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Reasons to decline an invitation to peer review during the Coronavirus (COVID-19) outbreak - Are there implications for journal policy?

Janos Toth

Department of Communication and Media Studies, Kodolanyi Janos University, HUNGARY

With COVID-19 reaching Europe in late January 2020 (Spiteri et al., 2020) and turning into a full-blown pandemic with 271,364 confirmed cases[1] as of March 21, 2020, virtually all European countries have decided to take public health measures of varying degrees. Among these measures, academics are significantly affected by travel restrictions and shuttering education institutions. Due to travel restrictions, numerous international conferences have been cancelled or postponed. In severely affected countries like France, Spain and Italy, people are banned from leaving home except to buy essential supplies, medicines, or for work. Numerous EU countries, as well as the U.S. and the U.K., have encouraged citizens to stop unnecessary travel and non-essential contact with other people. With the country-wide closures of schools and universities affecting all EU member states in various degrees, higher education institutions had to reorganise the spring semester with faculty members providing courses online from their home.

Lack of time - still a valid ground for turning down requests to review?

Despite all hardship suffered in general by every citizen due to COVID-19, at first sight it may appear that academics are not as affected as other segments of society. One could even imagine that the situation actually may have a positive impact on their availability to review, reasoning that time saved by state- and institutionally-supported social distancing and university closures create more free time for academics. Also, because certain types of academic work conducted under normal circumstances are temporarily unavailable or pose too much risk, peer review as academic activity could take greater focus on the priority list of a restructured personal academic schedule.

Working from home and teaching online courses could be a real time-saver for faculty members. Perhaps the most obvious of those is saving on commuting time. A Eurostat (2020) survey using 2015 data suggested that one-way commuting time averages 42 minutes in the EU-28 countries and 53 minutes in the UK. Working from home has effectively decreased this to zero. Moreover, academics often faces even longer commutes from one city to another because of the specificities of the academic job market, so the time saved on commuting could be even higher. Widely discussed as part of the "adjunct crisis" problem, early career academics working as temporary lecturers (hired on a fixed, short term contract) commute significantly

[1] https://www.ecdc.europa.eu/en/geographical-distribution-2019-ncov-cases

Address for Correspondence: Janos Toth, email: janos.toth[at]kodolanyi.hu

more. Academics are lucky to find a local position and they often teach in multiple institutions and cannot afford to move to a new place on fixed-term contracts. It is also not uncommon for tenure track professors to give lectures in institutions other than their main affiliation. But most importantly, centrally co-ordinated allocation of teaching times and availability of teaching spaces seriously hinders the chances of optimizing commute time with an economical teaching schedule. Rarely being able to compress all teaching hours in one day, most lecturers give courses at least two or three days per week. Furthermore, in Western Europe full-time faculty members are normally responsible for two to three courses a semester, while in Eastern Europe this would be considered extremely light.

Depending on the academic position, teaching load, central timetabling and the number of affiliated institutions, academics can gain several hours per week from university closures and transitioning to online courses. However, because this is not a natural transition, i.e. forced by the public health measures following the COVID-19 outbreak, there are other, indirect influences on the amount of time saved. In the EU-28, university closures preceded primary and secondary school closures. This leaves working parents with the task of arranging care for their children while they are still responsible for work; or if they have transited to working from home, finding a way to care for their children themselves while remaining productive and professional. Social distancing measures also require reorganising a whole range of ordinary activities, and with the whole epidemic situation negatively affecting psychological well-being, academics may save time with online courses, but may not be able to reuse it for professional goals and have to spend it for solving newly-raised non-work related problems. Therefore, it is uncertain how their objective and subjective availability for review is altered during the COVID-19 pandemic, and how journal policy should take this new situation into account when looking for external peer reviewers.

Reasons why peers invited by journals decline to review is an important, but relatively under-researched topic. Perhaps the main reason for this is the relative difficulty of conducting such research, as the required data is only accessible for journal editors and publishers. Key studies on this problem are limited to journals of one publishing group (Title and Schroter, 2007) or one individual journal (Willis, 2016; Domínguez-Berjón et al., 2018) and its authors are typically associated with the publisher or members of the editorial board of the journal investigated. Conflicts of interests between different journals and publishers of the same field can be the reason why more robust, comparative studies are less likely to be conducted. Existing results are also focused on STEM fields while not gathering much interest and attention in the social sciences, even though the functions and methods of academic publishing are essentially the same in natural and social science fields.

Indisputably, the backbone of any scientific journal's quality control mechanism is external peer evaluation. Depending on the journal's editorial policy and the number of revision rounds asked, a typical manuscript consume at least two, but often 3 to 6 external reviewers before its final acceptance (or rejection). There seems to be little debate in the published literature on the fact that peer reviewers add significant value to the products of commercial and non-profit academic publishers. The same goes to the authors, whose academic capital is enriched by peer-reviewed publication and its future potential to attract citations and networking opportunities with other researchers of the field. Reviewer work is undercompensated, both in the financial and the symbolic sense, but this does not have a major impact on the system since intrinsic and prosocial motivations are much more relevant then extrinsic ones for peers accepting to review (Zaharie and Seeber 2018). When they decline to review, lack of time is the most common reason (Title and Schroter 2007, Willis 2016, Domínguez-Berjón et. al 2018), one which is normally plausible, general and neutral, leaving no room for further questions. However, lack of time is a valid reason in this context only because it is meant as referring not to conflict with any other activity, but with professional workloads: Any academic who publishes peer-reviewed research has already profited from multiple researchers' peer evaluation, making reviewing for journals part of an informal professional transaction and good practice at the community level rather than an ethically-neutral individual choice.

By transitioning to online courses and suspending or restructuring many other professional activities during the COVID-19 outbreak, being swamped with other work-related tasks is less likely to be a valid ground for turning down requests to review. Lack of time as an explanation for refusing to review is still expected to be given to invitations, but we hypothesize that this will more likely refer to a non-work-related situation compared to pre-outbreak responses.

Methods

In examining rewiewers' willingness to accept invitations to review, this short study compares reviewers' negative responses to invitations to review. We looked at the journal KOME – An International Journal of Pure Communication Inquiry (ISSN 2063-7330), based in Hungary. The journal uses a dedicated email address for peer review management and sends reviewer invitations to members of the Hungarian Communication Studies Association, members of the editorial board, experts from the Editors' professional network as well as cold-calling experts in email based on their publishing profile in SCOPUS and Web of Science. For this study, we collected refusal replies between the 1st February and 31th March, 2018, 2019 and 2020 to invitations to review original (research) papers submitted to KOME. Only initial replies were considered, i.e. replies were not included if a peer accepted the request but declined later. Data were collected and used with the approval of the journal owners, on the understanding that reviewer names and other personally identifiable information were not revealed. Reasons for refusal were extracted from the replies and categorized using a mixed-method approach: The three main categories for refusal reasons ("work-related reasons", "non-work related reasons" and "not specifiable") were pre-determined by the author, while subcategories emerged from the data during the analysis. If a potential reviewer provided multiple reasons coded to the same subcategory in their answer, it gets counted (merged) as one reason, but if they provided reasons belonging to different categories, they get counted once for each separate subcategory.

Results

A total of 116 reasons from 94 refusal responses were collected. After merging multiple reasons provided in the same response belonging to one subcategory, a total of 102 units were drawn out for analysis; 34 from 2018, 41 from 2019 and 27 from 2020.

Table 1: Refusal reasons for peer review request at KOME, 01 February – March 31

	WRR-Lack of time	WRR-Lack of expertise	WRR-Unavailable	WRR-Conflict of interest	NWRR-Lack of time	Not specified	Total
2018	19 (55.9%)	3 (8.8%)	2 (5.9%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (2.9%)	9 (26.5%)	34 (100%)
2019	24 (58.5%)	3 (7.3%)	2 (4.9%)	1 (2.4%)	1 (2.4%)	10 (24.4%)	41 (100%)
2020	17 (63%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (3.7%)	0 (0.0%)	7 (25.9%)	2 (7.4%)	27 (100%)

WRR-Lack of time: This subcategory encompasses all reasoning pointing to conflicts with other professional obligations or academic activity. Typical items belonging to this category are those referring to being swamped with review obligations or being busy finishing a book/paper/evaluation etc.

WRR-Lack of expertise: Items in answers where the potential reviewer excused themselves mentioning not having the specific expertise required to critically evaluating the manuscript

WRR-Unavailable: Items coded in this specific subcategory referred to mentions of being retired or on parental/research leave

WRR-Conflict of interest: With only one item, this subcategory is for a declined request where in spite of a complete anonymisation the potential reviewer was aware of the author's identity

NWRR-Lack of time: All items referring to personal-level reasons, events unrelated to work or status changes were coded into this category, including medical circumstances, parenting hardships and the direct and indirect effects of anti-pandemic measures in 2020.

Not specified: These reasons were too general or insubstantial to indicate whether they were work related or-non work related. "I am unable to review this paper at this time", "I am sorry I cannot take this on" or "I don't have time to do it" are some examples that were coded into this category.

Work-related reasons were the most often used by those who declined to review (70.6% of all reasons provided in 2018, 73.1% in 2019 and 66.7% in 2020) which is consistent with previous studies. In each investigated period, the most common reason was lack of time due to conflicts with professional activities (55.9%, 58.5% and 63% respectively). It was found that the journal received significantly less general, unspecified dismissals in February and March 2020, compared to the similar time period in 2019 and 2018. In those 2 years, approximately one of every four reviewers did not specify a reason for rejecting the review request, however, in 2020 only two potential reviewers declined the invitation without a specific reason. While the ratio of not providing specifics for the refusal decreased significantly in February and March 2020. At the same time, non-work-related reasons for not having time to review became approximately ten times more frequent compared to 2019 and 2018. In 2020, they accounted for 25.9% of all dismissal reasons provided by the peers invited (previously 2.9% in 2018 and 2.4% in 2019). All of these non-work-related reasons were connected directly or indirectly to the coronavirus outbreak. Peers specified increased parenting workload connected with home schooling and supervising children at home, which require extra time and energy, as well as the increasing difficulties of everyday life introduced by lockdowns and social distancing. Effects of the outbreak also crept into work-related reasons, where in three instances there were references to lack of time due to reorganising teaching activities due to the coronavirus situation. This means that during this 2-months period in 2020, 37% of all reasons provided for not reviewing for the journal were connected to the social effects of the COVID-19 outbreak.

Mini-discussion and implications for editorial policy

Finding appropriate reviewers poses a challenge to many journals, especially for those without a strong international reputation or a solid commercial academic publisher. Relatively new, online and open access journals coming outside of the native English-speaking regions of the Global North often have to face rejection when reaching out to reviewers, even without a global pandemic spreading through society. Analysing reasons for rejection during normal and turbulent times allow journal editors to strengthen their peer review process by finding new ways of approaching reviewers as well as understanding how the coronavirus outbreak and anti-pandemic measures affect potential reviewers' willingness to cooperate with journals.

This mini-study has a number of limitations, most obvious is the limited sample size gathered from one journal with a specific profile, and the regional characteristics of the journal's reviewer pool; as the journal in question ask academics mainly from Global North countries to review, but without relying heavily on specific countries or institutions. This makes the results ungeneralizable to a wider group of journals. More research is needed to understand how journal reviewers are affected in Global South institutions. It would be interesting to understand if results vary at the country level. Methods used for analysis could profit from qualitative interviews uncover the reasoning behind the excuse of not having enough time to review. For example, this could mean that the journal is simply not prestigious enough to merit one's time, but the invited does not want to offend the editors and is looking for an easier and more neutral refusal reason. Or, in the current situation, it is possible that this answer is used to cover for a larger problem like decreased productivity from psychological trauma from the pandemic. As the pandemic is still underway, a more complete picture of how its social consequences affect reviewer availability could also be gained by repeating the study after the situation passes. Until then, these preliminary results show us that the coronavirus outbreak is responsible for one of every three reasons offered to KOME when an external peer evaluation request was declined. The situation also seems to motivate peers to specify why they are refusing to review, which occurred less frequently during "normal" times.

Implications of these experiences to journal policy resulted in an editorial decision that, effective April 1, 2020, KOME will not ask external experts to review from countries where schools and universities are closed, until the coronavirus situation is under control and these institutions reopen. Unfortunate as is, the majority of countries with high research output and high-ranking academic institutions are affected by these measures, and the case is similar with most of the editorial staff's home institutions. Therefore, it is expected that the peer review process will last longer for new submissions as well as for manuscripts passing preliminary editorial evaluation and scheduled for peer review, but still without designated peers. Before COVID-19, an average peer review cycle at KOME lasted anywhere between 2 to 4 months; we estimate that it will be at least one but possibly two months longer, on average, until the situation normalises. Currently we do not have exact information on the impact of the coronavirus outbreak on the functioning of other journals of the field or from the region. A clear public communication of key changes, or the lack thereof, towards the authors and the general audience would be recommended from an ethics standpoint, not to mention it could equally offer helpful data for coronavirus impact research.

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Original Article

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Promotion culture and on-air promotion timing

Mira Moshe

Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Ariel University, ISRAEL

Abstract: Ongoing changes in the media landscape have led to ever-increasing levels of competition for viewers' attention and awareness. The profit to be gained by capturing the viewer's attention is automatically balanced by other players' failure to do so. Thus, nowadays consumer culture is engaged in consumption of a time interval rather than in consumption of a product per se. The following article portrays three features of on-air promotion time: zero-sum time, timeless time and the pro-future track. *Zero-sum time* refers to the sense of dichotomous time perception distinguishing 'In' (i.e., a viewer watching the program) vs. 'Out' (i.e., a viewer who prefers to watch something else); *Timeless time* relates to time as a flow being temporarily interrupted by on-air promos designed to generate anticipation; *The pro-future track* is a deterministic path (even though sometimes masquerading as free choice) by which on-air promo culture tends to denote the future as the preferred time choice. These time motives symbolize the intensifying struggle for power taking place within and between "old" vs. "new" media industries especially in the current era which the "here and now" declines "the future".

Keywords: Media Culture; The Zero-Sum Game; Media Competition; Media Attention; On-Air Promotion; Temporality

Introduction

Contemporary media culture encourages the production of programs whose sole purpose is to promote a forthcoming TV schedule. It seems as if some invisible hand is busily creating sequential content-related programs aimed at taking viewers to the next program – that is to say, the next product. Obviously, the formation and spreading of information and commercial features are related to changes in society, culture and economy as well as in media organizations (Williams, 2000). Still, this phenomenon of a planned flow of programs defines "*characteristic of broadcasting, simultaneously as a technology and as a cultural form*" (Williams, 2004/1974, p.86). One media configuration that simultaneously serves, both as a technological and a cultural form and which offer a sequence or set of alternative sequences of events, "*which are then available in a single dimension and in a single operation*" (ibid) is on-air promotions.

A promo's attentiveness is specifically relevant in a multichannel era in which each TV channel must sell not only its programs but also the entire channel (Gray, 2010a). As a result,

Address for Correspondence: Mira Moshe, email: miram[at]ariel.ac.il
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since the 1980s the line between entertainment, commercial promotion and self-promotion is constantly getting blurred (Gillan, 2014). Meaning, commercial television tends to treat advertisements and programs as part of the same kind of naturally continuous field (Fiske, 2004). However, promotion does not only involve a commercial act of selling but also involves advancing and developing a text (Gray, 2010b). Therefore, the purpose of this manuscript is to examine the characteristics of on-air promo time by decoding promo's frames.

Media Culture in Times of Neo-Liberalism

A promo serves to promote a medium while simultaneously constructing an image of it (Bainbridge & Bestwick, 2010). No longer is promotion a secondary tactical device. It is now a primary marketing function, a capitalist commodity, enabling competitive positioning of stations, networks and systems. The expansion of these capitalist commodities has been a basic premise of consumer culture (Featherston, 2007), especially within a neo-liberalist milieu. Neo-liberalism has empowered consumercitizens' perspectives (Schild, 2007) while instructing them that they can continually reinvent themselves through consumption (Jubas, 2007). At the same time, the ability of capitalist production to transform the material and social world which sustains it allows ordinary people to refashion their lives and lifestyles (Lee, 1993) in accordance with their freedom to choose (Botterill, 2007). Ergo, it is not surprising to find that the growth of neo-liberal societies and consumer culture is closely associated with the spread of the zero-sum game of 'winners' and 'losers' (Venn, 2009; Venn & Terranova, 2009).

Similarly to other industries, the media have been deeply influenced by the expansion of the zero-sum game. If an individual is exposed to specific content during a particular time interval, other options are 'sealed' and no alternative information can be consumed during that same period of time. Consequently, the profit to be gained by capturing the viewer's attention is automatically balanced by other players' failure to do so. Obviously, in such games it is rare to find mutual collaboration, since any player's benefit always comes at the expense of others. Thus, behind the scenes of this game, a tough and cruel battle is being fought between promotion departments, programming divisions and information technologies, while the need to find new stimuli has been greatly increased.

