achieve as comprehensive picture of the media practices as possible (Pink, 2006).

Reading aloud interviews were inspired by thinking aloud interviews (Somerén et al., 1994), and they were conducted to obtain detailed and focused information about the engaging and disengaging experiences about the content of a magazine for the participants, instead of the various interpretations of the texts that has been considered as one of the problems of audience studies (Couldry, 2010; Sandvoss, 2011). In addition, the participants were asked to reflect on their current or former relationship with the magazine, and this shed light on the initial reasons for subscribing to the magazine or ending the subscription. The interviews complemented the previous methods as they provided information about what kind of content the participants actually engaged and disengaged with, and how these experiences were in relation to the engag-

ing and disengaging experiences in the previous phases, in which the focus was on the everyday media life in general.

One important aspect of this research was the use of several research methods and the research addresses the question *What do different audience research methods reveal about media engagement and fragmentation?*

Even though the level of fragmentation of media use was examined specifically by means of the personal media landscapes, microlevel fragmentation was evident also in other methodical phases. First, online media diaries initially indicated the amount of media use and showed the names of those titles the participants used during the two-week period. In addition, as media diaries, media landscape interviews and ethnographic visits were utilised as interview data, the possible concerns or thoughts and practices related to the fragmented media lives emerged in the participants' speech, for instance, as a worry over the too many media titles in one's life and the lack of time to follow them, or the scattered media content. Furthermore, the multitude of media and titles, for instance newspapers, magazines, books, mobile devices and televisions, surfaced in the ethnographic visits to the participants' homes.

Engagement with media was emerged in the participants' own accounts during all the methodical phases: in the diaries as descriptions of the most meaningful and memorable media experiences and spontaneous reflections about engaging and disengaging with titles; in media landscape interviews as reports of one's preferences and comparisons between titles; in personal media landscapes and top-21 lists when sorting the hundreds of titles in the order of importance and categorising one's own preferences; during ethnographic visits as representations of the activities and practices related to the engaging media; and finally, in reading aloud interviews as reflections over the engaging and disengaging content in the three magazines and the overall relationship with the title.

In the reading aloud interviews of magazines, consideration for both engagement and disengagement proved to be one of the most important features. It seemed to be easier for the participants to recognise the moments of disengagement that had interrupted their reading experience or other disengaging factors. Furthermore, as in the reading aloud interviews the magazine and its content were physically available, the experiences that were pointed out were different from those that emerged in the previous methods. For instance, *identity* as a part of media experience emerged only when the participants were reading aloud the magazine and reflected on their own life and thoughts with the actual textual and visual content.

Table 8 (below) summarises what information each method provided when they were iteratively employed and what each method revealed specifically about fragmentation of media use and engagement with media.

	What kind of information the method provided?	What the method revealed about media fragmentation?	What the method revealed about media engagement?
Online media diaries	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Overview of media routines • Personal descriptions of everyday media use and media experiences • Media titles used during a fortnight 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The variety of media titles and media used during the period • Personal reflections on reasons for choosing media titles from the overall media landscape • Reflections on (fragmented) everyday life and media use 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Writing about media experiences that were somehow meaningful or memorable • Personal reflections on reasons why some media are "better" than others
Media landscape interview	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Visual outcome, i.e. personal media landscapes • Frequently used media titles mapped in the order of importance • Purposes of using, preferring and disliking media titles • Comparisons of and interrelations between similar media titles • Comparable data between groups and within groups • 21 most important media titles for statistically comparable data between the participants and groups 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Amount of titles and variety of media use in personal media landscapes • Analysis and comparison of the 21 most important media titles and personal media landscapes: individualisation of media preferences 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Personal reflections for choosing between media titles that answer to similar purposes of use • The most important media titles both in personal media landscapes' categories and the list of 21 most important titles
Ethnographic visits	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Actual spatial and social surroundings and context for media use • Multisensory media practices • Media floor plan of homes and routine locations for using different media 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The apparent multitude of media titles and media that are available and accessible in the home environment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Spatial, temporal, social and sensory experiences related to the use of important media titles
Reading aloud method	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reader's relationship to a magazine: reasons for subscribing to or ending the subscription • Engaging and disengaging experiences that the content that one issue provides • Visual and textual media content available for reflecting 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fragmentation of content in magazines 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Personal engagement with the magazine • Recalling and reflecting on engaging and disengaging experiences, thoughts and reactions that took place when reading the issue for the first time at home • Partly different engaging and disengaging experiences than in the previous methods as the focus was on visual and textual content

Table 8. The data provided by the four methods, and what each method revealed about fragmentation of media use and media engagement.

The sum of the four iterative methods was more than if the methods had been used singularly. Fragmentation of media use emerged both in numbers and in the participants' speech and practices, and the extensive personal media landscapes illustrated the variety of media preferences. In combination with the top-21 lists the personal media landscapes functioned as analytical tools in examining the differences and similarities both between the individuals within the groups, and between the different groups.