Media competition

One of the most salient factors in the emergence of new stimuli is the expansion of neo-liberalist ideology and practice. According to the neoliberalist perspective, all economic sectors, including broadcast media, benefit from removing barriers to the entry of new players and the development of new services and policies that promote greater competition, including foreign contenders (Flew, 2006). As a result, Western liberal societies have adopted a socio-democratic approach to media policy, which supports the introduction of greater market competition (Flew, 2006; Lund & Berg, 2009; Fowler, Hale & Olsen, 2009 et al.). In addition, the accelerated development of various technological innovations and applications has reshaped media use and audience habits (Ursell, 2001) and ensured media competition. Media competition can take place in many institutional forms:

a) television vs. radio (Browne, 1992);
b) private/commercial TV broadcasts vs. state/public television broadcasts (Statham, 1996; Padovani & Tracey, 2003; Oates & Roselle, 2000; Wheeler, 2004; Lund & Berg, 2009);

c) private vs. public journalism in the same sector (radio broadcasting for example, Purdey, 2000);
d) broadcast networks vs. cable and satellite TV (Jaramillo, 2002; Born, 2003);
e) competition between local TV stations (Fowler, Hale & Olsen, 2009);
f) competition between new digital online media and traditional media (Chalaby & Segell, 1999; Dimmick, Kline & Stafford, 2000; Moe, 2008; Trappel, 2008);
g) industrial competition between global television program producers in the entertainment industry (Hoskins & McFadyen, 2004) and
h) competition among telecommunications firms (Collins, 1998; Kim, 2009).

On the bright side, media competition contributes to diversity and original programming (Jaramillo, 2002; Lund & Berg, 2009) and generates continuous innovation as well as the improvement of information quality and professional norms as part of an attempt to comply with audience demands (Cohen, 1989; Van der Wurff, 2002; 2004). On the darker side, competition in broadcasting leads to downgrading of political information and even worse, to a crisis in political communication highlighted by the increasing reliance of television news media on entertainment formats (Brants, 1998; Liebes, 1999). Intensive media competition dissolves the characteristics of traditional jobs and threatens occupational conditions (Thomass, 1994), while also calling into question the core values of cultural identity (Wheeler, 2004). However, lately the term 'media competition' has become associated with 'niche theory' (Dimmick, 2003; Feaster, 2009), which proposes that the new media compete with traditional, established ones (in order to meet users' needs). The niche of a medium derives from its pattern of resource use, represents its strategy for survival and growth and ultimately determines its position in a multi-dimensional resource space (Ramirez, Dimmick, Feaster, & Lin, 2008). In situations of high competition or overlap, two media attempt to fulfill the same role or niche for users (Feaster, 2009) by making an on-going effort to capture audience attention.

Media attention

Attention is the cognitive process of selectively concentrating on one aspect of the environment while ignoring others. Attention can be directed voluntarily, but there are also factors that attract attention automatically, principally the sudden appearance or movement of abrupt onset. Another way to attract attention and prominence is to modify the quality of a stimulus, for example, its color, intensity, angle, etc. Cognitive systems recognize various stimuli in a pre-attentive way and draw attention to it. Therefore, the distribution of attention acts according to economic principles of cost benefit and competition for limited resources. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising to find out that in today's 'information society' attention has become a rare commodity, as both individuals and organizations seek publicity in information-attention markets (Franck, 1998; Davenport & Beck, 2001).

For media managers, public attention is seen as a 'fringe benefit' because they are interested in maximizing awareness of their products (Fengler & Ruß-Mohl, 2008). However, human attention somehow still represents an abstract, elusive and intangible product (Napoli, 2003). Furthermore, attention is often replaced by exposure, which is considered to be the closest proxy that can be quantified (Bermejo, 2009). In broadcast media, the audience is regarded as the main commodity produced by the advertiser. The information, entertainment and 'educational' material transmitted to the audience are an inducement (a gift, a bribe or a 'free lunch') to recruit potential members of the audience and maintain their loyal attention (Smythe, 1977). The media produce blocks of time during which it is possible to communicate with audiences, which are then sold to advertisers (Gandy, 1990). in this manner, competition for the attention of potential audiences, and the problem of audience appeal, have become an increasingly important aspect of television broadcasting (Ekström, 2000).

Since the battle for viewers' attention is traditionally related to commercial television and advertising (Maxwell, 1995), producers of TV ads are especially aware of the need to attract attention (Kubey & Csikszentmihalyi, 1990). It is obvious then, that commercials are full of devices designed to attract attention over and over (Lull, 1990). However, when dealing with media attention, the perception of the audience as a commodity is only one part of the equation. The other part refers to media gratification (Rhee & Cappella, 1997), media effects (Yanovitzky & Bennett, 1999), agenda setting (Kiousis & McDevitt, 2008) and of course, media framing (Nisbet, Dominique, & Kroepsch, 2003).

Competition for audience attention, in and between media, has given rise to a media zero-sum game in which each participant's profit is balanced by others' looses. When viewers watch a specific program they are in fact performing an economic transaction, generally as buyers. Yet, they will estimate the profit obtained from the program they watched − the product they purchased − in a different manner before and after viewing (i.e., performing the transaction). Media consumers decide to watch a particular program because they are convinced, before the transaction is carried out, that it is worth their while. In other words, they estimate that the profit to be derived from watching a particular program is greater than the profit they could derive from watching something else (i.e., by investing resources in another way). After completing the media consumption transaction − consuming the product − their perception is liable to change considerably, since the program is finished and is no longer apparent to the eye. Conversely, the value that media consumers attribute to a subsequent program may have decreased considerably.

On-air Promotion

As stated above, a new-liberal climate has resulted in an increase in the number of competitors in the television industry. Obviously, the fear of losing in the zero-sum game only intensifies the aggressive competition for the media consumer’s attention. The inevitable consequence is an increase in the use of promos (Dillman, 2009). Onair promotion has become a big-budget item for the US television industry - occupying air time that could otherwise be sold for commercials - and the marketing of images has become one of the central concerns of program suppliers (Eastman, 2000). Thus, although drawing viewer's attention to on-air programs was never a simple matter, lately it has becoming a challenging and difficult task.

Promotion is an indispensable tool for creating and exploiting differences among competitors (Eastman & Klein, 1991). In a flash of revelation through promos, an entire process of de-subjectification and immersion is accelerated (Bratich, 2006). Eastman and her colleagues (Eastman & Newton, 1998; Eastman & Bolls, 2000; Perse, 2000 et al.) have articulated the view that certain structural factors, as well as some content factors, can increase or reduce the effectiveness of program promotion. In their view, salience theory can be applied in order to examine how associative mental models influence the decision to view television programs. According to this theory, the influence of structural and content factors on the determination to consume a specific broadest is performed by means of associative mental models of television programs. In other words, the viewer’s life experience creates an associative mental model of programs and media messages. Promos arouse latent memories that are related to that mental model and change them into accessible memories. The widespread assumption regarding promos is that a high frequency of screening will positively influence the rating of programs that are promoted. Conversely, studies that were performed on the frequency of on-air promotions have not so clearly indicated that this is the case. However, at the same time, it has been found that:

a) a large number of promos improves the rating of reruns, but not of new series (Walker, 1993);
b) a high frequency of promos has a negative effect on the rating of new series, but improves the rating of one-time broadcasts;
c) airing promos adjacent to program broadcasts improves rating;
d) creating promos relating to one program more positively influences rating that creating promos relating to a number of programs and
e) including promos in programs having a high rating positively influences the rating of the promoted program (Eastman & Newton, 1998, 1999)

In any case, it is quite clear that regardless of whether culture is branded as high or low, it is reconfigured for target markets based on its promotional value (Rectanus, 2002). However, shorter attention spans have created a new viewing style called ‘dropping in’, meaning that viewers choose to watch only a short sequence of a dramatic film that has been aired several times on television (Perebinossoff, Gross, & Gross, 2005). Hence, since the late 1980s, there is a general trend towards including graphic and written information known as *scrolling* in a television format (Caldwell, 1995). Although scrolling is strongly identified with reading strategies in new media technologies (Boiarsky, 1997), especially the internet (Schoenbach, De Waal, & Lauf, 2005; Knox, 2007; Daniels, 2009; Brügger, 2009; Carey & Elton, 2009; Rebillard & Touboul, 2010) and SMS services (Caldwell, 1995; Knox, 2007), various television shows scroll both textual and graphic information (Beyer, Enli, Maasø, & Ytreberg, 2007). In the broadcasting industry, scrolling sometimes relates to the broadcasting company’s products and sponsors (Vered, 2002), nevertheless, scrolling is more and more taking the shape of a brief summary at the end of a program (Jaramillo, 2006).

A more recent technique for capturing attention involves *pop-out*s. Several cognitive models view pop-out effects as the result of early visual processing prior to attention (Laeng, Svartdal, & Oelmann, 2004). Humans are affected by trial-to-trial changes in stimulus features and target location (Bichot & Schall, 2002). For example, pop-out targets (defined by unique color) are judged more quickly if they appear at the same location and/or in the same color as on the preceding trial, in an unpredictable sequence (Kristjánsson, Vuilleumier, Schwartz, Macaluso, & Driver, 2006).

Furthermore, recent research has demonstrated that what observers attend to at a given time, affects how their attention is deployed in the few moments that follow. When an observer searches for a discrepant target, repetition of the target feature from the previous trial speeds the search, an effect known as priming of pop-out (PoP). PoP speeds engagement of attention to the selected target (Yashar & Lamy, 2010). The result, in consumption terms, is that products ‘pop out’ from the shelf display and lead to an ‘unconsidered’ selection based largely on attention latency and visual familiarity (Calder, Robertson, & Rossiter, 1975). Shelf displays, shelf ‘talkers’ and off-location displays are all ways to help a brand ‘pop out’ and capture our attention (Sutherland & Sylverstone, 2008). Since pop-outs create visual salience, they integrate well with various promotion strategies. Thus, it is not surprising to find that the pop-out has become a complementary tool devised to supplement to the promotion of TV programs by heightened promotional push (Avery & Dickson, 2006).

On-air Promotional Timing

The multiple forms of on-air promotion illustrate the dominance of the promotional culture beeing generated in the twenty first century. Nowadays, it appears that promotion is everywhere, and at the same time, its presence is no longer noticed (Davis, 2013). The promotion of a brand, for instance, depend on previous promotion as well as competitive promotion activity (Liu & Balachander, 2014). Within the media industry, a central component of the growing promotional culture internal promotions constitute. An internal promotion is defined as: "*any television message that may promotes the broadcasting station, network, other programing or any other assets owned by the network's parent company - including television channels, radio stations, print holdings, websites, mobile applications, or even Twitter accounts*" (Asquith & Hearn, 2012, pp. 342-343).[1]

Methodology

The symbolic production of on-air internal promotional time was decoded through framing analysis of internal promos of the (only) two Israeli commercial channels − *Keshet 12* and *Reshet 13* − between August 2019 and October 2019.[2] The promos framing analysis was performed with regard to prime time programs (20:00-23:00).[3]
Inspired by Gillan's (2014) work on the hybrids of television content and promotion and Gray's (2010, b) ideas that the "*promotional material that we consume set up, begins, and frames many of the interactions that we have with the text*" (p. 48), promo analysis was conducted with regard to the following on-air promotion apparatus:

a) promoting future programs just before taking a commercial break from on-air program;
b) promoting future programs just after taking a commercial break from onair program.

On-air promos framing analysis indicate that similar to title sequences which promote a corporate image (Cecchi, 2014) and /or to music, post-faces played a part in end-credit sequences in contemporary television serials (Davison, 2014), TV promos −just before and just after taking a commercial break from on-air program − act with the economic intent of channels self and cross-promotion. Those self and cross-promotion was carried out via:

a) the usage of a next in line program logo;
b) audio-visual referral to the channel prime time schedule;
c) audio-visual invitations to track all prime time programs and stars;
d) visual slides of the future program sequence;
e) syncs or short trailer from following programs;
f) syncs or short trailer from various weekly programs.

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[1] Internal promotions come in the form of on-air promo spots (ranging from 10 seconds to one minute); short “bumpers” that identify the broadcaster (typically five seconds or less); onscreen watermarked network logo “bugs” that frequently appear for the duration of shows; “lower third” graphic animations superimposed on the bottom portion of the screen that promote upcoming shows, contests, or special events; or “credit squeezes” that literally squeeze a program’s end credits to the side so the remaining screen real estate can be used to promote other programming or media assets. Internal promotions are also increasingly working their way into television shows themselves" (Asquith & Hearn, 2012, 342-343).
[2] Since November 2017 only 2 free-to-air commercial TV channels are legally allowed to broadcasts in Israel – Keshet 12 and Reshet 13.
[3] More about the importance of prime time see Gitlin (1979)

Following the framing analysis, three features of on-air promotion time:

a) zero-sum time - the sense of dichotomous time perception distinguishing ‘In’ vs. ‘Out’ ;
b) timeless time – the notion of time as a flow being temporarily interrupted by on-air promos designed to generate anticipation; and
c) the pro-future track - a deterministic path (even though sometimes appearing as a free choice track) by which on-air promo culture tends to denote the future as the preferred time choice.

Zero-Sum Time

Despite the tendency to emphasize the economic aspect of the Zero-Sum Effect, over the years, this concept has also found its way into other fields, such as military conflicts (Levin, 2003; Howlett & Glenn, 2005), tourism and culture (Shepherd, 2002), power and race (Macey, 2009) and even areas such as identity, belonging, nationalism (Trentmann, 2007) and time. Time has a ‘zero-sum’ property that allows one to identify the trade-offs in daily life (Robinson & Martin, 2009). Basically, an hour spent can never be reclaimed (Thompson & Bunderson, 2001) and, as a result, the tempo of other activities and tasks is systematically being affected (Farmer & Seers, 2004; Lair, Sullivan, & Cheney, 2005). Furthermore, if consumers spend more time on some new activity or technology, then this must necessarily displace time spent on some other activity or technology (Robinson & Kestnbaum, 1999; Robinson & Martin, 2010). Namely, the addition of one activity necessitates the substitution of another (Robinson & Godbey, 1997).

In our case, the Zero-Sum Time principle can be demonstrated by *Keshet 12* promotion of its future programs just before taking a commercial break from its on-air program "*First Date*" (broadcasted on October 1st, 2019 from 8:15 to 9:17 p.m.). Self and cross-promotion was carried out by audio-visual referral to the next day's prime-time channel program: "*Tomorrow - you have a ticket for The Adi Ashkenazi's Show - a holiday gift - from us*" followed by a short trailer from the show; its schedule; an audiovisual invitation to track all prime time programs and stars, visual slides of the future program sequence and a short trailer from forthcomig programs.

Thus a zero-sum game takes place between the *Keshet 12* TV channel and its viewers. If the viewers accept the "*holiday gift*" and watch *The Adi Ashkenazi's Show* (featuring a leading Israeli stand-up comedienne) they will, apparently, benefit from *Keshet 12*'s loss (as a result of purchasing broadcasting rights). However, if the viewers does not accept the "*holiday gift*" and does not watch *The Adi Ashkenazi's Show* then *Keshet 12* loses while the viewers benefits by choosing an alternative entertainment option.

Similar to the Zero-sum game theory that describes a situation in which one party's profit is balanced by the other's loss, thus the closed circle of profit and loss for all viewers and broadcasters amounts to zero. In the media industry the zero-sum game is conducted by the rating measurements system. The rating measurements system "*..measures exposure to advertising through individual ratings of television programs. A rating is an estimate of the size of the television audience relative to the total television audience. .. It is customary for the advertising industry to sum rating points for a program over a specified time interval …* " (Szczypka, Emery, Wakefield, & Chaloupka, 2003, p. 8). However, unlike zero-sum game, in Zero-Sum Time, there is, sometimes, a conflict of interest among all parties. That is, according to Zero-Sum Time the promotion of a future viewing advance a dichotomous time perception of ‘In’ vs. ‘Out’. ‘In’ vs. ‘Out’ is basically a binary notion. The viewers, who are ‘In’ will watch future program. The viewers who are ‘Out’ will not watch it but rather prefer watching something else. At the same time, a TV channel whose future programs are watched is ‘In’ whereas a TV channel future programs are not consumed is ‘Out’.

In other words, the Zero-Sum Time construct a sense of dichotomous time perception distinguishing 'In' vs. 'Out', TV shows who are culturally acceptable vs. TV shoes that are culturally unacceptable vs. Those that are not. Similarly to previous research suggesting that in-group vs. out-group memberships is influencing the willingness to purchase products (Wang & Chen, 2004; Josiassen, Assaf, & Karpen, 2011 et al.) it appears that the Zero-Sum Time draws a clear line among variuos mass audiences. Practically stated, the Zero-Sum Time calls for highlighting brand uniqueness, to the level of distinctive audience' cultural identity.