Moreover, all of the methodical phases revealed the various sides and levels of media engagement: the practices and activities associated with the most engaging media titles including the social, temporal and spatial practices, engaging and disengaging experiences in relation to specific media content, as well as reflections on the meaning making behind choosing titles. Some of the phases provided similar and partly over-lapping information about the phenomenon; for instance, reports of the most important media titles in media diaries and media landscape interviews, or reflections on the factors that influence choosing specific titles in all of the phases. This could be regarded as applying unnecessary methodical phases, but I'd rather consider the overlaps as insistency in scrutinising the different sides of media engagement based on the participants' own accounts, at the same time increasing the validity of the research.

Only the most important results were highlighted in this chapter. More detailed descriptions of the results are found at the end of each analysis chapter.

8. Discussion

The research interest in this research focuses on the connection between media fragmentation and the titles people choose to follow regularly. The initial aim of the present research was to take a look at the multitude of media titles people encounter in their everyday lives, examine the experiences and practices they associate with them, and ultimately, which media they engage with, why and how. The microlevel fragmentation of media use and media engagement were the starting points of this study, accompanied by the context of everyday life and practices.

In this chapter I discuss the results and the iterative research setting of the study and outline research topics for the future.

8.1 Contribution for research on media fragmentation and media engagement

Media practice approach provides the broad angle and contextualised lens to this research. Contextualism is understood as “local metaphors” and “metaculture” (Peterson, 2010, p. 129) that derive from the empirical data and are further utilised as the grounding and categories for the analyses, and it served well as a tool in the analytical process. In all methodical phases the participants’ own accounts were emphasised, from letting them define the number of media titles in their personal media landscapes to naming the engaging and disengaging experiences.

The levels of fragmentation, that is, the dozens of media titles in the personal media landscapes and the differing levels of individualised media preferences between the groups studied, represent novel findings. To my knowledge, similar studies that would pay attention to the number of media titles in one’s life have not been conducted. Whereas previous research on media fragmentation has concentrated on the fragmentation of audiences between media or genres (Taneja et al., 2012; Webster & Ksiazek, 2012), the choices people make across media within a specific genre, such as news (Schröder, 2010), or patterns of media use across media (Hasebrink & Domeyer, 2012), the focus of the present research was on the variety of people’s media use and the titles they use frequently or are acquainted with. The definition of media and the scope of media titles were not limited in advance by the researcher, but the participants had the freedom to define what they meant by media and the amount of media titles they used.

The number of media titles in the participants' personal media landscapes was a surprise as well as the different forms of fragmentation of media use. The older participants had larger personal media landscapes whereas the younger participants reported following fewer titles. Moreover, the 18–25 year-old participants mentioned significantly more of media titles that no other participant within the group had mentioned, which indicates that their favourite titles were more individualised than those of the older participants.

Furthermore, the present study aimed at conceptualising media engagement through people's own accounts of the meanings they give to media use and practices, rather than a conception based on examining or measuring predefined attributes, such as recall (Napoli, 2010), or emotions (Busselle & Bilandzic, 2009). This approach resulted in a conception that depicts the "qualitative sensibilities" (Baym, 2013, p. 7) of media engagement. The findings regarding the routine and ritual media practices, social and solitary experiences as well as the multitude of the engaging experiences associated with the most important titles constituted important elements of media engagement and indicated differences between the participant groups and their preferences.

The different modes of entwining of fragmentation and media engagement propose topics for further research. For instance, the abundance of titles in the personal media landscape, among which one chooses those that are paid more and more frequent attention to – those that are engaged with – indicates that there are different kinds of recommendation and controlling systems operating. Social media services function as self-evident recommendation systems, but as important seem to be other people in offline environments. For instance, many participants in the TEENS group mentioned following specific content (blogs, TV series) to know what friends are talking about at school. Similar recommendation systems took place at home environments where family member influenced each other's media choices. In addition, especially the 45–55 year-old participants controlled their personal media landscapes by concentrating on the most engaging titles, and the experiences they mentioned engaging and disengaging indicate the criteria that is applied in controlling one's own personal media landscape and selecting the suitable titles, for instance, quality of content or usefulness for oneself.

Engagement with a magazine appeared in the light of everydayness. The most prominent elements of engaging with a magazine title (special interest magazine, women's general interest magazine, news magazine) were the functions associated with the magazines, the connection with one's life and shared values. These findings indicate that the dual premise of magazine engagement is a combination of engagement with the content and engagement with the practices of reading, which have also been reasons accounting for engagement with magazines in previous research (Hermes, 1995, p. 64; Ytre-Arne, 2011c, p. 96).

Media engagement is depicted in the *frame of engagement* (Figure 28). The user assess the titles and their content constantly in relation to one's own interests, values and other practices of everyday life and media use, which again

provide the context for reflecting the engaging and disengaging experiences. The concept of frame of engagement depicts media engagement from the viewpoint of an individual's engagement with a specific media title – a combination of various experiences and practices. The various frames of engagement are named in terms of the participants' media use, instead of classified by the researcher as 'entertainment' or 'news'.