Timeless Time

In many commercial television channels "*the characteristic organisation, and therefore the characteristic experience, is one of sequence or flow*" (Williams, 2004, p. 86). Moreover, "*.. in both commercial and public-service television, a further sequence was added: trailers of programmes to be shown at some later time or on some later day..*" (Ibid. p.91). Moreover, the new information technology paradigm promotes new forms of social time and space - 'timeless time' and 'a space of flow': "*Timeless time appears to be the result of the negation of time, past and future, in the networks of the space of flow*" (Castells, 2010. p, 507). Castells closely follows Leibniz in conceptualizing time as synonymous with 'sequence': "*In other words, "time" equates to the sequence in which events happen*" (Jones, 2010, p. 60). Whereas in 'old time' one thing succeeded another, in timeless time there is no succession - the sequencing of things is constantly interrupted. To a great extent, promo culture acts according to the timeless time approach.

Every few minutes, the broadcasting flow is temporarily interrupted by on-air promos. Breaking and compressing timeless time in this way is enthusiastically encouraged by promo culture; things happen instantaneously, and linearity is broken in the discontinuity of the process by which we use information (Hamilton, 2002). Just as in timeless time where everything interacts with everything else (Hassan, 2003), promos encourage 'linkage' among totally unrelated programs. Nonetheless, what typifies more than anything the connection between promo culture and timeless time is the anticipation. Similarly to timeless time which '*belongs to the sphere of the anticipated future*' (Ylijoki & Mäntylä, 2003, p. 64), the on-air promotion incentive to consume the next, forthcoming, program.

An illustration of the Timeless Time notion can be seen in the *Reshet 1*3 TV channel's promotion of its future programs just before taking a commercial break from its on-air program " *The Wonderful Journey of Aharoni and Gidi*" that was broadcast on October 16th, 2019, from 9:10 to 10:15 p.m.. Once again, self and cross-promotion was carried out via audio-visual referral to the next day's prime time program: "*What is hidden beneath the cloche? The Chef's Games. Auditions are starting soon*". In an era of Timeless Time the '*anticipated future*' is much more important than a specific, concrete, future. Moreover, in promotional cultures anticipation stands for and propels other circulating entities forward (Wernick, 1988).

The concept of anticipation in human behavior was originally based on the principle by which the greater the number of possible alternatives at a certain point, the higher the information value of the alternative that is chosen (Chernov, Setton, & Hild, 2004). The '*two mechanism depending on anticipation, surprise and curiosity are deeply involved in the autonomous cognitive development of action*' (Pezzulo, Butz, & Castelfranci, 2008 p. 40). Hence, anticipation guides the viewer's attention and eagerness to ensure that motion is not missed and meaning is not lost.

The Pro-Future Track

When discussing anticipation and attention, one should bear in mind that prefiguration in shaping modes of reception and that highly anticipated adaptations and sequels are frequently intertextual (Michelle, Davis, Hardy, & Hight, 2017). Promos, then, are framed as '*structures of meaning for textsto-come'* (Gray, 2008, p. 38). That is, on-air promos are just as much about creating textuality and promising value addition; they exploit text as an act of consumption (Gray, 2010). Moreover, since the television industry presents several shows within the same spot and even within the same break (Eastman & Bolls, 2000) textuality become more and more challenging and the notion of Pro-Future Track is the result of such complicity.

On October 1st, 2019, the *Keshet 12* TV channel promoted its future programs just before taking a commercial break from its on-air program "*First Date*" broadcasted from 8:15 to 9:17 p.m. a multiple spot promoted: *a)* a show titled "*The Economic Minute*"; *b) "The Adi Ashkenazi Show*"; *c)* the channel program sequence; *d)* "*Nicole Raidman's New Life*" and *e)* "*One In A Million*". These, as well as other multiple spots portray a Pro-Future Track. Meaning, on-air promotion is not about a specific program, but is rather a latent promise for a televised future.

The consumer future is therefore designed by the promo culture which can be viewed as moving along a continuum, one end of which represents a determinist world view and the other end a free world view. The determinist world view is marketed mainly by on-air promos focusing on future dramayic series. Hence, the future is seemingly known in advance and dictated to the viewer. This means that promo culture is fueled by the determinist approach in which every human event, activity, decision or thought has been previously determined (Hoefer, 2010). The free-will track mainly typify promos for reality shows, in which the future is subject to change, as though the media consumers can determine it themselves and script the future as they wish (by sending an SMS for example). The principles of free choice or free will indicate that a person's actions and decisions are the result of free, independent choice. They are not determined in advance or dictated by determinist causality or fate, or by a higher power. According to this principle, we have the ability to decide and exercise free choice regarding our actions and the power to control them, thus determining to some extent the course of our lives. Namely, at the other end of the track we find the 'sales agent' who promotes the future as a platform for empowering the consumers. Yet, in any event, whether we are exposed to determinism or freedom of choice, on-air promo culture tends to denote the future as its preferred time choice.

Conclusion

The future of consumer culture tends to intrigue and challenge consumption researchers (Stillerman, 2004; Goldman & Papson, 2006; Watson & Shove, 2008; Arvidsson, 2010; Young, 2010). Several questions and doubts have been raised. Is it at all possible to predict the future of consumption? Does the fact that products that were considered to have asecure future have disappeared from the shelves making it impossible to predict future consumer choices? What will future generations of consumers be like (Tyler, 2009; Peterson, 2010)? Nevertheless, parallel to the desire to understand the principles according to which the future of consumption will be constructed, more philosophical questions have arisen in the research community. Will there be a place for free choice in future consumerism? Will it be possible to shape it as we wish (Wilson, 2005)? Does the future hold in store the chance to financially succeed (by means of lottery tickets, for example) (Husz, 2002)? Is it possible by means of consuming economic information, for example, to ensure such chances of success (Cetina, 2010)? Generally, will future consumerism guarantee us a better life (Therkelsen & Gram, 2008)? And finally, do the dangers inherent in our future (Beck, 1992; 1995) even make it possible to predict consumer trends (Bauman, 2001; Gabriel & Lang, 2008)?

The temporal characteristics of on-air promotion, i.e., *zero-sum time, timeless time* and the *pro-future track,* suggests that commercial television solution to the challenges of future consumption is, in fact, to focuse on the future. By Creating a sense of ‘In’ vs. ‘Out’, by generating anticipation and by paving a deterministic path, on-air promo culture identifies the future as the preferred time frame to act as a stimulant spice.

However, the wide spread of Video on-demand (VOD) distribution systems, Internet Protocol television (IPTV) which offers the ability to continously stream media, as well as binge-viewing pattern and of course the huge success of Netflix, indicate that on-air promotion based upon future's effectiveness, is about to expire. In the current era of ICT (Information and Communications Technology), which glorifies the "here and now", "the future" is becoming irrelevant. In other words, the current time motives which construct the symbolic production of time represent the struggle for power taking place within and among "old" and "new" media industries.

Thus, when dealing with promotional strategies, one must bear in mind that now days consumer culture is carried out not in terms of consumption of goods but in terms of consumption of time (Slater, 1997); that in the study of personal consumption, time preferences have an important effects on activities that the individual elects to engage in (Silver, 2000); that time is a limited resource and changing the way we utilize time does not increase the total number of hours per week that we exploit in any particular way (Steedman, 2001); that as an insufficient and infrequent commodity, time is subjected to the principles of economic law that assert the importance of optimizing the use of one's time (Linder, 1997).

Ergo, under capitalism, time became money as the rate of turnover of capital became a paramount form of profit-making. The faster you could secure your return, and the faster you could reinvest it, the greater the profits to be made (Castells, 2010). Relative importance of time has a direct impact on the nature of products as well as on purchaseing behavior (Samli, 1995). In an affluent society the value of an individual's use of time increases in relation to the value accorded to commodities. As a result, choice in the use of time becomes a significant factor in the economy of affluence (Johnson, 1997) and, of course, in the economy of promotion. Simply put, on-air promotion is about the promotion of time, however, poor time orientation of on-air promotion may diminish commercial television industry rather than strengthen it.

To sum up, in a time in which consumer culture is aimed at marketing the sense of a unique experience of time, the struggle for attention reflects the structure of power. Even though we cannot yet estimate the extent of these changes on the nature of symbolic time production, we are aware that the promo culture reveals a range of resources targeted at capturing attention, i.e. consuming time. Hence, in order to explore the time motif in promo culture, one must focus on the power balances and struggles within and among media industries.

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Dubbing Viewers in Cyberspaces: A Netnographic Investigation of the Attitudes of a Persian-language Online Community

Saeed Ameri and Masood Khoshsaligheh

Department of English, Ferdowsi University of Mashhad, IRAN

Abstract: It appears that online communities have provided a free and user-friendly platform for users to do many real-time pieces of stuff from doing translations to discuss translations. The field of translation studies has begun to investigate these online virtual environments for varied perspectives. Nevertheless, the existing research has mainly addressed fansubbing communities. The present investigation, however, analyzed a Persian-language online community where its users exchanged comments and shared ideas regarding dubbing in Iran. For the purposes of this study, netnography, as a reliable research method within the marketing discipline and communication studies, was employed to study the community and its members. The collection and analysis of posts and comments from this online community yielded new insights into Persian dubbing and how Iranian dubbing audiences view Persian dubbing. On another level, the study provided evidence supporting the application of netnography as a methodological tool in investigating reception in audiovisual translation.

Keywords: Netnography; dubbing; reception; Iranian viewers; participant observation; online community

Introduction

Since the inception of translation studies (TS), varied and original investigative methods have been introduced into the discipline, including Internet-mediated, sociological and ethnographic approaches (Saldanha & O'Brien, 2013). Notwithstanding the recognition of the validity and legitimacy of the new approaches in TS, research has barely benefited from the full potentials of other approaches, such as ethnography. Only a few projects in the TS literature, as Asare (2016) observes, are firmly grounded on ethnographic or participant observation approaches. The limited research, which has employed ethnography (e.g. Angelelli, 2004; Koskinen, 2008; Asare, 2011; Olohan & Davitti, 2017) has, by and large, put under scrutiny the translators' role in organizations, their working process and the tools exploited in their workplace (Asare, 2016). With the rapid technological growth and the shift towards Internet-mediated interactions on social networking websites in the 2000s, traditional ethnographic methods were no longer able to enrich our understanding of such a social media life (Kozinets, 2015). Therefore, netnography or online ethnography as "a technique for the cultural analysis of social media and online community data" (Kozinets *et al.* 2014, p. 262) came into existence. Although the role

Address for Correspondence: Masood Khoshsaligheh, email: khoshsaligheh[at]um.ac.ir
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of the Internet and the new technology has been well-recognized in TS (e.g. Chan, 2015), the application of netnography in the field has been limited. Dombek (2014) and Li (2015) are the only researchers who have applied the method for the exploration of online non-professional translation. This has also triggered the acknowledgement of netnography in seminal TS literature (e.g. Pérez-González, 2014; Jiménez-Crespo, 2017). The present changes in the audiovisual translation (AVT) landscape as well as users' new habits and tastes have foregrounded the importance of researching audience "in their real-life settings" to have "a better understanding of the role of AVT in their daily lives" (Li, 2019, p. 384).

A considerable body of dubbing reception research (e.g. de los Reyes Lozano, 2015; Perego *et al.* 2015; Ameri *et al.* 2018; Di Giovanni & Romero Fresco, 2019; Mehdizadkhani & Khoshsaligheh, forthcoming) has resorted to experimental designs or self-report data. However, netnography could offer fascinating insights into a given phenomenon as it occurs naturally (Kozinets, 2019) and natural data "are neither elicited by nor affected *by* the actions of social researchers" (Potter 2006, p. 191). The quantitative and experimental nature of previous studies on audience, according to Li (2019), is very restrictive and research should embrace new and novel methods, such as netnography.

Overall, using netnography as its method, this paper sets out to contribute to dubbing reception scholarship through analyzing an online Persian community where Iranian dubbing viewers voice their ideas and attitudes towards dubbing. To do so, viewers' comments and opinions, as online narratives, posted on the forum were studied. For a better appreciation of netnography, the next section sketches its main features and procedures. It then outlines the limited existing research in TS, which has used netnography.

Netnography

Netnography was originally introduced in the late 1990s by Robert V. Kozinets for exploring online content in marketing and consumer disciplines (Kozinets, 2019). Defined as "participant-observational research based in online fieldwork", netnography encompasses a textual analysis of people's views and perspectives made online on social network platforms (Kozinets, 2010, p. 60). Netnogrpahy is, therefore, "a pragmatic, how-to, workbench-level approach to studying social media using a cultural lens" (Kozinets, 2019, p. 19). This qualitative research method is brand new and has quickly gained ground across disciplines: tourism, sociology, leisure studies, and education, among others. Grounded on fieldwork, netnography presents a full account of online and Internet-based communities or culture (de Valck *et al.* 2009, p. 197). In other words, it allows investigators to gain the perspectives of online gatherings in which individuals "present themselves using digital rather than physical referents" (Schau & Gilly, 2003, p. 385) and actively communicate and commune with each other like a socio-cultural group (Kozinets, 2010). In addition to being time-efficient and inexpensive, netnography incorporates a multitude of naturally occurring behaviors. It is also less obtrusive, and is conducted in less fabricated situations accounting for far-reaching, permanent access to the informants (Kozinets, 2015).

There exist some similarities and differences between netnography and traditional ethnography. The two practices aim to uncover "human experience and cultural understanding", "deep appreciations of the context of people's everyday life", and "social systems of shared meaning" (Kozinets, 2019, p. 15). Both are naturalistic and open-ended practices and are carried out in an authentic situation, but the former is faster, simpler, more time-efficient, and affordable. Ethnography demands the physical presence of the investigator; nonetheless, more demographic information as well as numerous non-verbal clues could be obtained (Kozinets, 2006a, 2010, 2019). To provide a systematic contextualization of data, the netnographer is supposed to have high interpretive skills. The researcher is also supplied with the ready-made transcription of the information, which is far easier in many ways for the analysis (Kozinets, 2006a, 2010). The significant quality standards of netnography, as mentioned by Kozinets (2006a, p. 286), include "immersive depth, prolonged engagement, researcher identification, and persistent conversations".

A netnographic study may benefit from three forms of data (Kozinets, 2006b, 2010):

- Field notes are obtained through the researcher's inscription and direct observation of the community and its members.
- Archival data are achieved from the textual analysis of pre-existing messages, posts, comments, pictures, etc. on the community.
- Elicited data are collected through interviewing or chatting with the members of the community.

To guarantee an in-depth netnographic investigation, as Kozinets (2006b, 2010) spells out, the netnographer has to follow a series of steps carefully:

The first step is planning and entrée. Finding appropriate online communities is the first step of the procedure to address research questions. Therefore, research goals and the targeted online forum should match. Once the community is identified, specific points are considered germane in the selection of the community for research: if it has relevant information and data for the purposes of the study, if a substantial amount of posts is available, if rich data can be accessed, and if a certain amount of interactions among the members could be found. In addition, before taking the next step, the researcher should spend some time exploring the online community to get oneself familiarized with it. The second step is the collection of the data in the form of field notes, archival or elicited data, as elaborated earlier. As there is a great volume of information on online forums, the netnographer should decide which data best fit the research goals. Data collection should continue as long as no new information is found and saturation is reached. The third step concerns data analysis; the netnographer may choose a specific qualitative data analytical technique, such as thematic analysis or grounded theory. Another stage involves the measures for trustworthy interpretation. To ensure that, the netnography should be carried out with long-term engagement, and the results should be equipped with feedback from the members. Generalizing the findings beyond the given group should be done with caution and supported with a triangulated design and long-term immersion in the community. More importantly, conclusions of a netnographic research should be made realistically in the light of the limitations of the project. Ethical procedures in netnography encompass (a) revealing the researcher's presence and goals in the community, (b) keeping the anonymity of members in the research, (c) requesting feedback from members on results, and (d) seeking members' permission for anything which may be directly quoted. Finally, the results are suggested to be sent to members, particularly those whose posts have been examined to lend more insights.