The frame of engagement is developed especially from the perspective of reading and engaging with magazines, but as it takes into account all media one uses – the personal media landscape – it can be adapted for other media as well. In the research data there were numerous examples of other media and titles that could have been interpreted through the frame of engagement. "Morning news" could have been a frame of engagement for several participants in all participant groups, and the engagement with either the printed or online newspaper, or morning news programme could be analysed within this particular frame. One participant in the NEWS group ended her newspaper subscription during the media diary phase, and it was intriguing to follow her searching for suitable titles to substitute the printed newspaper. Eventually she settled for a combination of news magazine and two online news sites. This example emphasises the importance of the media practice and not only the media content, as the daily practice was more important than the title that originally was associated with the particular practice. In addition, many participants in the HOME and NEWS groups followed – even passionately – "quality series" on TV, and this selection of current and also past engagements with TV series of the genre, including the important weekly rituals, could have formed the frame of engagement. One participant talked during the first three methodical phases about "travel dreaming" for which she used various kinds of media titles, for instance, online titles as well as magazines. The applicability of the frame of engagement in the context of other media titles requires systematic and more detailed investigation as was done regarding the three magazine titles studied.

What emerged clearly in the research was the participants' knowledge of different media genres and titles. Previous research has also touched upon this issue, for instance, magazine reader's conceptions of magazine titles (Aitamurto, 2013; Ytre-Arne, 2012), television viewers evaluations between TV series and genres (Bird, 2003; McKee, 2001) and readers' knowledge of the conventions of crime fiction or journalism (Heikkilä & Ahva, 2015; Hermes & Stello, 2000). The frame of engagement, then, conceptualises *reader knowledge* in the process where media engagement with a title is constructed. This knowledge materialised as comparisons between titles and opinions of what kind of content the genres and specific titles should contain, how the topics be addressed, which viewpoints be adopted, and who the intended target reader is. What distinguishes the model of frame of engagement from, for instance, Napoli's (2010) and Peck and Malthouse's (2011) models of engagement (see Figures 1 and 2) is the inclusion of the entire personal media landscape, the media and titles one uses frequently and is acquainted with, which

the participants use for evaluating both specific titles and their relationship with them.

8.2 Developing the iterative methodological setting and finding new perspectives

Four methods were used to approach the combination of media fragmentation and engagement. The data collection phase was ambitious as the methods were conducted within a rather short time span with the four adult groups, and the iterative research setting included partial analysis of data in between the different methodical phases. The amount of raw data was substantial and it was coded in a detailed manner.

In future audience studies, the methods as well as the overall research setting could be further developed in relation to 1) the questions posed to the participants in the methodical phases, 2) the focus of the examined practices, 3) the assembling of the participant groups, and 4) engagement with media from a long-term viewpoint. First, as I was interested in investigating the *variety* of engaging and disengaging experiences, the online media diaries, media landscape interviews, or ethnographic visits did not follow a completely structured grid or questions, because the two latter were driven by the participants' own media preferences and their choices of the most engaging media. These first three methods resembled *performative interviews* where the participants have an active role in providing the context and topics for the interview (Mathieu & Brites, 2015). Examining the most engaging media titles – which evidently were different for the participants – resulted in very different kinds and different amount of data between the individual participants. Vice versa, the reading aloud interviews and the outcomes of the media landscape interviews, the personal media landscapes, were more structured and provided comparable data on the participants' experiences and preferences. For instance, in the personal media landscapes each participant were asked group their favourite titles under eight categories of importance, and the lists of the 21 most important titles were statistically analysed. The reading aloud interviews were similar for all the participants, as the magazine issue was the same within each group, and all participants reflected on their thoughts about that particular content and were asked the same questions about one's relationship with the magazine. Subsequently, the combination of the semistructured and structured methods provided rich data: open-ended accounts about media engagement, including the dozens of engaging and disengaging experiences, and comparable and statistically analysable data on the preferred media and titles and fragmentation of media use.

Second, approaching media use from the viewpoint of practices, for instance, 'domestic laundry practices' (Pink, 2006), or 'ICT practices at home' (Christensen & Røpke, 2010) might have provided a more straightforward research setting than in this present study where the research interest was divided between fragmentation of media use, media engagement, everyday practices and the intertwining of them. This would have allowed concentrating on

practices defined on a detailed level and also conducting longer-spanning observations in people's everyday lives to acquire information about the delicate meanings that are associated with spatial, temporal and social practices. Nevertheless, the methods that were employed in the present research have taken into account the media lives of the participants from various perspectives: routine, sensory and spatial activities at home, and most importantly, the context with other media use. Moreover, including all media use was beneficial as it offered a context where the participants were able to compare titles across media, resulting in understanding also media engagement with a specific title in the larger context of the personal media landscape.

Third, the TECH, HOME and NEWS groups with the 35–55 year-old participants proved to be more homogeneous than the group YOUNG ADULTS. The younger participants were current and former readers and users of three different media titles (two online services and one magazine), whereas the groups of the older participants were current and former subscribers of a specific magazine title. Due to the three different media titles in the YOUNG ADULTS group it was not possible to detect systematically the most engaging and disengaging experiences towards *one* title in the reading aloud interview, which resulted in excluding their data from the chapter that examined engagement with a specific title (Chapter 6). This group – as well as the group TEENS – would have possibly offered a very dissimilar viewpoint on engagement, especially if the focus was on an online title, for example, a blog or a vlog.