To the best of our knowledge, netnography has been employed only in two large-scale projects in TS which are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1 - Summary of the netnographic research in TS

Dombek's (2014) netnographic study of Polish crowdsourcing	
Goals	The author aims to "understand the motivation underpinning contributions that are typically without financial reward, especially when the call for translation is made by a for-profit entity" (xvi).
Methodology	Kozinets (2010)
Instrumentation	online questionnaires, observation, retrospective think-aloud protocol
Community or group	Polish Facebook user-translators
Duration	1 October 2011- 2 March 2013
Type of collected data	Elicited data, archival data, field notes
Researcher's activity	Personal interactions with the members of the group
Li's (2015) netnographic study of Chinese fansubbing	
Goals	The author investigates "the dynamics of collective identity formation in The Last Fantasy (TLF) fansubbing group" and demonstrates "how TLF's fansubbers deploy digital technologies" for their works (8).
Methodology	Kozinets (2010)
Instrumentation	online questionnaires, observation
Community or group	TLF fansubbing
Duration	Not mentioned
Type of collected data	Elicited data, archival data, field notes
Researcher's activity	Active participation in group conversations as well as translating or proofreading subtitles for the group

As can be inferred from Table 1, the limited existing research, which has benefited from netnography, has been confined to the area of fansubbing and crowdsourcing with a strong emphasis on translators than audiences. Nevertheless, there is still much room for further applications of netnography in AVT, especially at present when online environments and social media are booming. This in turn has brought about new chances for audience of cinematic products to "voice their opinions in a way that had never previously been possible" (Chiaro, 2014, p. 206). The application of netnography in translation, however, has not been straightforward. Li (2015), for instance, reports that the activities of the community under the investigation can go beyond its specific website and members may perform on multiple platforms. Additionally, Dombek (2014) adds that the data offered by a netnographic study sound compelling albeit insufficient, suggesting the incorporation of other relevant methods. She also argues that some users may not willing to share the messages, which they exchanged with other users, with the researcher even though they were assured of the confidentiality of the data. Overall, the potentials and capabilities of netnography in TS could be summarized as allowing researchers to study a phenomenon in its natural setting which could yield first-hand and fresh insights. In spite of this, the small body of netnographic literature has so far been limited to translation processes as well as social agents, especially translators. There is, however, ample room for using netnography in reception studies.

Dubbing reception studies

In consideration of the importance of audience, a rapidly growing amount of what can be called AVT reception studies has been published in the current decade (Di Giovanni & Gambier, 2018), with an emphasis on subtitling and media accessibility, and dubbing has received lesser attention (Chaume, 2013; Di Giovanni, 2018). The remarkable contributions into dubbing reception have so far focused on experiments and surveys with self-report data (e.g. Fuentes Luque, 2003; Chiaro, 2007; Antonini, 2008; de los Reyes Lozano, 2015, Perego et al., 2015; Ameri *et al.,* 2018,; Ameri & Khoshsaligheh, 2018; Khoshsaligheh *et al.,* 2018; Di Giovanni and Romero Fresco, 2019). The importance of qualitative research on audience is that researchers could employ a wide array of tools, ranging from interviews to participating observation, and it guarantees the investigation of audience behaviors "in as natural a condition as possible" (Di Giovanni, 2018, p. 163).

We know from the literature that the reception of both dubbing and subtitling is comparable as far as audience understanding and cognitive efforts are concerned (Perego et al., 2015) but dubbing may offer a more relaxed and less cognitively demanding viewing experience on the part of audience in case the cinematic program is complex (Perego, Missier, & Stragà, 2018). In his doctoral dissertation, de los Reyes Lozano (2015) found that children might not experience a great deal of difficulty in understanding cultural content, which is typically left untouched in dubbing. In a Polish context, Leszczyńska and Szarkowska (2018) came to this conclusion that Poles prefer domestication in dubbing cartoons, implying that the use of Polish elements in dubbed versions, which eradicated the trace of the original culture, is acceptable to them. Additionally, in Iran, audience pay much attention to such issues as synchronization, voice-quality and censorship, and translational issues do not seem to dominate the reception of dubbing (Ameri *et al.,* 2018; Ameri & Khoshsaligheh, 2018). They also prefer to watch the dubbed versions, which highlight the color and foreignness of the original. In an ongoing study by Ameri (forthcoming), it was revealed that the matter of foreignization and domestication highly depends on the program genre. For example, Iranians would rather watch animated films with dubbing because the translations are highly domesticated as elements from the Iranian culture are usually used which makes the program more enjoyable and funny. This is also the case for Koverienė and Satkauskaitė's (2018) reception studies into Lithuanian dubbing. The authors argue that Lithuanians preferred to watch animated films with dubbing rather than voice-over and subtitling because of "the illusion that a film [the dubbing] is a local product" (p. 82), and this is achieved through careful synchronization and voice-selection. Although survey studies claim that Iranian audience are critical of poor synchronization and incorrect voice-selection for performance, an eye-tracking research shows that Italian dubbing viewers look less at the characters' mouths and direct their attention towards eyes. This is perhaps because they know that synchronization is barley perfect and they still want to immerse in the program and enjoy the experience (Di Giovanni & Romero Fresco, 2019). To wrap up this discussion, dubbing reception has stirred up much interest among researchers, leading to the publication of survey-based or experimental studies. Yet, within this framework, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to reach a critical understanding of dubbing audience in their natural setting where they feel free to share and voice their attitudes about merits and demerits of dubbing.

Method

This study attempts to analyze how Iranian audiences perceive Persian dubbing in an online community. To offer the analysis of dubbing reception from a fresh outlook, the present investigation draws on netnography. For this purpose, the steps of conducting netnography including planning and entrée, data collection and analysis, trustworthy interpretation, ethics and member checks (Kozinets, 2002, 2006b, 2010) were followed. A brief description of the stages is presented in the following.

Planning and entrée

To explore the reception of Iranian dubbing viewers, a forum-based online community at http://cafeclassic5.ir/ (CCL) was investigated which hosts 7000 members. CCL requires registration, and select users with high ranks and credits are allowed to make new posts while ordinary members can only like and comment on the posts. CCL undertakes reasonably high traffic and hosts an increasingly huge amount of data. One section of CCL is also about dubbing and subtitling. Prior to data collection, the first researcher reviewed the terms and conditions of CCL to ensure the existing rules. CCL warns against the use of materials without proper citations (due reference to CCL). In addition to acknowledging CCL in every part of this paper, an initial request was also sent to the site managers in order to obtain their consent for using material for research purposes. The site managers approved the request and the registration on CCL was conducted on 26 March 2015. The first author of the paper spent several weeks to gain a comprehensive understanding of the regulations on CCL and to acquire a general overview of CCL. The members were Iranian, and the language of communication among the members was Persian, the official language in Iran.

Data collection

Attempts were made to gather all three forms of data. While collecting the archival data, the researcher also gathered field notes data by observing and participating in some discussions by liking and commenting. The researcher maintained an active role rather than a silent observer. In order to make a clear understanding of the vague posts and comments, the site members were contacted although in some cases the certain user who posted the comment was no longer active in the forum. After several weeks of probing the community to get a good understating of it, the process of data collection and analysis began and continued for twenty months, and the immersion in the forum ended in mid-November 2016. Some elicited data were also gathered through a questionnaire survey. The questionnaire included six open-ended questions and over 25 members of the website were asked to contribute; however, only 20 members at the end returned their responses. The questions were designed to gain more-in-depth insights into the picture already drawn through the field notes and the archival data.

Data analysis

The archival data were copied and downloaded from the website and saved on a hard disc. Employing ‘thematic analysis’, the data were coded and memoed manually. This qualitative data analysis technique allows for pinpointing and analyzing the shared themes within the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). These themes and codes were not established in advance but were developed as a result of continuously-examination of the existing data. The quotations used as evidence were translated into English and on occasions, some were shortened because of their length. The field notes data included several pages of written reports and snapshots of the website that the netnographer made. The process of data analysis started after collecting some data so that an initial picture of the topic could be drawn to get the ball rolling. The identified codes and patterns were updated whenever new data were added and analyzed. The data were textual materials and required no transcription. The elicited materials were also coded through ‘thematic analysis’.

Ethical considerations and member checks

As to the legal considerations governing research on human participants, prior to the research, permission and approval for conducting this research was obtained from our University's research ethics committee. Any research carried out within this institution should be conducted in accordance with the approved codes of ethics. For example, researchers are required to maintain the confidentiality of information gathered from human subjects. We attempted to maintain the highest standards of research ethics.

Concerning the ethical considerations governing netnography, the netnographer's presence, affiliations and intentions were publically stated on his account on CCL. The necessary permission for using CCL material for research was secured from the site managers. It should be noted that this is a public website and anybody on the Internet can access the posts. We aimed to seek consent from the members for quoting their narratives in the paper, but it was not possible since some members were no longer active. To solve this problem, we avoid using the alias or name of the producer of the narratives and only an English translation of the Persian narrative is reported. As to the elicited data, the respondents were informed of the research goals, and their anonymity was also ensured in the report. For getting feedback from the participants, member checking was employed. However, due to the busy schedule of users and their little interest in examining the findings, very few agreed and cooperated with the study.

The findings

Given the purpose of the study, the data from the field notes and especially archival data were mainly used for analysis and conclusions. The elicited data are also presented but due to the length of the paper, the details are not reported.

Field notes results

Field notes data include findings acquired through the netnographer's observation of the community and these can include subtexts, pretexts, environment and setting, and personal emotions aroused during the research (Kozinets, 2002, 2006b, 2010). CCL is mainly devoted to films, yet there are also some subsections on music and literature. As the focus of the current project was on dubbing, the participating author joined the *Art of Dubbing and Subtitling* section. CCL holds particular rules and regulations, and new members have to carefully follow them. The members are also required to have cinematic alias, selected based on the names of an actor, film director or scriptwriter. For instance, the participating author chose the name *Viggo Mortensen*. After registration is completed and the profile is up, the users should inform the managers of their registration on CCL and one forum is devoted to this matter where the users introduce themselves and provide some background information and discuss their aims. For the present study, the participating author introduced himself and fully elaborated on the aim of the investigation.

There is a perfectly close relationship among the members of the forum. There is a message box at the top of the CCL home page where the users greet and welcome each other or introduce the new topics they have posted. The messages in the box show that there is a reasonable degree of rapport and warm relationship among the members. The participating author who was observing CCL actively contributed to some discussions. He both posted comments and commented on other posts. Since he has studied translation, his posts mainly revolved around film translation. To give an example, he posted a topic on translation of taboo expressions in the Persian dubbed version of the film *Pulp Fiction* (1994) and received ten scores for his activities. The users did appreciate his activities on translation-related topics.

Archival data results

Archival data include the posts and comments of the users in the community. Kozinets (2006b, 2010) challenges a simple downloading and collection of data which is a form of invisible participation and is more like 'lurking'; instead, he advocates constructive engagement and involvement in the community, including a regular reading of posts, rating, thanking, and commenting. For him, a simple downloading of the posts or messages without any social contacts might yield narrow and superficial findings. As discussed previously, the participating author tried to have an active role in the community and posted serval posts and comments. However, they were not included in the data analysis, and the necessary data were gathered through elicited approaches. He also tried to avoid challenging the ongoing discussions so as not to affect the natural process of discussing issues on the forum.

The forum specifically analyzed for this netnographic project was the *Art of Dubbing and Subtitling* in which 33 topics were addressed by the users; an overall of 4400 responses or comments were made and exchanged. This is to note that not all comments were used in the present study since some data were irrelevant and did not serve the purpose of the research. Off-topic comments and posts were therefore discarded. A careful analysis of all relevant topics, posts, and comments through coding and categorizing led to the emergence of three main themes and several basic codes (Table 2).

Table 2: An overview of the emerged themes

Themes	**codes**
Voice-acting	dubbing actors, dubbing directors, dubbing companies, redubbing, dubbing in satellite channels
Translation for dubbing	translators, censorship in translation, translation mistakes
Subtitling	subtitling disadvantages, translation mistakes

Voice-acting

Voice-acting, "the performance and dramatization of the dialogues" by dubbing actors (Chaume, 2012, p. 19), dubbing directors and actors received much attention in the forum which fueled much debate among the members. The members were keen on commenting on the performance of dubbing actors and they talked about specific topics, such as to what extent a given dubbing cast chosen by a certain dubbing director was appropriate. This is partly because, for the viewers, "actors and their bodies are central to performance" (Bosseaux, 2015, p. 213). Additionally, Bosseaux (2015) has empirically shown that the (bad and wrong) selection of dubbing actors for performance can greatly affect the way characterization is achieved in dubbing. Overacting and underacting are generally discouraged in the dubbing industry (Chaume, 2007b) yet overacting has been a recommended option for Persian dubbing, most notably cartoons. The Iranian dubbing director and actor Alireza Bashkandi, however, points out that in his dubbing for the Korean TV series *Jumong* (2006-2007), he discouraged his dubbing cast from exaggerating in their performance (Vaeziepour, 2009). 'Para-verbal means' of acting including voice quality, speed, and intonation, among other means (Pérez-González, 2014, p. 199) might be highlighted by the viewers as they affect their reception and enjoyment of the program.

The users of CCL were also very concerned with character synchrony—the agreement between the original actor and dubbing actor in terms of their age, gender and voice qualities (Fodor 1976)—which has also been emphasized in dubbing by Tahami (2011) and Bosseaux (2015). A user, for example, comments:

> *The voice of Jalilvand no longer matches the role and physique of Robert De Niro in this film [Killing Season 2013]. Esmaili and Bahram Zand should have been chosen for acting.*

Or a combination of positive and negative views in this comment:

> *I watched the second part of this film series [The Hobbit: The Desolation of Smaug 2013]. The dubbing team was not my cup of tea. Choosing the voice of Shervin Ghatei for Bilbo Baggins's role was not good at all. Mr. Samsami should have employed a more fresh voice like Kasra Kiani for this role. [...] Concerning the voice of Gollum, Amir Mohammad Samsami beautifully imitated the voice and performance of the late Amir Hooshang Ghatei [who dubbed Gollum in The Lord of the Rings 2001-2003] so that the viewer cannot spot the change of the dubbing actor.*

What could be inferred from other comments is that users were more fascinated by the skilled and experienced dubbing actors exclusively those who had been in the industry for quite a while, and they did not favor newcomers to the industry. For instance, a member wrote:

> *These days whenever we see such amateur voices, we more prize the value of the old dubbing actors. It seems that fast foods and easy, electronic life have affected people's voices. Why don't we have all those rough, husky voices, stentorian voices, [and] heavenly voices among all the new voices anymore?*

This is also evident in another user's remarks:

> *I've mentioned many times that the golden era of Persian dubbing has ended. Those intelligent, gifted and dedicated dubbing actors are no longer available; where are people like Ali Kasmai, Houshang Latifpour, Iraj Doustar? Houshang Latifpour and Fahimeh Rastegar and Bijan Mofid were famous in the dubbing industry, but how about now?*

What is inferred from such remarks is that dubbing viewers are not very satisfied with the current output of dubbing in Iran partly because of the dearth of established talents and partly because the young dubbing talents have not yet reached a reasonable level of competency. Alireza Bashkandi is of the same mind on this issue and believes that a large number of young inexperienced dubbing actors have found a chance to enter this industry just because of wrong policies (Jafar Pourkami, 2012).

Although it was pointed out that the new generation of dubbing actors do not have a way with acting, some other members held a differing view. For the latter group, the young dubbing actors should be given opportunities to join the dubbing industry because the established dubbing actors will not always be available, and a young generation should be trained to pass the torch. In supporting this view, a member says:

> *All I said was that we should acknowledge that the great practitioners of dubbing would not be with us forever. So we need new talented voices from the younger generation. We*

> *should encourage those who can continue this art. This new generation, that some looked down on, should and will continue this endeavor. The future generations will admire this group as we admired the past generation.*

Such views are also mirrored in Keikavoos Yakideh's opinions—who is an Iranian seasoned dubbing actor. He supports the idea of hiring new voices, albeit he thinks that they should be well-trained and develop adequate competences during their internship (Yakideh 2008). He also rejects the overuse of well-known voices for dubbing—resulting from not hiring new talents—as this may lead to the "so-called radio–play effect", a situation when a dubbing actor dubs many voices (Zabalbeascoa *et al* 2001, p. 107).

Moreover, this was pointed out that in a TV series like *Prison Break* (2005-2017) in which 250 characters played major and minor roles, it does not sound reasonable to have the series dubbed by a small dubbing cast. This is perhaps due to the cost of dubbing as Whitman-Linsen (1992, 13 cited in Chaume 2012, p. 20) remarks: "The dubbing industry is notorious for kowtowing to economic expediencies, a wont painfully apparent in the often mediocre results of their work".

Another discussion on voice-acting was related to the replacement of a dubbing cast with another between dubbings in the case of movies which are screened in several installments like *Harry Potter* (2001-2011). The users complained that each part was dubbed wih a different dubbing cast even though the protagonists were the same. The excerpt below reflects this view:

> *Since the dubbing cast varies in Harry Potter film series, the movies should be dubbed again and the same dubbing actors should be employed.*

The dubbing companies may not live up to such an expectation as some dubbing actors might decide to terminate their contract with the company for reasons best known to themselves. The economic consequences of limiting a dubbing talent to a given actor, however, should not be overlooked as Bosseaux (2019, p. 231) questions whether dubbing actors could earn a living with this condition.