The three different titles also impacted the homogeneity of the YOUNG ADULTS group in two ways: the interests of the participants (as all of the magazines have rather narrow topic areas, which can be seen resulting in shared interests for the participants within the groups) as well as the socio-economic status of the participants. This again may result in distorted preferences in comparison with nationally representative samples. Hereby, the small groups should be regarded more as cultural groups and *purposive samples* (Schröder, 1999, p. 46) instead of providing representative results about the Finnish media users. Furthermore, gender did not play a special role in this study, even though the results and data may suggest otherwise. The genres of *Kotiliesi* (women's general interest magazine) and *Tekniikan Maailma* (special interest magazine of cars and technology) resulted in a gendered viewpoint to media use in general, as also similar titles the participants followed were used for point of comparison in media landscape interviews. Even though the personal media landscapes were assembled by the participants themselves, not much variation occurred among or between the gendered genres (women's magazines, lifestyle programs on TV, food and handicrafts blogs, car, boat, or technology discussion forums, gendered radio stations and TV channels etc.). Nevertheless, for example, the media titles related to the participants' professions and hobbies as well as news titles were shared and ungendered.

Finally, engagement with media does not end when the reading, viewing or using ends, but the content might continue to live "its own life". No longitudinal research was conducted to examine the long-term materialisation of engagement, which could have investigated, for instance, how the recipes were

used, which titles and content have contributed in forming a holistic perception of a specific current phenomenon or news, or what kinds of advertising or journalistic media content would be behind a recent purchase. Long-term engagement, however, was taken into account in the personal media landscapes where also previous engaging titles were sorted and which provided the participant a point of comparison in the meaning making. For instance, *Downton Abbey* was mentioned as a highly engaging title by many participants in the HOME group even if the series was not broadcasted at the time of the data collection period. In this way, other similar TV series that were followed at the time were often compared with *Downton Abbey*.

Despite conducting mostly qualitative methods with fairly small groups the results have a wider meaning than merely providing details of the media use of those who participated in the study (cf. Schröder, 2012, p. 801). In choosing the middleway (discussed in Chapter 3) in the debate concerning the ability of qualitative methods to produce generalisable information (Höijer, 2008; Schröder, 2012), I suggest that applying several qualitative methods that approach the same object of study – fragmentation, engagement with media and media practices – offers results that are applicable also outside the specific research context. As the media use of the groups correspond with the results from large-sample quantitative media use studies (e.g. Report, 2014), the present study can be seen to offer in-depth understanding about reasons for choosing between media and more detailed trends and individual information about everyday media practices. In addition, the iterative research process, which was conducted with the same participants and which built on the preceding methodical phases and preliminary analyses, also increases the reliability and validity of the research (see Jensen, 2012, p. 296).

8.3 Further possibilities for academic and industry research on media audiences

The magazine industry and academic magazine research are rather far away from each other (Johnson, 2008). Academic research on magazines has tended to concentrate especially on women's magazines and often from the viewpoint of content analysis (Holmes, 2008; Johnson, 2008). Aitamurto's (2013) and Ytre-Arne's (2011b) studies are two recent scholarly examples that have combined the viewpoints of both production and reception of magazines. Both studies reveal the readers' distinct perceptions of the magazine titles they read, and in Aitamurto's study (2013) reader perceptions can differ from the perception of the editorial staff, those who have designed the magazine concept in order to attract the desired readers (Jaakola, Töyry, Helle, & Onikki-Rantajääskö, 2014). The readers' evaluation criteria and perception of media titles that emerged in the present research as well as the aims of the media professionals, present intriguing topic for future research on magazines and their readers, which has been rarely studied (see Jaakola et al., 2014). Furthermore, it would contribute to bringing scholarly research and the media industry closer together (Johnson, 2008).

This research process had a dual strategy. On the one hand, the data were collected in partial cooperation with media publishers, and the media companies received the first data analyses and results. They were often more interested in user personas and similar easily adaptable notions of their audiences and preferred a more rapid timetable for utilising the results. On the other hand, theoretical considerations of audiences or concepts related to everyday media practices have been personally more inspiring for me, and thus this book contributes to academic research, as it builds on previous research, at the same time producing new knowledge about everyday media practices which is useful for the media industry (see also Korkman, 2006). The partly different perspectives of academic and industry do not, however, exclude one another.

Of mutual interest to both parties, was the endeavour to deepen knowledge about media engagement and to develop methods to examine media engagement in the fragmented media environment. Media landscape interviews, modified from the Q-methodology, were designed to answer the challenges set by cross-media environment and the abundance of media titles people encounter in their everyday lives. The outcomes – personal media landscapes – provided the media companies with a fresh angle to their readers and users and their preferences, while simultaneously showing the position of their competitors in the readers' personal media landscapes. The personal media landscapes could be further developed to better explain patterns of use in relation to titles and visually indicating the titles that are used for similar purposes. The reading aloud interviews, then, offered information about the meanings of magazine content to the readers from an individual perspective as well as the detailed negative and disengaging experiences associated with specific content.

The three categories of engaging and disengaging experiences with a magazine – function of the magazine, connection with the reader and shared values – indicate that the publishers' studies of their magazines could adapt a stronger personal perspective to the reader and user. In order for the reader to engage with a magazine, to experience relating with the content, to find useful and relevant topics and to share the values, the magazine publishers and editors really need to know who the readers are. Journalistic quality or trustworthiness are not the only important experiences that people associate with media content and titles. Instead, connection with one's own life and usefulness, such as feasible recipes or content that can be used at work, or content close to one's values were often more appreciated. Not only were the experiences associated with the magazine content, but with the readers' everyday practices, including competing practices with other media, for instance, searching for instructions or recipes on *Google*, reading political and knitting blogs, or watching current affairs shows. Frame of engagement, then, becomes relevant and applicable for industry research on media and audiences in the way it acknowledges the multitude of media titles that compete over the same time and same reasons from the readers', users' and viewers' perspective. To be able to develop the concept of a media title and find its strengths it is increasingly important to investigate what other titles the readers follow and what kinds of

experiences related to the content and practices of use are associated with them.

Moreover, this research has offered information about media preferences and practices of different kinds of audience groups, and also implying changes in them. Applying the user-centered approach throughout the iterative methodological setting and allowing the participants to express their media experiences freely, instead of adhering only to categories provided by previous research, made possible the intriguing findings and indications. The various manifestations of the social encounters regarding media practices suggest group-specific particularities, which the publishers could employ as cultural insights into their audiences. For example, the highly active content producing practices in the TEENS group, the ways some participants in the YOUNG ADULTS group took advantage of social media services to experience proximity with friends while using media in different locations, as well as the close and intimate practices at home in the HOME group provide media companies with knowledge that they can utilise in order to know their readers and users as cultural groups instead of demographic target groups.

Furthermore, wishing not to undervalue the rich and in-depth studies of women's magazines and their readers, it would be beneficial for the research field to include also other magazine genres. If the studies focus on experiences of women's magazines, the findings remain to conform the previous research and topics, such as the question of the realism of the imagery of female representations in women's magazines, negotiating identity, or magazine as the medium to relax with. Even if the findings of the engaging and disengaging experiences in the present study partly agree with the results from studies of women's magazines, the context of some of the experiences is different. For instance, in the context of women's magazines the potential usefulness in Hermes's (1995, p. 64) study referred to the sense of being prepared for future situations by reading stories of other people, and identifying with content in Ytre-Arne's (2012) study referred to e.g. relating with the realist representations of women. The participants in the present study reported similar experiences, but the male readers of *Tekniikan Maailma* associated potential usefulness with tests of products they would possibly consider of purchasing in the future, and identifying with the same socio-economic status, referring to the non-reachable luxury cars or boats. In addition, the engaging experiences of, such as topicality or quality (and the different factors contributing to it, e.g. objectivity, fresh viewpoints, relevance for oneself) complement the knowledge about magazines and their readers.

Due to the broad perspective, some themes have – despite the intriguing indications – only scratched the surface. For instance, the readers' evaluations of magazine photographs and visuality, or embodied experiences of using different media were touched upon, but not in a way that would provide sufficient results in its own. These are all relevant topics for future research on magazines.

8.4 Final remarks

The personal media landscapes consisting of dozens of media titles, even over a hundred, offer a feasible starting point for examining media engagement in the contemporary media environment. People choose some media over others for different reasons. The most engaging media are allocated time in the everyday schedules, and various temporal, spatial and social practices are associated with the media considered important for oneself. Sometimes media are chosen to accommodate the needs of family members, sometimes media are used in a concentrated and solitary fashion and sometimes the moment, the routine or ritual, with the media seems to be more important than the actual media title. Different kinds of recommendation systems (whether technological or social), new program schedules and changing personal interests direct people to new media content and media titles, which reshape personal media landscapes kaleidoscopically.

Research that contextualises media practices with the everyday life gives agency to people, and moreover, makes the practices visible for the reader of the research. Ang (1991) calls generalisations of qualitative research “violations to the concrete specificity of all unique micro-situations”, with which I partly – and probably unfashionably – concur. People do not often find themselves in typologies that are condensed too tightly. I believe that amongst people’s media practices and experiences can be identified similarities that compatible with typologies, but in which the participants’ voices are louder. The research presented conveys my personal passion for research on readers, users and viewers from their experiences and viewpoints – a contribution counterbalancing different kinds of contemporary audience research, for instance, research founded on big data, or quantitatively measuring engagement. In my study people were treated as individuals, even if also as representatives of specific audiences and cultural groups (see Höijer, 2008, p. 281). The analyses were based on their own accounts of the meanings they give to media use, media practices and media engagement.