Additionally, members associated the low level of quality in current Persian dubbing with personal issues among agents, such as the low income or lack of respect for them. In the following excerpt a user elaborates more:

> *Low payment, insecurity of voice-acting occupations, favoritism, jealousy, pride, less motivation among the newly-employed dubbing actors are among the reasons that have led to the low quality of dubbing in recent years.*

Likewise, dubbing companies and their managers were the subject of discussions. They commented that in dubbing companies, the programs for dubbing are (self-) censored to a great extent that often a large portion of the plot is missed or altered. Dubbing directors, dubbing actors and translators are expected to be chosen according to their work quality and skill levels, yet connections and nepotism, as stated by the members, constitute the core of criteria in Iran. There were dozens of complaints that blockbusters are not dubbed or they are dubbed with some sort of delay. Similarly, a member briefly comments that:

> *[...] Shervin Ghatei is not suitable for this profession. His performance is really awful. Some guys believe that one should work a lot in this profession, but I don't agree because if the person who has no talent why should he/she remain in this profession as a dubbing actor? It's clear that he's been employed in this profession through nepotism and he only seeks fame.*

Moreover, the users noted that some dubbing directors are ill-suited for this job. They are not competent in fashioning the translation draft into a well-synchronized version, while synchronization is considered crucial in delivering a quality dubbing (Chaume, 2007b, 2012; Tahami, 2010). Carelessly-synchronized translations force the dubbing actor to read too fast or too slowly to fit the translation in the available time slot. A user expresses his/her opinions on the issue:

> *I think, dubbing a movie should be like an engineering work in that the formulas are devised based on past experiences and knowledge; otherwise it wouldn't work or would fail. A dubbing director shouldn't be only a dubbing actor, he must have a good command of cinema, synchronization techniques, language and culture of the country from which the original movie was originated.*

This view is quite in line with those of the professionals and scholars who recommend that the dubbing director should have a good knowledge of cinema and its techniques, of story-telling and dialogue writing, among other necessities (Tahami 2010; Chaume 2012). More importantly, the dubbing director "is responsible for prompting, stimulating and instructing the actors to put on their best performances" (Whitman-Linsen, 1992, p. 82 cited in Chaume, 2012, p. 36)

As to dubbings on Persian-language satellite TV channels, it seems these dubbings less excite and interest users. Although satellite channels run on substantial budgets for their dubbed products, the poor quality of their dubbings, resulting from unavailability of professional dubbing talents for the channels, appears to be a serious deficiency. A critical user reflects on these issues:

> *When this [satellite] channel started its activity, I wanted to write a post about satellite channels in general, but I thought I should wait since they had recently started out and would gradually improve the quality of their dubbings. Although months have been passed since their initial work, their dubbing quality has not been developed but has been weakened. All the dubbing actors sound like amateur first-timers with no skills in the profession.*

Dubbing on Persian-language satellite TV channels is an issue that Changiz Jalilvand, a dubbing director of great renown, also notes. For him, this is a real problem affecting the general dubbing industry in Iran (Naiemi, 2015). In addition, according to Ashkan Sadeghi, the poor quality of voice acting in such satellite channels is indicative of an incorrect assumption that voice acting is an easy job, thus, an option to anybody to begin as a career (Poursabagh, 2014).

Another criticism of dubbing was redubbing, that is, "the existence of a second, or subsequent, dubbed version of the same audiovisual text in the same target language" (Zanotti, 2015, p. 111, see also Chaume 2007a). The reasons for redubbing a program in Iran are usually associated with technical problems or ideological issues. For example, the animation *Robin Hood* (1973) has been dubbed multiple times in Iran; once due to ideological reasons involving the censorship of scenes that were not appropriate. Another time the redubbing was to improve the voice-acting and sound quality. Some members believed that it was necessary to dub some films again to improve the voice acting, sound quality and naturalness of the translated language. A user emphasizes:

> *As some talked about the redubbing of masterpieces like The Godfather (1972), I should stress that even these excellent dubbings could be redubbed to achieve better quality. It's*

> *good to do it when the best dubbing actors are still alive, so let such movies be dubbed again. It's not needed to translate all the dialogues again, they can work on the weakness of the previously dubbed dialogues to enhance the naturalness of the language.*

However, there was some disagreement over the redubbing topic. For some, redubbing classics is not necessary or even a good idea as they had already been dubbed. Those users were not optimistic about the success of a new dubbing cast and that the new dubbed version might be subject to further censorship. Some also pointed out that some companies which redubbed some films overlooked an already existing high-quality dubbed version. In the same vein, a member mentions:

> *After some years, this film was redubbed under the supervision of Naser Tahmasb as the dubbing director. But I couldn't appreciate the new dubbing. The first dubbing had such a quality that words cannot express. The only merit of the second dubbing was dubbing the parts censored in the first version.*

Overall, it stands out that the members are mesmerized by the quality of voice acting and almost exclusively attend to the choice of dubbing cast.

Translation for Dubbing

Translation-related subjects include censorship, mistranslation, and the low professional competence of translators, among others. To begin with, the users were of the view that the new translators are not familiar with the art and history of cinema nor those of dubbing. They do not have the required command of the Persian language and culture and are not proficient enough to render idiomatic and colloquial expressions:

> *I think you would also agree that nobody like Amir Zand (at least in recent years) has been capable of translating films with such challenging idioms! (Pulp Fiction 1994 is a good example). Amir Zand lived in England and the US, and studied cinema academically. Last night, I was watching the dubbed version of Good Will Hunting (1997). The idioms that Matt Damon and his friends used were translated very awfully or were replaced with inappropriate equivalents. As you said the colloquial expressions could only be understood and translated by a person very familiar with the original culture.*

Censorship, due to the current policies in Iran, is inevitable in dubbed programs (Khoshsaligheh & Ameri, 2016). Censoring translation, according to users, is the saddest reality in the Iranian dubbing. They indicated that translation played a pivotal role in understanding films, and omitting and altering the dialogues would effectively reduce the overall quality. Further analysis shows that for the members, translation should be exciting and attractive. For instance, they emphasized the necessity of translating songs, and stressed the appropriate choice of Persian words. These issues are reflected in the comments of two users:

> *I think the film [Gandhi, 1982] was dubbed entirely. Yet, the scenes associated with the conflict between the Muslim and Hindu have been removed in the dubbed version. This is a documentary-based drama and censorship severely suppresses the truth about the historical events.*
> *The conclusion is that putting several dubbing actors together does not mean that dubbing is good; the translation is more important.*

Issues pertaining to translation mistakes were not sufficiently mentioned since it required the users' familiarity with the original language. However, some users were very conscious in this regard and brought to the fore mistakes which appeared in the official dubbings. To give an example, two users indicate:

> *A film that greatly suffers from inadequate translation is the lovely film Jack the Giant Killer (1962). The second dubbing of this film which was executed after the Islamic Revolution has numerous problems not only in terms of the narrative but also the characters' names which were directly translated into Persian. For example, the name Pendragon was translated as "the pen of dragon". The translator surprisingly didn't know that the names are not translated for their meaning.*
> *One of the pitfalls of a poor translation is the translator who does not look up the words when necessary. The translator of the movie Sleeper (1973) by Woody Allen did not pay careful attention to the movie title. The word sleeper had several meanings and one meaning is "a person who sleeps". But the other meaning is "a spy or saboteur" [...] which seemed to be more appropriate for the movie. Therefore, a better translation equivalent for the title can be "Spy" or "Saboteur".*

As mentioned previously, the interaction between the users is considerable and they tend to comment on each other's posts. For example, a user who did not accept the idea of mistranslation of the title of *Sleeper* (1973) points out that there is no right or wrong translation for titles because many dubbing companies may opt for a more literal translation for commercial purposes. In his/her words:

> *You disregarded the commercial screening of the film for the cinema or any other media. What could be said about Sleeper (1973) or any other film is that the film supplier or dubbing companies chose a literal translation for the title just for the sake of advertising so a mistranslation may be deliberately favored.*

In summary, the "thresholds of acceptability" (Chaume, 2012, pp. 17-18) that the users appear not to tolerate are censorship and poor translation. More importantly, several dubbing directors have also complained about the low quality of the translations for dubbing in their interviews (for example see Moazan, 2015). An obvious reason is that AVT training is barely offered in Iranian translation programs, and research reveals that the way the only two-credit course on AVT is taught is far from satisfactory (Khoshsaligheh & Ameri, 2017).

Subtitling

As for subtitling, the members noted that subtitles distract their attention, and they cannot focus on the visual, and dubbing can provide more media accessibility for more people. This is highlighted in a comment:

> *The movie has Persian subtitling but you would lose the visual information and it [subtitles] distracts your attention as you are busy reading the subtitles.*

When it comes to non-professional subtitling, more negative remarks were raised even though some were really grateful to fansubbers for providing free translations for the latest films or TV series which are not usually dubbed in Iran or at least not any time soon after the original release. They were very concerned with literal translations, mistranslations, and the addition of unnecessary notes and commentaries in the translations by fansubbers. Two users have voiced their opinions in this way:

> *Today, every English language student with the help of a computer generates poor translation of the movie dialogues. We see subtitles which abound with word-for-word translation of idioms and proverbs, and typos, structural and grammatical mistakes are common.*
> *That some people subtitle a film at no cost is not a bad idea but this is not acceptable to see poor translations that are damaging the Persian language. Subtitling a film at no charge does not mean that the subtitlers' works cannot be criticized.*

Overall, it seems that some members are frequently distracted by subtitles and this in turn hinders their immersion and flow in the program. This finding is not supported by experimental evidence offered by the recent research that explains (non-) professional subtitling is not cognitively taxing and is well-received by the audience (Perego et al. 2015, Orrego-Carmona 2016). However, these conflicting findings can be justified by the fact that Iran is not a subtitling country and official subtitling for fiction content is almost non-existent, and aside from the exposure of the younger generation to subtitling, the Iranian audiences are not typically accustomed to reading subtitles and may prefer the convenience of listening to dubbed versions. Also, what is watched by the Iranians is the product of amateur subtitlers who are not obliged to comply with the subtitling standards (Ameri & Khoshsaligheh, 2019). Yet, this should be stressed that the members of this community appeared not to be lay viewers as they do not simply watch the programs for the sake of sheer passing of time but they usually critically consider the program from varied perspectives. In addition to this, they are dubbing enthusiasts and do not tend to welcome subtitling unbiasedly. Further investigations are therefore recommended for examining these arguments through an experimental design.

The elicited data findings

To further examine Persian dubbing reception, an online Persian questionnaire was employed. The questionnaire contained six open-ended questions about the purpose of creating the present forum, the main focus on voice acting, the current quality of Persian dubbing, the current quality of Persian dubbing in comparison with other countries, the differences between dubbing by state-run studios, privately-run companies and satellite TV channels, as well as the reasons for choosing dubbing rather than subtitling. Due to space limitation, only three relevant questions are discussed here: the main focus on voice acting, the current quality of Persian dubbing and the reasons for choosing dubbing.

As for the initial issue, the users argued that the stars of the original programs are the actors not the directors or scriptwriters or other agents. People have the tendency to notice and admire what they 'see' and 'hear' only–if good to their perception—; therefore, after they hear the voice of the (dubbing) actors, they fail to realize and appreciate the work of other agents like the (dubbing) director. Several users believed that translation is a very specialized task, and they cannot comment on it because of limited command of the source language and unfamiliarity with translational issues to spot possible weaknesses or appreciate strengths. From this analysis, it appears that priority is accorded to dubbing talents in assuring the dubbing quality.

With regard to the second issue, which undoubtedly deserves more attention in future studies, they were asked to evaluate the current Persian dubbing and justify their opinion. Sadly enough, except for one user, all respondents made references to the poor quality. The exceptional respondent replied: "I don't watch many dubbings presently, but those I watch are not so bad, but the voices are not exceptionally memorable”. As evident in Table 3, the analysis of the participants’ responses, concerning Persian dubbing quality, highlighted a range of defects which could be grouped under four broad headings: translation (mentioned by 4 members out of 20), voice-acting (by 12 members), dubbing directing (by 7 members) and policy (by 19 members).

Table 3: An overview of the emerged themes

Themes	**Codes**	**Translated extracts from the data**
Translation	Poor translations	[…] inaccurate and erroneous translations and at times unrelated to images.
Voice-acting	Unskilled young dubbing actors	In the past, the circle of dubbing actors was too tight and few could enter this well-praised industry. Now the circle has been widened and many unskilled actors were hired.
	A paucity of skillful dubbing talents	
	Boring voices	
	Unmotivated dubbing actors	I’m not into contemporary dubbings, I think the voices are boring and not satisfying like the past. […] the poor quality of the present dubbing can be attributed to several factors including the lack of a variety of voices, frantic rush in dubbing films, the unmotivated dubbing actors because of the economic problems, among other things and so on.
Dubbing directing	Bad voice cast selection	
	Inconsistency in dubbing cast for TV series	This is a mark of disrespect to the viewers to change a dubbing actor chosen for a character after some episodes. This is precisely the case with the dubbing cast of *Don Chuck Monogatari* (1975-1975).
	Working with a special group of dubbing actors	
	Poor synchronization	
	Unfamiliarity of dubbing directors with English	
	Not keeping the same dubbing actor for a well-known actor across different programs	When I hear the dubbed voice of a given actor, I accept it. Yet, it is too difficult to accept another voice for that character like Saeed Mozaffari who is the dubbing actor of Brad Pitt.
	Nepotism in choosing the cast	
	Unfair competition among dubbing companies	

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="8">Policy</td><td>Censorship</td><td rowspan="2">Censorship is the biggest damage to dubbing; altering the plot, adding or deleting information (e.g. The Message 1976).</td></tr>
<tr><td>Dubbing few blockbusters</td></tr>
<tr><td>The low income of the dubbing agents</td><td rowspan="4">Unfortunately, the present dubbing is not amusing at all because many old dubbing actors died like Zhaleh Kazemi, or retired like Rafat Hashempour or have lost their pleasant voice like Manuchehr Esmaili.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Migration and death of celebrated voice talents</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inadequate training for new dubbing talents</td></tr>
<tr><td>Frantic rush for dubbing programs</td></tr>
<tr><td>Poor sound mixing because of the lack of state-of-the-art equipment</td><td rowspan="2">What is shown on TV is not really dubbing! It is a poor product with the abundance of scene censorship, not to mention the dirty and distorted translations. Among the dubbing companies of the private sector, Century 21 Visual Media Company was always committed to doing quality dubbings but this has ceased in the past years.</td></tr>
<tr><td>No control over the quality of dubbings</td></tr>
</table>

As the themes suggest, Persian dubbing is suffering from a range of problems, and some quality standards such as accurate translation, synchronization, acting, and sound mixing, among others, (see Chaume, 2007b) have not been maintained in Persian dubbings. Many of these defects could be prevented if each year the products of dubbing companies are sent for assessment so that the companies could be informed of the shortcomings to remedy in the years to come like what is customary in Spain (see Zabalbeascoa et al, 2001, p. 106).

As to subtitling, the archival data seemed to point out that subtitling is not probably favored by the users. An opinion in this regard from the elicited data supports this view:

> *Reading subtitles deprive the viewers of the pleasure of watching the film and may result in losing some scenes. The subtitles are not standard and abound with many mistakes distorting the viewer's comprehension of the film. The translations made for the dubbing hold a higher quality* […].

Other elicited data, however, reveal that several respondents opted for watching a subtitled version unlike what was initially assumed:

> *I prefer hearing the original voice of the characters because watching a film with original voices can better transfer the feeling of authenticity. Yet, if there is a very unique and beautiful dubbing such as Gone with the Wind (1939), A Streetcar Named Desire (1951) or Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf? (1966), I would go with dubbing.*

Although dubbing has gained more currency, it seems that the pitfalls of the Persian dubbing in terms of quality persuade viewers to resort to subtitling. Additionally, some respondents were partial to the dubbed classics because they were dubbed when the Persian dubbing industry was at its peak. A respondent maintains:

If it is a classic film, its dubbing must be watched. This makes you feel nostalgic for old times.

Interestingly, a viewer completely disapproves of dubbing even the classics:

If you compare dubbings with the originals, you can quickly notice the insignificant changes made even in those well-praised dubbings. Thus, you will find the originals more suitable.

He/she also comments on subtitling:

Generally, I accept Dr. Kavousi's views that watching the original films is much better. These avid viewers of dubbing were all born in the 1970s and 1980s and were grown up with high-quality dubbings. In the past when Google Translate didn't exist, good subtitles were available. At the moment, I don't appreciate the work of subtitlers excepting those of four subtitlers (Amir Tahmasbi and Hossein Gharibi).