The iterative research setting with four qualitative methods resulted in the novel findings about the fragmentation of media use and reasons for media engagement, and it provides an innovative and relevant methodological setup for further research on audiences and media. The results of the study on media engagement in relation to other media titles in the media landscape suggests the importance of examining media use across media, including the variety of media, genres, and titles that people encounter and choose in their daily lives. Moreover, media practices need to be paid attention to as engagement with media goes beyond making sense of or connecting with media content

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Appendix 1. Instructions for writing the online media diary

Dear author of the media diary

You are about to participate a study *of a specific media title*, where the participants media use is researched. The aim of the study is to find out how, and why different media contents are used, and how these titles are perceived and located in relation to other titles. This study is also a part of Riitta Perälä's doctoral dissertation.

New platforms for media use have increased during the past decade, and people watch, read, listen and use media in new ways, combining “old” ways of using with new media.

In addition to recording everyday media use, we ask you to write about media experiences – thoughts about media and media content, ways of using different media, and the situations where media are used. We want to hear from those media, contents, and topics that are important for you.

WRITING

Based on your writings we want to investigate everyday media routines, and hear from different experiences with media. These can be, for instance, routine watching of the morning TV show, or reading the newspaper, checking Facebook on lunch break, reading a magazine in a cafe, or going to the movies with a friend.

Media use can be long-term, such as, reading a book, which splits in different moments. On the other hand, media use can be very momentarily, for example, checking the news on mobile.

The form of the media diary is free. There isn't a one right way to do it. We hope that you write about your media use on a daily basis in the diary. You can also estimate and write down the time used with the specific media.

You can also add photos, videos and links related to your media use on your diary posts.

WHO READS MY DIARY?

Media diary is closed, so no external persons – not even the other diarists – can read your texts. Only you and the project researchers have access to your diary. You can not be recognised in the research data. If you want to contact the researcher to ask or comment something, you can do it by email. The researcher also reads the texts you post on the media diary daily.

WHAT SHOULD I WRITE ABOUT?

You can record on the diary how you use, for instance, the following media:

- Internet
- Television
- Phone

- Newspaper
- Local and free newspapers
- Magazines
- Console and video games
- Radio
- Movies / DVD
- Books
- Some other medium, which?

Here are some supporting questions for describing the media experiences:

- Why did you use / watch / read the specific media content?
- Where? In what situation? With whom?
- Did you do something else at the same time?
- Did something remain in your mind?
- Did something surprise you?
- Was the media experiences important, pleasurable, entertaining and/or irritating? Why?
- Did you discuss with somebody about the media content?
- Did you save something?

Supporting questions related to social media (e.g. Facebook, Youtube, Spotify, blogs, online discussion forums):

- Why did you use this?
- What did you do?
- Did you comment on something?
- Did you discuss with someone?
- Did you share something?
- What was interesting?

We appreciate all your thoughts and narratives related to media and using media.
Thank you for your participation in the study!

Appendix 2. Survey on media use before starting the online media diary

Background questions

Your age?

What is your profession? / What do you study

What is your level of education?

What do you do on your free time?

If you had more time to use, how would you use it?

Media use in general

How many hours/minutes do you estimate using with different media during one day?

With which medium do you use the most time during a week?

Do you use some media in a routine way (e.g. in the morning, or evening)?

Do you allocate time to some media or media content daily or weekly?

What topics are you interested in?

In which media do you follow those topics that interest you?

Do you follow specific media content / title regularly? If yes, what and how often?

What is the most important media title that you would not give up?

Do you use / watch / read media content at the same time with other people (e.g. family members, friends, colleagues)?

Do you discuss about media content with your family members, friends, or colleagues? If yes, which content or topics? Where?

Internet and social media

What do you use the internet for?

How often do you use the internet?

Where and what time of the day?

Which social media do you use? (E.g. Facebook, Youtube, Flickr, Pinterest, blogs, online discussion forums, other: which?)

Phone

What do you do with your phone? (E.g. Text messages, phone calls, games, listening to music, using the internet, other use: what?)

Supplementary task 1: A memorable media experience (after the first diary week): Write about one media experience during the past week that was somehow meaningful / important / more memorable than other media experiences. What made the media experience meaningful / memorable? The content, the situation of use, place or time, company or social situation, did the media use lead to something?

Supplementary task 2: Seven most important media titles (after the second diary week): Consider your current media use, and list in the order of importance the seven most important media titles, or content, that you follow or use. The media title or content can be a TV series, a magazine or a newspaper, an online site, a game, a social media service, or similar. What features make this important for you, and how it differs from similar titles or content?

Appendix 3. Questions during reading aloud interview

1) Open-ended questions about reading the magazine

How long have you read this magazine?

Why do you like or dislike this title?

How would you describe your relationship to the magazine title?

Do you recall the feeling you had after reading this issue? How was it?

2) Reading aloud the magazine

What thoughts does the cover stimulate?

Where do you start reading the magazine? How do you continue from there?

Tell aloud how you read the magazine and what thought did it stimulate?

3) Open-ended questions about reading the magazine

What was the most memorable content in this issue? Why?

What was the most interesting content in this issue? Why?

What was the most unnecessary content in this issue? Why?

What topics would you like the magazine to have more, and what topics less?

What kind of emotions / reactions reading the magazine stimulated?

What thought did the advertisements stimulate? What would you think of a magazine without advertisements?

Did you save something (either mentally or concretely)? E.g. a photo of a recipe, or writing down to purchase a product.

How would you describe this issue in relation to the title in general?

APPENDIX 4. The original, over hundred engaging and disengaging experiences that were identified in the data.

ENGAGING EXPERIENCES	
In English	In Finnish
Addiction, hooked on	Koukuttuminen, addiktio, riippuvuus
Break from everyday	Tauko arjesta
Concentration, intensity of situation of use	Keskittyminen, intensiivisyys
Concrete outcome of engagement: other	Konkreettinen ilmeneminen muu
Concrete outcome of engagement: saving or recording	Konkreettinen ilmeneminen säilyttäminen, tallentaminen
Connection with one's life	Yhteys omaan elämään
Content, genre of	Sisällön genre
Content, in-depth	Sisällön syvyys
Content, mood of	Sisällön tunnelma
Content, quality of	Sisällön laatu
Content, realism of	Sisällön realismisuus
Content, relevance of	Sisällön relevanttius
Content, specific	Tietty sisältö
Content, timeless	Sisällön iättömyys
Cultivating oneself	Itsen kehittäminen
Device, application	Laite, sovellus
Dreaming	Haaveilu
Emotional connection	Tunneside
Empathy, sense of	Eläytyminen
Entertaining	Viihdyttävä

Escapism	Eskapismi
Exposure, random	Satunnainen altistuminen
Familiar	Tuttuus
Fast updates or release	Päivitys, ilmestyminen
Former media engagement	Entinen
Frivolity, resetting, light	Hömppä, nollaus, keveys
General	Yleinen
Guilty pleasure	Guilty pleasure
Habit	Tapa
Ideas, inspiration	Ideoita, inspiroituminen
Identity, identification, relating to	Identiteetti, identifioituminen
Impression, made an	Teki vaikutuksen
Interesting information	Kiinnostava tieto
Journalist, actor, specific person	Toimittaja, näyttelijä, tietty henkilö
Local	Paikallisuus
Material, senses	Materiaali, aistit
Mood, one's own	Oma tunnelma
Nostalgia/tradition	Nostalgia/perinne
Passive engagement	Passiivinen
Productive	Tehokkuus
Relaxing	Rentoutuminen
Ritual	Rituaali
Routine	Rutiini
Schedule / programme schedule	Aikataulu/ohjelmapaikka
Sharing	Jakaminen
Social	Sosiaalinen
Stands out	Erottautuminen
Story type	Juttutyyppi
Time-space transition	Aika-tila-siirtymä

Topical	Ajankohtainen
Up-to-date, sophistication, backgrounding	Ajan tasalla, yleissivistys, taustoitus
Usability	Käytettävyys
Useful	Hyöty
Values	Arvot
Versatile	Monipuolisuus
Viewpoint, perspective	Näkökulma
Visuality	Visuaalisuus
DISENGAGING EXPERIENCES	
In English	In Finnish
Advertisements	Mainokset
Bored with	Kyllästyminen/toisto
Change	Muutos
Concrete result of disengagement	Konkreettinen ilmeneminen
Conservative	Konservatiivisuus
Content not deep enough	Sisälltö ei tarpeeksi syvää
Content, faults in	Puutteita / virheitä sisällössä
Content, genre of	Sisällön genre
Content, quality of	Sisällön laatu
Content, specific	Tietty sisältö
Fragmented content, odds and ends	Sälä
Frivolous, nonsense	Hömppä, huuhaa
General	Yleinen
Inspiration, lack of	Inspiraation puute
Interestingness, lack of	Kiinnostavuus
Journalist, actor, specific person	Tietty henkilö/näyttelijä/toimittaja
Lenght	Pituus
Materiality, senses	Materiaalisuus, aistit

No connection with one's life	Ei yhteyttä omaan elämään
Nothing new	Ei mitään uutta
Point of time	Ajankohta
Pressure, demands, expecatitions	Paine, odotukset, vaateet
Price	Hinta
Privacy	Yksityisyys
Repeats itself	Toistuvuus
Schedule or programme schedule, wrong	Aikataulu
Social	Sosiaalinen
Target group, wrong	Kohderyhmä
Topical, lack of	Ei-ajankohtainen
Unfamiliar	Vieraus
Unrealistic	Epärealistisuus
Values, wrong	Arvot
Viewpoint, perspective, wrong	Näkökulma
Visuality	Visuaalisuus
Voice, wrong	Ääni

APPENDIX 5. Comparison of with what the most occurring engaging and disengaging experiences were associated in each of the three magazines

Tekniikan Maailma is special interest magazine related to technology and cars, *Kotiliesi* is women's general interest magazine, and *Suomen Kuvalehti* is a news magazine. See Table 5 in Chapter 6 for the compilation table of the engaging and disengaging experiences.

Interestingness, specific content and topicality emerged in all groups and magazines. The engaging experience of interestingness in the three groups was associated with various issues. In the TECH group, the experience of interestingness in relation to *Tekniikan Maailma* referred to topical content, but also interestingness was emphasised. The participants in the HOME group associated interestingness to the culture-related odds and ends in *Kotiliesi*, as well as profiles of interesting people. The participants in the NEWS group associated interestingness in *Suomen Kuvalehti* with the longer articles in the magazine.