Although we were not able to obtain the demographic information of the informants, the impression during the fieldwork and the personal contacts we had with some members support the view that the users of this form were mainly in their 30s or 40s. Consequently, there might be a correlation between the age of the users and their AVT preferences. Empirical research, however, is needed to confirm this view.

It is notable that there was one case expressing that he/she would rather watch the programs only in their original language without Persian dubbing or subtitling:

Generally, I would like to watch the films and cartoons in their original versions. But it doesn't mean I don't have any respect for dubbing, on the contrary, I found dubbing more interesting than the original for some films.

This is acknowledged that the study focused on a specific group of dubbing viewers; therefore, the results are unlikely to be representative of the whole dubbing audience in Iran.

Conclusion

Building on netnography, attempts were made to describe and understand how Iranian viewers of dubbing appreciate and perceive Persian dubbing. The obtained data tend to support the functionality of netnography as an appropriate method to study what people do, say, etc. online. Previous research on dubbing, be it experimental or survey-based, did not provide any account of dubbing quality from audience perspectives. This study in turn showed that Persian dubbing is suffering from a range of shortcomings and defects, which may have resulted in the reduction of the number of people who may enjoy watching dubbing or even consider it as an alternative modality. It also revealed insights concerning such issues as voice selection, redubbing, and dubbing agents' competences, among others, which have been barely examined in AVT from a qualitative perspective. These findings support some tacit assumptions that Persian dubbing has lost its exceptional quality over time. Notwithstanding this, the results, although with some caution, can inform the industry to more critically reflect on the present dubbed programs, perhaps by implementing new policies and introducing modifications to meet the audience demands. The pedagogical implications of this article could not be overlooked. The results of the translational issues benefit translation trainers in their designing of the course content for

AVT classes. Translation trainees' awareness and competences should be heightened to offer viewer-centered translations to cater for viewers with special demands.

Of particular significance is flagging the shortcomings of Persian dubbing, which can best serve as descriptive hypotheses to be corroborated by future large-scale surveys. Also due to the small size of the sample used in this inquiry, more in-depth qualitative research—especially conducted through semi-structured in-person interviews—can help yield more insights into Persian dubbing quality. In prospective studies, demographic information should be collected to better feed the interpretation of the results. Studies with experimental designs are highly recommended to gain greater insights into when viewers tend to reject or stand the "thresholds of acceptability" in terms of dubbing quality standards (Chaume, 2012). Given that the data were obtained from a purposefully-targeted community, the research does not assume generalizability of the findings into other settings, and further research is of necessity.

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Original Article

Selfie and Interpellation - A Preliminary Study of the Role of Ideology in the Social Construction of Reality, Self and Society in the Digital Age

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Matteo Stocchetti

Department of Culture and Communication, Arcada University of Applied Sciences, FINLAND

Abstract: In this essay, I present a preliminary analysis of selfying that combines the social construction of the self with the critical approach to scientific knowledge. Althusser's concept of 'interpellation' and the works of Goffman and Barthes offer useful conceptual tools for a radical engagement with the social significance of selfying. This preliminary analysis mainly concludes that selfying is a distinctive and ambivalent form of 'interpellation from below', addressing but also reproducing the challenges pertaining to the construction of the self in the symbolic universe of the neoliberal agenda. On semantic grounds, the most significant aspect of this process is that the 'signifier' creates its 'signified', and the social construction of the self is framed within the confines of capitalist ideology and its symbolic forms of expression of the relationship between reality, the individual and society. The relevance of this approach is at least twofold. On theoretical grounds, I am trying to combine Kenneth J. Gergen's approach to the social construction of the self and Jürgen Habermas critique of the ideology of science with Barthes' insights on the problems of meaning, Goffman's understandings of the 'problems of the real', and Althusser's notion of interpellation. On practical grounds, the ambition is to increase awareness and knowledge of the dilemmas associated with the presentation of the self in the digital age, and to inspire more emancipative responses to these dilemmas: responses more independent of and possibly challenging the ideological project of neoliberalism.

Keywords: Social constructionism, selfying, interpellation, neoliberalism, digital self

Introduction: the ideological construction of the self and the politics of knowledge

This paper addresses and connects two main issues: the practices of selfying and the possibility of studying this practice from a perspective that combines relations of meaning with relations of power. The underlying ambition of this provisional effort is to contribute to the development of a critical theory of the self in the digital age. On theoretical or conceptual grounds, the main points of reference are Social Constructionism and, in particular, the idea of the self as a social construction, most explicitly expounded by Kenneth J. Gergen, and Jürgen Habermas' critical theory of knowledge.

Address for Correspondence: Matteo Stocchetti, email: matteo.stocchetti@arcada.fi
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For Gergen, Social Constructionism is a movement that collects ideological, literary and epistemological forms of criticism of the dominant orders (Gergen, 2011, p. 109) and is based on three sets of shared, core tenets concerning the social origins of knowledge, the centrality of language and the politics of knowledge (Gergen, 2011, pp. 109-110). Within the framework of Social Constructionism, the study of the social construction of the self focuses on three main aspects:

> "establishing the self as a social construction…..specific social processes in which the conception of the self is embedded and the …. critical assessment of the cultural and political outcomes of traditional beliefs in the self". (Gergen, 2011, p. 110)

This paper focuses on the second aspect and my main point is that the practice of selfying is a form of communication that implies and reproduces a notion of the self compatible with the neoliberal agenda of 'methodical destruction of collectives' (Bourdieu, 1998, p. 2).

Furthermore, I look at the study of selfying from the perspectives of the politics of knowledge and at the ambivalences associated with the uses of visual images as the 'language' of selfying, to argue for the importance of the ideological dimension that most mainstream study of selfies seems to neglect. In my short discussion of Erving Goffman and Roland Barthes, I hope to convince the reader that the work of these authors contains very useful insights for a more critical engagement with selfying.

The need for a more critical engagement with this and other forms of presentation of the self in the digital age is invited by the third aspect inspiring the social constructionist tradition or "the critical assessment of the cultural and political outcomes of traditional beliefs in the self". The idea that reality is socially constructed does not imply that a better social world is inevitable but, quite the contrary, that it is indeterminate as the actualization of both utopian and dystopian futures depends entirely on the quality of social interactions. The nature and direction of social change depends on the configurations of the relationship between the individual and society. The acknowledgement that relationships ultimately create the social world and its future is only a first step to oppose the influence of ideologies, knowledges and powers that offer security in exchange for freedom: that 'liberate' people from the burden of responsibility for their world, in exchange for their compliance with deterministic representations of human nature, society and the future.

The interpretation of the self as socially constructed 'is itself a construction and not a truth posit' but one that makes it possible to subject all alternative conceptualizations of the self to 'critical reflection' (Gergen, 2011, p. 115). The need for this 'critical reflection', however, is important and justified because knowledge, and in our case the knowledge that contributes to the social conceptualization of the self, is always associated with relations of power. As Gergen put it:

> "…social constructionism is closely allied with a pragmatic conception of knowledge. That is, traditional issues of truth and objectivity are replaced by concerns with that which research brings forth. It is not whether an account is true from a God's eye view that matters, but rather, the implications for cultural life that follow from taking any truth claim seriously". (Gergen, 2011, p. 110)

In critical social theory, this 'pragmatic' view of knowledge is coupled with the other idea that alternative forms of knowledge are associated with competing ideologies of knowledge. In one of the most influential formulations of this idea, Jürgen Habermas (Habermas, 1971) suggests that the evolution of natural and social sciences depends on conditions associated with, rather than independent of, ideological assumptions. Being ideological, rather than epistemological or methodological, these assumptions are not revealed in the practices of scientific knowledge but pertain to the purposes that inspire these practices, in essence of control and interpretation. The former inspires the epistemology of natural sciences that ultimately seek the control of the natural world. The latter is the approach of humanities that problematize human understanding and communication and is necessary for emancipation.

My analysis of selfying as an influential communicative practice associated with the influence of neoliberalism is a preliminary effort to combine a social constructionist notion of the self with critical social theory concerns about the competing purposes of control and emancipation. The contribution of the critical perspective and Habermas's formulation consists in pointing to hermeneutics and more broadly to the interpretation of meaning as the epistemological grounds for emancipation, the normative goal that social constructionism seeks through 'critical reflection'.

On hermeneutic grounds, a critical approach needs to question the practice and the knowledge-practice of mainstream studies of selfies because selfying and the study of selfies are influential in the social construction of the self. I will argue that a considerable amount of research published studies selfying in terms of pathologization, instrumentalization and ambivalence of the motives, effects and functions of selfies but, in the process of 'scientific' representation, they reinforce the idea of the individualized self. These studies neglect the ideological influence of systems of signification or, in semiotic terms, the interpretation of *selfying as a practice in which the signifier produces its signified* or, in the terms of Louis Althusser, *selfying as a form of interpellation from below*.

The analysis in most of these studies, in other words, miss the latent influence of digital/global capitalism on the social construction of the self, hindering more radical ideological criticism and the practical possibility to serve the emancipative purposes of a hermeneutic approach to selfying. To recover this dimension, my starting point or 'working hypothesis' is to consider selfying as a form of interpellation that, if questioned through the insights of Erving Goffman and Roland Barthes (or presumably other authors, for that matter), can provide valuable knowledge about the strengths and limits of 21st century capitalism in the social construction of the self.

The study of selfies

Much of the research published on selfying falls mostly into three categories: psychological sciences, marketing, and socio-cultural studies. A large share of research in the first category examines the association of selfying with narcissism. Publications in the second categories are for the most part inspired by the possibility of marketing exploitation of this practice. Research published in the third category engages more deeply with issues of meaning and ambivalent relations of control and emancipation.

In psychological sciences, the interest in understanding the personal motivations of selfying (Huang, 2018) (Sung, et al., 2016) (Kim & Chock, 2017) is coupled with a concern about the association of this practice with narcissism and the problem of understanding to what extent, if any, this practice should be considered as a 'sign' of narcissism: an effect, a cause or a mix of both. (Singh, et al., 2018) (Lee & Sung, 2016) (Halpern, et al., 2016) (McCain, et al., 2016) (Moon, et al., 2016) (Sorokowski, et al., 2015) (Weiser, 2015) (Kapidzic, 2013).

In dealing with the narcissistic implication of selfying, however, these studies do not problematize at least two fundamental aspects of narcissism. First, its association with capitalism and the incitation to the narcissistic presentation of the self that is inherent and consequential to consumerism. Second, by pointing to the association between selfying and narcissism but neglecting the established fact that pathological narcissism is fundamentally a defence mechanism resulting from an experience of deep insecurity, these studies do not address the question of why this practice, and by extension the narcissistic drives associated to it, is so widespread and popular. Or, in other words, what is the source of the insecurities, apprehension or traumas for this and other signs of the alleged 'narcissistic epidemic' (Twenge & Campbell, 2009) that, among other things, make selfying so popular among people living in a society of digital capitalism.

In organization, management and marketing studies, selfies are accessible signs of online identities and, as such, an accessible resource in the consumeristic manipulation of individuals' behaviour. In these studies, the 'understanding of the selfie phenomenon' is often inspired by an explicit instrumental interest and the effort to 'generate useful solutions for capitalizing on the selfie phenomenon in ways that enhance marketing performance and contribute to accomplishing marketing-related goals' (Weng, 2016, p. 1784).

The analysis in these studies also shows that the culture of marketing, or what Wernick called the 'promotional cultural' of late capitalism (Wernick, 1991), is influential in the social construction of the self. On the one hand, people are willing to adopt the visual conventions of corporate communication, "presenting themselves as brands by formulating online profiles with images of lifestyle" (Rokka & Canniford, 2016, p. 1809). On the other hand, however, the opinion of others and the success of 'personal branding' is influential on the individual's self-esteem (Pounders, et al., 2016). In practice, these studies suggest that selfying is a sign of the influence of capitalism on the social construction of the self.

While in some cases the interpretation of selfies as 'objectified self-representation' is explicitly instrumental to the marketing interest of the industry (Lyu, 2016), more critical voices notice the shift in the social relevance of selfying from 'liberation' to 'control':

> "Much like plastic surgery, self-help programs and self-branding, selfies represent yet another medium for continually augmenting the self for presentation and evaluation by others and the self. And while postmodern perspectives celebrate the potential agency afforded by such trends, others see such trends as further reinforcing a socially engrained habitual state characterized by hyper- reflexivity in which one is continually looking over one's shoulder, ridden with angst and anxiety". (Kedzior & Allen, 2016, p. 1899)

If and when elements of ambivalence appear, for example in relation to the opposite conditions of emancipation and control, these are conceptually resolved by introducing the distinction between the 'individual' and 'societal' levels:

> "while on the individual level selfies can be perceived as forms of agentic expression and empowerment, they still can be subjected to different forms of societal control. The mechanism of such control is conceptualized here as a network of intersecting gazes governed by the logic of panopticon, synopticon and spectacle." (Kedzior, et al., 2016, p. 1770)

Embracing the idea that the self is nowadays socially constructed through the communicative affordances of digital communication, sociological and cultural approaches reject the tendency to the pathologization of selfying and are more inclined to see the elements of ambivalence associated with this practice (Senft & Baym, 2015, pp. 1589-1590). These studies interpret selfying as a communicative practice influential in the social construction of the self and seek to understand its relationship with control and emancipation (Poletti & Rak, 2014) (Cover, 2016).

Some studies in this tradition interpret selfying as a sign of individual compliance with the global construction of the corporate individual:

> "Individuals who publish self-portraits on social media networks such as Instagram (usually) do not have to fulfil commercial targets. Still, by taking part in such textual practices, they

> seem to adapt the homogenized multimodal language, thereby contributing to spreading values and interests of global corporations”. (Veum & Moland Undrum, 2018, p. 100)

Others suggest that selfies are not used to develop or implement an idea of the self but to perform more complex social functions:

> “Rather than self-expression, self-portraits in SNSs have a new role: the generation of interaction with strangers in the Network Mode. Photos are anchors that enable and invite ‘phatic communion’ as defined by Malinowski, which ‘serve to establish bonds of personal union between people’ and establish sociability (Malinowski, 1966: 313–16). Photos are thus productive: not only do they produce value for both the user qua image entrepreneur and the site operators (cf. Hearn, 2008), they also produce sociability, social bonds, channels of gift exchange, and standards for social hierarchization and organization”. (Schwarz, 2010, p. 180)

Contributions from this perspective also problematize selfying as a unitary or reified object of study, e.g. re-constructing it as a practice that includes conflict and mediation (Tiidenberg, 2015), or subverting mainstream conceptualizations of the relations between the body, the image and technology (Warfield, et al., 2016).

Elements for a critical hermeneutics of selfying: L. Althusser, E. Goffman and R. Barthes

Discussing selfying in terms of relations of power and meaning, rather than pathologization or instrumentalization, is more in line with the emancipative ambitions of critical constructionism. In line with this tradition, I suggest paying more attention to the role of ideology and, as anticipated earlier, to consider selfying as a form of interpellation that, if properly questioned, can provide valuable knowledge about the strengths and confines of 21st century capitalism in the social construction of the self. In this section, I will first briefly articulate this ‘working hypothesis’ and the heuristic value of ‘interpellation’ for our purposes and then discuss the contributions of Erving Goffman and Roland Barthes to the critical interpretation of selfying.

Althusser: interpellation

‘Interpellation’ is an influential, complex and contested concept. This complexity and contestation, however, partly reflects the problem of translating from one language (French) into another (English) subtleties that are closely associated with differences in the respective communicative cultures (Montag, 2017). French philosopher Louis Althusser introduced the concept of ‘interpellation’ in his discussion of ideology and Ideological State Apparatus (Althusser, 2008 (1971)) to describe the ‘productive’ or ‘transformative’ power of ideology. The analysis of this power is fundamental to understand the nature and confines of the role of ideology in the social construction of the self.

The notion of interpellation does not appear often in the analysis of selfies. One notable exception, however, is Rob Cover that in his study on the digital identity, make an important case for its analytical value in the study of selfies.