Specific content and quality of content occurred among the most important experiences only in the data from media diaries, media landscape interviews and ethnographic visits. Specific content might have been a recurring column of a specific columnist in the magazine, or specific topics of interest, or specific story types, such as in-depth articles. Quality, then, consisted of various factors, for instance sense of objectivity or journalism quality. In the reading aloud interviews, the content of the magazine was available for reflection and thus the thoughts were more detailed – what especially made the content engaging, disengaging, of quality, interesting or uninteresting.

Engaging experiences of topicality were also associated with different factors between the groups. The participants in the HOME group related topicality in *Kotiliesi* with culture-related odds and ends, but also with food and gardening and, for instance, seasonal recipes. Similarly, the participants in the NEWS group associated topicality in *Suomen Kuvalehti* with odds and ends, but in this magazine this content was more about the national and international news. However, also cultural topics and the profile story type in *Suomen Kuvalehti* were considered topical content.

Good viewpoints for the participants in the TECH and NEWS groups meant fresh viewpoints examining the subject of the article from a new angle. In the TECH group, the experience of usefulness or potential usefulness in relation to *Tekniikan Maailma*, and in the HOME group the experience of ideas and inspiration in *Suomen Kuvalehti* were related to content that provided useful information. The participants in the TECH group appreciated product tests in *Tekniikan Maailma* to be prepared if they considered purchasing such a product. The participants in the HOME group valued the ideas in *Kotiliesi*, for instance food, gardening and handicrafts, and looked for inspiration in recipes and photographs.

The disengaging experiences stemming from missing new information, untopicality and lack of connection with one's life were also related, even if they were named differently. The lack of new information in *Kotiliesi* and *Suomen Kuvalehti* was associated with information or content that the readers already were acquainted with. For instance, some participants in the HOME group felt that the gardening articles in *Kotiliesi* provided little new information for them, whereas the participants in the NEWS group had already read about the topics in other magazines or newspapers that *Suomen Kuvalehti* contained in the specific issue.

For the participants in the HOME group, the lack of topicality in *Kotiliesi* meant content that was irrelevant in terms of their own lives. For instance, the specific issue of *Kotiliesi* in the reading aloud interviews concerned summer festivities, and those participants that were not arranging parties (i.e. most of them) did not consider these topics that relevant. Similarly, the experienced lack of connection with one's life for the participants in the TECH group meant in *Tekniikan Maailma* especially those topics focused on expensive or luxury products, which the readers did not consider being available for them due to their economic situation. This experience is connected with the engaging experience of identifying and disengaging experience of unrealism in the HOME group. The readers related with the real-life interviewees in profiles, and on the contrary, considered the fashion article, in particular, extremely unrealistic. Furthermore, other value-charged negative experiences were associated with *Suomen Kuvalehti*, where the editor-in-chief was seen as conservative and supporting 'wrong' values, for instance, patriotism. In addition, the wrong viewpoint in *Suomen Kuvalehti* referred to elitist or other value-charged angles in the magazine content.

Nostalgia as an engaging experience emerged in all the groups. The participants in the HOME and TECH groups referred to nostalgia with *Kotiliesi* or *Tekniikan Maailma* in all the methodical phases, already in the first three. The participants in the NEWS group mostly talked about their long and strong engagement with *Suomen Kuvalehti* at the beginning of the reading aloud interviews where their reader relationship to the magazine was discussed. Thus, nostalgia is not apparent in the compilation table (Table 6), in which only the engaging and disengaging experiences towards the actual content were analysed.

ERRATA

Riitta Tammi (2016) Engaging with media in the fragmented media environment. Doctoral dissertation. Aalto University.

Chapter 4

Page 111 (middle): “The average size of the personal media landscapes of the participants in the TECH group was **73**.”

Page 118 (bottom): “The personal media landscapes in the NEWS group had on average **81** media titles.”

Page 122 (bottom): “The NEWS group of the same age had on average **81** titles in their personal media landscape [...]”

Page 124 (bottom): “[...] the participants in the HOME group mentioned **15** singular media titles [...]”

Page 126 (top): “For the participants in the HOME group, the **15** singularly named titles were in most cases profession-related [...]”

Page 138 (middle): “The TEENS group had on average size of **66** titles [...]”

Today's media landscape is characterised by growing instability and rivalry. The media environment is increasingly fragmenting, and the boundaries between genres are blurring. News is provided on Twitter and countless fashion and lifestyle blogs compete with printed women's magazines. Users, readers, viewers and listeners enjoy autonomous possibilities to access content when, where and how they please. Among the abundance of media titles people choose the ones they consider engaging. This research examines people's personal media landscapes and the experiences and practices that are associated with those titles that are considered especially engaging. Special attention is paid to readers' engagement with a magazine title. The iterative research process with five participant groups contributes to the methodological challenges that both audience researchers and media companies face, resulting from cross-media environment.



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