For Cover:

> “Selfies are interesting here as an example of a way in which the ubiquity of digital communication, media, and technologies have an impact on how we think about, perform, articulate, and engage in identity practices as social norms,… Selfies, then, become part of the regime of articulating selfhood through selectivity, but they are not without critique, since

> they are subject to friends' criticisms, liking, additional tagging, and further sharing in ways that are not necessarily within our control as authors or users". (Cover, 2016, p. xviii)

Acknowledging the influence of Althusser's interpellation on the intellectual tradition that problematizes the formation of social identity in a critical perspective – notably Michel Foucault and Judith Butler - Cover discusses the analytical benefits of interpellation in relation to the problem of recognition as a ritual that constitutes the social subject:

> "Subjects proceed from interpellation by practicing the rituals of recognition (Althusser, 1971, pp. 161, 162) and perform that constitution or reconstitution in ways that stabilize, albeit awkwardly, over time (Butler, 1991, p. 18). By turning to the hail, the subject comes to be recognized and recognizes herself or himself as a subject within the context of the ideology at play. Interpellation may, of course, fail at any time, given the possibility of misrecognizing to whom it is addressed (Butler, 1997, p. 95), indicating that there must be an acceptance". (Cover, 2016, pp. xvi-xvii)

For our purposes, the main point in Cover's usage of this notion is that interpellation can usefully apply to the study of selfies with one important limitation that has to do with the 'communication format' implicit in it. In Cover's opinion, this format is inadequate to the media practices of the digital age in which consumers are also producers:

> "This process of interpellation makes a certain amount of sense in terms of how identity is acquired and built in ways that are not within our own control or agency. But it does also depend very much on understanding the process within a narrow, outdated, and linear communication format of sender (the metaphorical policeman in Althusser's account), message (the hail, accusation, interpellation, or categorization), and recipient (the subject who is subjectified). Of course, all communication is more complex than this, and the very act of communication has its own forms of subjectification – into identity position of audience, for example. However, in an age of user-generated content, where non-professionals are actively summoned to engage with media processes by contributing to media practices as producer–consumers or what have come to be referred to as prosumers (Bruns, 2008), such processes of interpellation are somewhat further complexified". (Cover, 2016, p. xvii)

The reader familiar with Althusser, may have the impression that Cover reconceptualises interpellation (and interpellation as this notion applies to selfies) in terms of 'participation' rather than e.g. 'summoning', and suggesting a more active role of the subject than is the case in Althusser's formulation. In fact, according to Cover, in the conditions of the digital age

> "….the subject is produced through responding to the invitation to participate in the act of interpellation, not merely confirming identities through the taking and distribution of selfies, but through articulating that interpellation, self-managing the process on behalf of, through and within discourse". (Cover, 2016, p. xvii)

This interpretation of interpellation is problematic, in my view, because it underestimates the role and influence of ideology and, therefore, the independence or autonomy of the subject within the interpellation process itself. For Althusser, '*ideology is a 'representation' of the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence* (Althusser, 2008 (1971), p. 36). Ideological interpellation is effective because its ideology saturates the imaginary relationship of the subject that believes in it. In this condition, 'recognition' can occur only within the symbolic universe of that particular ideology and alternative possibilities brought about by the subject's 'participation' would be experienced a 'mis-recognition'. The practical possibility of individuals to participate in the social construction of the self in some sort of 'negotiation' is effaced to the extent that interpellation reflects the saturation of individuals 'imaginary relation with reality' with meanings that are within, rather than without, the symbolical universe of the dominant ideology.

In Althusser's formulation, the effectiveness of interpellation depends on the efficacy with which the Ideological State Apparatus performs the selective inclusion of the individual in the symbolic universe of a particular ideology. By doing this, and through 'recognition', the same 'apparatus' performs the selective construction of the individual in forms that are compatible and functional to that particular universe of meaning, hence precluding the possibility of imagining alternative 'realities'. The analytical question here is to see if, and to what extent, the institutions of the digital age perform the functions of this 'apparatus'.

For the purposes of critical interpretation, the notion of interpellation is valuable not as a description of an empirical state of affair (e.g. communication in the digital age) but as a conceptual model or 'tool' that can be useful to understanding the role of ideology – of any ideology – in the mutual constitution of relations of power and relations of meaning. As a 'tool', this notion is relevant because it introduces the role of ideology in the social construction of reality and the self, describing the process through which individuals are conformed to the ideological 'reality' through the narrowing down of their imaginary relationship with this 'real' within the symbolic limits of the ideological universe.

Reflecting ideology as the 'imaginary relationship between individual and reality', interpellation performs the selective dissolution of indeterminacy associated with the texts that express this relationship, including selfies, within the symbolic limits of a specific ideological 'universe'. By establishing ideological limits to the indeterminacy of the text, and thus to the symbolic representation of alternative realities, this notion is key to studying the nature and influence of these limits in the social construction of the self.

Looking at the works of Goffman and Barthes is useful to understand the nature of this indeterminacy and the social value of interpellation in its ideological dissolution.

Goffman: the problem of reality

Goffman is usually remembered for his study on the presentation of the self, but the point that is neglected is that the problem of presentation emerges from a deeper problem that has to do not with the strategies of the self, but with what I would call the 'problem of reality'. From a social constructionist perspective, reality is a problem because, being socially constructed, it challenges the individual with the problem of integration or exclusion. The individual seeks reassurance about his or her sense of reality before s/he can develop effective strategies of integration or 'presentation of the self'. The perceived success of these strategies, in return, reinforce the sense of reality, contributing to what Berger and Luckman call 'objectification' and 'internalization' of the social world (Berger & Luckmann, 1966).

The fear of isolation, thus, is the fundamental reason why people seek intersubjective reassurance about some basic features of the reality they live in and, in turn, this reassurance is a precondition for the development of effective strategies of integration. This fear and the measures taken to address it are core problems that Goffman discusses in his main texts, *The Presentation of the Self in Everyday Life* (Goffman, 1959), *Asylum* (Goffman, 1961), *Stigma* (Goffman, 1963), and *Frame Analysis* (Goffman, 1974). My argument is perhaps more convincing if one looks at Goffman's publication history in reverse: from the problematization of the sense of the real, to the role of social institutions, to the 'strategies' individuals adopt to reassures themselves, to fit it and, in practice, to live in society.

In *Frame Analysis* Goffman developed a method to study individual-society relationships in which he avoids the ontological trap of a single reality. Referring to the works of William James and Alfred Schutz, Goffman suggested that what counts for social analysis is not the nature of reality but the conditions at which a given state of affairs is considered as 'real' or, more precisely, as part of a reality individuals cannot ignore (Goffman, 1974, p. 2).

Asylum is the text in which the concerns about the relationship between the individual and society are most explicit. Individual agency can be effaced not as a result of a totalitarian ideology, but by the mere working of administrative logic applied to the management of crimes or deviance. Here the problem of adaptation is seen on its negative, the problem of non- or mis-adaptation, and against the background of the relationship between the individual and society as this is defined by the coordinates of prescriptions and sanctions: what is expected and the sanctions that applies if expectations are not met.

In *The Presentation of the Self in Everyday Life*, Goffman problematized the individual's strategies to adapt and, by adapting, getting a chance to affect social reality. In this strategy, the persona is a fundamental tool to protect the individual from the risks associated with society and the real: from the possibility that social institutions become a threat (like in Asylum) and from the uncertainty about what is real, or the intersubjective grounds that make understanding and social life possible at all. The 'presentation of the self' is not so much about 'faking' but more about the possibility for individuals to be aware of and participate on common grounds that, while establishing roles, conventions, etc. also constitute the practical possibility of mutual understanding and, ultimately, coordinated action. Compared to Debord's 'spectacle', where social change is virtually impossible, Goffman's 'theatrical performance' is a symbolical form of communication for the social negotiation of change.

Since the time when Goffman wrote his texts, the 'digital turn' in the social construction of reality has brought about transformations that make the 'problem of the real' more acute: reality more elusive, conventional strategies of integration less effective and ultimately the fear of isolation more intense.

Notions such as those of 'ontological insecurity' (Giddens, 1991), 'risk society' (Beck, 1992), and 'liquid modernity' (Bauman, 2000), describe the condition of late or high modernity as one of impermanence in which the sense of reality is more elusive and the fear of isolation more acute. The assumption on which Goffman's description seems to rest, and plausible in the days he wrote, is that mediated representations reflect 'personas' 'roles' and 'performances as these are established in direct, non-mediated interaction. In other words, the social reality is still the one of the 'real' world – while now the 'virtual' participates and, according to Baudrillard even substitutes the 'real'. Miller, for example, observes that even if digital communication is not the kind of interaction that Goffman had in mind, his work for the interpretation of selfie is rather fundamental (Miller, 1995). For Hogan, the increased mediatization of the relationship between the individual and an elusive reality only increase the apprehensions associated with the presentation of the self (Hogan, 2010). In the condition of digital/global capitalism, the culture-specific notions of 'politeness and decorum' (Goffman, 1959, p. 231) lose their function in inspiring individual performance.

In these conditions, the online self is as much an opportunity to 'escape' as it is a simulacrum that encapsulates the individual in a simulation which preserves the possibility of freedom only within the boundaries of the semantic universe of digital capitalism - a universe in which the symbolic construction of reality is ultimately inspired by the accumulation of capital.

Barthes: the problem of meaning

If Goffman is concerned about the 'problem of the real' and the perils of oppression associated with it, the core of Barthes' *corpus* (Barthes, 1967 (1953)) (Barthes, 2000 (1957))(Barthes, 1982 (1970)) (Barthes, 1975) (Barthes, 1977) (Barthes, 1981 (1980)) is the concern with the 'problem of meaning'. In a constructivist perspective, meaning is a problem because it is both the means and the end of human experience of the world. This experience is thus framed within the fundamental paradox of intersubjectivity: the constitution of the subject can occur only within intersubjective systems of signification. In a critical perspective, the same paradox is viewed from a different angle and meaning is a problem because first, it depends on relations and systems of signification that can oppress or emancipate the individual and because second, the process of interpretation itself is dependent on these ambivalent relations.

Barthes's analysis is important for the study of selfying because it problematizes the system of signification within which selfying is a meaningful social practice and, by doing so, it exposes the role of conventions, meanings, myths and ultimately ideological assumptions that this practice, and its practitioners, unwittingly reproduce and re-actualize.

In the part two of *Writing degree Zero*, (Barthes, 1967 (1953)),for example, Barthes discusses writing as an ambivalent reality:

> "… on the one hand, it unquestionably arises from a confrontation of the writer with the society of his time; on the other hand, from this social finality, it refers the writer back, by a sort of tragic reversal, to the sources, that is to say, the instruments of creation". (Barthes, 1967 (1953), p. 16)

This ambivalence is the ground for his critique of 'the communist mode of writing' that seeks to bring radical social change but whose literature cannot liberate itself from 'a form which is after all typically bourgeois' (Barthes, 1967 (1953), p. 70).

In *Mythologies,* and especially in its second part, 'Myth today' (Barthes, 2000 (1957)), Barthes discussed the process of visual re-production of myth and the idea that the political role of myths is always supporting a representation of the past that is conservative and illusory but that ultimately serves the political interests of the bourgeoisie (Barthes, 2000 (1957), p. 142). Through the actualization of myths and their symbolical latent associations, the ideology of the bourgeoisie effaces all concepts and, therefore, the communicative possibility of meanings that are not compatible with its ideology. As we shall see, this is an important point to understand the social effect of selfying and the mythologization of the individual in the digital age.

The notions of 'studium' and 'punctum', that Barthes discussed in *Camera Lucida* (Barthes, 1981 (1980)) introduce remarkable elements of complexity to the analysis of the visual dimension of selfying by merely identifying two separate, but co-present, dimensions of visual interpretation: the subjective (punctum) and the intersubjective or social (studium). Among the many insights Barthes' work has to offer in the domain of the visual construction of meaning, one of the most interesting one is the association of the photographic image with violence and death. Susan Sontag discussed this idea in On Photography, arguing that

> "To photograph people is to violate them, by seeing them as they never see themselves, by having knowledge of them they can never have; it turns people into objects that can be symbolically possessed. Just as the camera is a sublimation of the gun, to photograph someone is a sublimated murder – a soft murder, appropriate to a sad, frightened time". (Sontag, 2008 (1977), pp. 4-5)

Quoting Susan Sontag, Rettberg claims that selfies are a way of taking back the power of photography (Rettberg, 2014, p. 88) - but Barthes's engagement with photography, and perhaps a broader engagement with Sontag too, suggests that this power is indeed influential but is not easily accessible to the individual. This power is very complex and, in order to be accessible, it involves much more than the visual image and access to technology. The belief that any individual can master this power and control its technological, ideological and symbolic ramification is itself a sign of the influence of myths about the individual that are instrumentally revitalized in the conditions of digital capitalism.

And, in fact, the whole quotation from Sontag explicitly refers to the use of photography and the power of images as a defensive mechanism against anxiety…:

> "Recently, photography has become almost as widely practiced an amusement as sex and dancing – which means that, like every mass art form, photography is not practiced by most people as an art. It is mainly a social rite, a defense against anxiety, and a tool for power". (Sontag, 2008 (1977), p. 8)

This time is presumably the time of 'late capitalism', on the verge of the 'digital revolution' by the time Sontag wrote these lines. Later, and well into the digital age, the same connection between the image/signifier and the death of signified will be reformulated by Jean Baudrillard in his discussion of the perfect crime and the regime of simulation (Baudrillard, 1994) (Baudrillard, 2007).

From Barthes's standpoint, the social significance of selfies consists in the dialectics of the text: the process by which the text constitutes the subject but, in doing so, it also links it up to conventions that are necessary for the comprehension of the text itself but hide relations of meanings and relations of power that ultimately affect the subject.

The whole work of Barthes reflects perhaps his personal effort to elucidate this mechanism, and evading its effects on himself. The fascination with the Japanese character Mu and its representation of 'nothingness' in *Empire of the Sign* (Barthes, 1982 (1970)) may be itself a 'sign' that 'nothingness' is precisely what individuals have to be prepared to face in their quest to free relations of meaning from relations of power. Terry Eagleton argues in similar ways about freedom in *Holy Terror* (Eagleton, 2005).

Discussing *The Pleasure of the Text*, Cover suggests that 'subjects engage in identity work through the simultaneous reception and production of texts of the self, such as selfies, because there is a pleasure in the performativity of conformable identities' (Cover, 2016, p. xvii). This interpretation, however, contrasts with Barthes's belief that the 'pleasure of the text' or the 'bliss' that links text to its reader in a process that is in some respects transformative of both, is impossible in the conditions of 'mass culture' (Barthes, 1975, p. 38). The pleasure of 'performing identities through texts of the self' and the 'pleasure of the text' are different forms of pleasures originating from different relations between the text and the self. Whereas Cover discusses the former in terms of his concept of 'interpellation' I described above (Cover, 2016, p. xvii), for Barthes 'it is obvious that the pleasure of the text is scandalous: not because it is immoral but because it is atopic' (Barthes, 1975, p. 23).

Conclusion: selfying as interpellation in digital capitalism

The problem of reality and the problem of meaning are constitutive of the social construction of reality, self and society, and engage the individual with fundamental questions of indeterminacy. Indeterminacy, on the other hand, is a condition that people experience as freedom or insecurity depending on their social positioning: their relative position in the structure of power. Interpreting *selfying as a form of interpellation, and selfie a 'signifier' that produces its 'signified'*, is an epistemic 'move' that makes it possible to study the role of ideology in the symbolic resolution of this indeterminacy and, more broadly, in the social construction of reality, self and society.

In this 'move', Althusser's notion of interpellation has the advantage to interpret ideology as an 'imaginary relation' between the individual and reality. The works of Goffman and Barthes provide distinctive insights into the aspects of indeterminacy affecting both the ends and the means of the social construction of reality, self and society. To interpret 'selfying-as-interpellation' is useful to actualize and engage the challenges of indeterminacy as these become even more acute in the conditions of the digital age.

From the starting point of my working hypothesis, it is perhaps useful to suggest three further points. First, selfying is a form of communication and a social practice that tells not so much about the individual himself or herself but about his or her 'imaginary relation with reality'. Second, and in so doing, this practice contributes to establish this imaginary as a collective imaginary or, more precisely as a form of interpellation 'from below'. Third, the emancipative potential of selfying as a form of mediated presentation of the self is problematic, not least because the intelligibility of this practice itself depends on conventions (social, technological, semiotic, etc.) that participates in the reproduction of the 'imaginary relation with reality' of digital capitalism.

Based on this approach, and in line with the normative prescriptions of critical social theory, further research avenues should perhaps address: a) the impact of selfying and its 'power' as a form of interpellation, b) its implications on the influence of capitalism in the social construction of reality, self and society, and c) the grounds for resistance.

Concerning the social influence of selfying-as-interpellation, my analysis suggests that this practice is influential because in the conditions of enhanced indeterminacy of the digital age, it offers ontological security but only within the symbolic universe of capitalist ideology. Selfying-as-interpellation allows for the ideological resolution of the indeterminacy associated with the problem of the real and the problem of meaning. By involving the individual in a form of communication that offers the possibility of managing the online-self within the ideological coordinates of promotional culture and digital consumerism, selfying provides the individual with implicit answers to fundamental questions concerning reality, self and society which the individual himself/herself is unable or unwilling to answer. By accepting the symbolic universe of capitalist ideology, in other words, people can concentrate on the effort to try and be happy within it. The other side of this deal, however, is that in the recognition of the implied self of this interpellation, capitalist ideology produces individuals compatible with its universe.

This interpretation contains bad and good news.

The bad news is that digital capitalism is far more entrenched in the social construction of reality and the emancipative affordances of selfying (and presumably other forms of online presentation of the self) are far less significant that some studies would suggest. Here I suggested that the main reason for this influence is the capacity of digital/global capitalism to address the indeterminacy of the digital age as an existential condition that most people experience as a condition of insecurity and anxiety rather than one of freedom and emancipation. In this way, offering 'ontological security' in exchange for freedom, capitalism preserves the conditions for its own survival and against the inherent possibility for chances associated with the social construction of reality, the individual and society. Thus, far from being an 'enabling' practice of self-representation or even less, a sign of greater freedom in the visual construction of the self, selfying is fundamentally a form of interpellation and an effective ideological institution of the digital age. It is effective because it is 'distributed': based on spontaneous individual behaviours and dependent on a technological infrastructure that is there for other purposes. In this form of interpellation, the individual is both an agent of the 'apparatus' and the target of a self-supporting, commercially profitable form of visual presentation of the self compatible with the ideological appropriation of digital technology by capitalism.

The good news, conversely, is perhaps that indeterminacy is an inherent feature of this process and the 'problem of the real' and the 'problem of meaning' cannot be resolved once and for all: the door to the construction of social world in alternative symbolic universes remains open. The critical study of selfying in terms of interpellation may contribute to raising awareness about the role of ideology and, in this way, keep that door open. The permanence of this indeterminacy is an important aspect of critical socio-constructionists approaches that can contribute to bring the attention of research to the possibility of disrupting capitalist interpellation, for example through Feenberg's 'subversive rationalization' (Feenberg, 1992), or re-formulations of Paulo Freire's 'critical pedagogy' (Giroux, 2011).

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Original Article

Analysis of Teenagers' Facebook Profile Creation with a Special Focus on Photography: Insights from Croatia

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Maja Homen Pavlin[1], Mario Dumančić[1] and Mirko Sužnjević[2]

[1] Faculty of Teacher Education, University of Zagreb, CROATIA
[2] Faculty of Electrical Engineering and Computing, University of Zagreb, CROATIA

Abstract: Today, phones with integrated cameras and affordable photo equipment make it possible for teenagers to take photos at any time and place. To portray themselves in a certain way, teenagers post photos on social networks such as Facebook and Instagram. The social and technical affordances of Facebook enable identity construction by providing the tools to shape the information and photos posted on an individual's profile in an attempt to regulate how others perceive them. This paper analyzes Facebook profile creation among teenagers with a special focus on photography. The research is based on data obtained through questionnaires taken by 200 12-14-year olds attending primary education schools in Croatia. Research results indicate that teenagers create their profiles on Facebook with great consideration of other people's opinions, but even more for expression of their true selves. For the participants in this study, posting photos that reflect their identity, their feelings, or their lifestyle is more important than posting photos with the intention of being liked by others.

Keywords: Facebook, identity, impression management, photography, self-image, social networks

Introduction

New technologies such as smartphones, tablets, photo cameras, and other similar devices allow people to access the internet, thus enabling them to communicate with each other and share their photos wherever they are and whenever they want to. These new multifunctional communication tools have become an important part of people's daily lives. In recent years, many teenagers, as well as adults, started joining social networking service (SNS) websites. On SNS, individuals have the ability to project and express who they are and construct their online identities to guarantee their appeal to their desired audiences. By creating online identities, individuals can thrive socially because they can present themselves in any way they want. This representation is usually positive, as wanting to be perceived in a positive light is fundamental to human nature.

Address for Correspondence: Mirko Sužnjević, email: Mirko.Suznjevic[at]fer.hr
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The popularity of SNS, especially among teenagers, has made social networks a new and important factor that directly affects identity creation in young people in general. Teenagers communicate more on SNS than in person, they organize gatherings and events through SNS, and today the problem of bullying on SNS is becoming more and more prominent. It can be concluded that SNS, as a representative of the new media, are an important social variable for today's youth as their physical and virtual worlds become increasingly psychologically connected. SNS are very important for identity creation of an individual as well as society as a whole. In that regard, the virtual world serves as a playground for developmental issues from the physical world, such as identity construction and expression. Therefore, SNS represent a significant research opportunity that can provide significant insights into the identity formation of teenagers today.

One of the primary tools for identity creation on SNS is photography. Most teenagers have smartphones and take photos of themselves on a daily basis. These photos are shared everywhere: they share them mutually via direct messaging or post them on SNS, where they share their life moments and take "selfies." The importance of photography in recent times is indicated by the fact that the word "selfie" (i.e., a photograph of a person taken by the person herself/himself) was declared the word of the year by the Oxford Dictionary in 2013, its usage having increased by 17,000% since 2012 (BBC News 2013). Users can select or emphasize certain characteristics in their photos they believe to be socially desirable, while eliminating or de-emphasizing undesirable ones, thus creating a specific online identity. Through photos, online friends may gain more distinct information than from the user's written profile. To summarize, photos have become an integral part of everyday life and their posting on SNS or elsewhere can create an image of individuals who regularly strive to present themselves in a positive light.

Currently, one of the most famous and widely used SNS is Facebook, which currently has more than 2 billion active users on a monthly basis (Statista, 2018); thus, it is the most relevant SNS for research for online identity creation. The photos that people choose to represent themselves on Facebook (e.g., their profile image, as well as the photos they share with their audiences) are very important because they can be seen as a representation of the user's identity. Facebook profile photos give a first impression about the user, while other photos the users share communicate more thorough information and therefore contribute to elements of users' online identities.

This leads us to the main focus of this paper, which is understanding how new media affect the identity construction and expression of teenagers in the age group 12 to 14. More precisely, the paper examines teenagers' self-presentation through new media (Facebook), placing a special focus on photography. The paper also examines whether there are differences in the way Facebook users in the age group of 12 to 14 create their online identity by posting photos with regard to age and gender. The paper investigates if teenagers post photos which present their "ideal selves" in order to be liked by others rather than photos which represent their true selves, as well as whether female Facebook users in the age group of 12 to 14 give more importance to presenting their "ideal selves" than male participants. The research is performed using a questionnaire comprised of a series of statements about the motivation behind sharing photos on Facebook, which was distributed to 200 participants at different schools in Croatia. The gathered data was analyzed using principal factor analysis which confirmed two groups of questions: one which suggests that teenagers create their online identity to be liked by others, and the other which suggests that teenagers create an online identity that represents their true selves. These groups of questions were statistically analyzed, and the results indicate that identity creation based upon true identities is more important to the users in our sample. We also find that there are differences in age as well as gender.

This paper is structured as follows: the literature review is presented in section two, followed by a section explaining the impact of social media on teenagers. Next, we present a section about identity, self-presentation, and impression management, followed by a section about photography on Facebook as a tool for creating impressions. After that, we define methodology according to which the research was conducted, and in the final section we discuss the results.

Literature review

SNSs are virtual communities which allow people to connect and interact with each other, share their common interests or just "hang out" online (Murray & Waller, 2007). One of the most famous and widely used ones is Facebook. Facebook is a social networking service platform that enables people to share their thoughts, actions, photos and videos with friends and family, and, in some instances, the public at large. Lerner (2010) stated that the invention of Facebook had enabled identity construction by providing the tools to alter the information and photos posted on an individual's profile in an attempt to control how others see them. Facebook provides users the ability to design and virtually express who they are and construct their impressions to guarantee they appeal to their desired audiences. Constructing online identities on Facebook allows users to thrive socially because they can present themselves in any way they want. People want others to perceive them in a positive light. That is fundamental human nature, but it has also become very important in various personal and job-related circles. People engage in social interactions to present a desired impression. This impression is maintained by consistently presenting intelligible and complementary behaviours. Goffman (1959) called this process impression management. Goffman in his research wanted to understand why people may change their appearance to make a positive impression on others and thus, it is vital for this study.

Photographs are a significant element of how Facebook functions since people choose this social networking site as one of the preferred sites (along with Instagram) to distribute and look at images. Mary Meeker, a renowned market analyst with Kleiner Perkins Caufield Byers stated that in 2013, over 500 million photos a day were shared worldwide on Facebook, Flickr, Twitter, Instagram, and Snapchat (Meeker & Wu, 2013). Dutton, Blank & Groselj (2013) in their national survey in Britain showed that the rate of posting photos increased from 53% in 2011 to 64% in 2013 and browsing photos became the most frequent online leisure activity, exceeding even listening to music. Among the various SNS, Facebook was the biggest and fastest-growing photo-sharing site (Rainie, Brenner & Purcell, 2012), with a daily uploading rate of over 210 million photos (Osman, 2018). From this data, we can see that digital images have become the preferred medium for social media communication. As a result, "the changing function of photography is part of a complex technological, social, and cultural transformation" (Dijck, van 2008, p. 58), which will be discussed further in the paper.

There are not many studies that examine SNS photo-related activities, especially ones considering teenagers, but some of them confirm that Facebook photos can serve as practical and informative means of interpreting self-image, interpersonal impressions and identity management. (Dhir, Kaur, Lonka, Nieminen, 2015; Eftekhar, Fulwood & Morris, 2014; Mendelson & Papacharissi, 2010; Pempek, Yermolayeva, & Calvert, 2009; Saslow, Muise, Impett, & Dubin, 2013; Siibak, 2009; Strano, 2008; Tosun, 2012; Van Der Heide, D'Angelo, & Schumaker, 2012). For instance, Siibak (2009) showed that 56% of women believed that looking good in photos posted on Facebook was one of the main elements of their profile. He also stated that females usually choose photos of themselves that reflect their personalities and they care more about their appearance in these photos than males. His research also showed that the posted images most often convey an "ideal self" (the self one would like to be) or the "ought self" (the self one believes one should be in order to be accepted by other users). SNS users chose best-fit photos and untagged themselves from photos they believed to be unflattering (Pempek et al., 2009; Dhir et. al. 2015, Lang & Barton, 2015).

Teenagers nowadays grow up with new media which form an integral part of their daily lives. They spend more time using new media than doing any other leisure activity and the main reason for using them is communication with others (Subrahmanyam & Greenfield, 2008).

Teenagers and social media

In the last few decades technology has become very important for teenagers and they are heavy users of new media. Although teenagers have embraced many tools for communicating with each other, their extensive engagement with social media has been without precedent. boyd (2014) argued that for teenagers today, social media is a part of their daily routine. Teenagers fervently want to find their place in society. Because of social media presence in their daily lives, teenagers' lasting desire for social connection and autonomy is now being expressed in so-called networked publics. As boyd (2014) described them, networked publics are "publics that are restructured by networked technologies. As such, they are simultaneously the space constructed through networked technologies and the imagined community that emerges as a result of the intersection of people, technology and practice" (p. 8). For today's teenagers, networked publics are not much different from malls and parks of the previous generations of teenagers. Teenagers engage with networked publics for the same reasons previous teenagers engaged with publics, that is, they want to be a part of a broader world by connecting with other people and having freedom of mobility. SNSs like Facebook, Twitter and Instagram, each with its own unique features provide teenagers with opportunities to play a part in public life (boyd 2014).

Through social media, people can share their thoughts, media and information with broad audiences around the world which increases the potential visibility of the shared content. Social media are designed to help people spread information, thus making the content people post online spreadable. Facebook has the option to share the content with just one click of the button 'share'

Many scholars have written about the importance of friendships in social and moral development (Corsaro, 1992; Rubin & Fredstorm, 2008; Spencer & Pahl, 2006). The parents of today's' teenagers fear that they spend too much time on social media and fail to understand the importance of social media in their lives. Most teenagers are not drawn to their smartphones, laptops and other gadgets as such; they are drawn to friendships (boyd 2014; Sheer, 2011). Various gadgets only enable them to stay in touch with their friends in today's culture where getting together in a public place has become increasingly constrained. They have fewer places to be together in public than they did before (Valentine, 2007). Teenagers are also limited by their schoolwork and parents who fear for their safety, so they often meet in each other's homes rather than in public places such as malls. Teenagers want to be with their friends on their own terms, without adult supervision. The networked publics allow them to feel the desired privacy and this is very important in the context of understanding the teenagers' relationship to social media. SNSs are not only their new public places but, in many cases, they are the 'only' public spaces where they can meet and connect with a large group of their peers (boyd, 2014).

New media provide possibilities for self-presentation which is closely related to identity development. Researchers argue that identity development is a main task of adolescence and teenagers use new media as a tool to perform presentations of self (boyd, 2008, 2014; Heim et al., 2007; Jensen & Gilly, 2003; Livinstone, 2003, 2008; Turkle, 1995). The notion of identity and self-presentation will be discussed further in the paper.

Profile creation on Facebook: Identity, self-presentation and impression management

Subrahmanyam & Greenfield (2008), as well as boyd (2014) stated that new media are an important social variable for today's teenagers, and that the physical and virtual worlds are psychologically connected. In that regard, social media serve as a playground for developmental issues from the physical world such as identity construction and expression. Self-presentation can be seen as a way of dealing with constructing one's identity. It is necessary to understand how new media affect teenagers' identity construction and expression, therefore, it is important to examine teenagers' self-presentation through new media, in this case, placing a special focus on photography.

Identity

First, it is necessary to discuss what identity is since it is an elusive concept, with no single clear-cut definition. It is used in many different contexts and for a variety of purposes, extending from authentication by a bank to be allowed access to our money to our understanding of who we are within a community (Warburton & Hatzipanagos, 2013). Two people can share certain characteristics, such as having brown eyes or being female or being able to sew, but, in practice, no two identities are ever the same. Our identities evolve over time and therefore the notion of identity remains in a state of constant change. Abelson & Lessing (1998) defined identity as "a unique piece of information associated with an entity [...] a collection of characteristics which are either inherent or assigned by another". Vybíral, Šmahel, & Divínová (2004) defined it as a "continual experience of individual self, of that individual's uniqueness and authenticity as well as the identification with life roles and the experience of belonging to bigger and smaller social groups" (p. 171). Zhao, Grasmuck & Martin (2008, p. 1817) argued that identity is an important part of self-concept, which is the totality of a person's thoughts and feelings in reference to oneself as an object (Rosenberg, 1986 in Zhao et.al 2008), and identity is that part of the self "by which we are known to others" (Altheide, 2000, in Zhao et al., 2008). The construction of an identity is, therefore, a public process that involves both the "identity announcement" made by the individual claiming an identity, and the "identity placement" made by others who approve the claimed identity, and, consequently, an identity is settled when there is a "coincidence of placements and announcements" (Stone, 1981 in Zhao et al., 2008, p. 1817). In face to face communication and interaction in general, identity is created under a specific set of restrictions. Since in face to face interaction there is an observable body, it prevents people from claiming false identities when it comes to their physical characteristics, such as sex, race and looks. Identity construction under those circumstances involves mostly the manipulation of the physical setting and personal front (language, manners, and general appearance) to generate the desired impression on others. In situations where face to face interactions happen among strangers, people may pursue hiding their background and personality and produce a whole new identity to be better liked (Zhao et al., 2008). Zhao et al. (2008) also explained the term "hoped-for possible selves" in an online context and they defined it as "socially desirable identities an individual would like to establish and believes that they can be established given the right conditions" (p.1819). On Facebook, the hoped-for possible selves are well-crafted personalities which individuals create through socially acceptable and desirable attributes.

Shafie, Nayan & Osman (2012) argued that "online identity is anonymous and flexible and not tied with offline identity" (p. 135). Online identity is constructed of online social identity and online personal identity. Online identity involves symbolic communication and textual communication. Self-concept consists of personal and social aspects which lead to self-presentation (Canary et al. 2003 in Shafie et al. 2012). On SNSs, people openly communicate and trust each other while sharing their identity behaviors, such as interests, hobbies, favorites, groups and affiliations (Shahrinaz, 2010). A lack of anonymity seems to have become an integral part of online world. People use their real names in most of online communication, on various SNSs such as Facebook, LinkedIN (a business-oriented SNS), in email communication and other venues.

boyd (2014) claimed that when a teenager chooses to identify herself as "Jessica Smith" on Facebook and "littlemonster" on Twitter, she is not creating several different identities in the psychological sense. "She is just choosing to represent herself in different ways on different sites with the expectation of different audiences and different norms" (boyd, 2014, p. 38). At times, these choices are conscious attempts by individuals seeking to control their self-presentation; but often, they are imaginative responses to the sites' prerequisite to provide a username. While some teenagers choose to use the same username across multiple sites, others find that their favorite nickname is already taken or feel as though they have outgrown their previous identity. Regardless of the reason, the product is a mishmash of online identities that leave plenty of room for interpretation, and in doing so, teenagers both interpret and produce the social contexts which they inhabit (boyd, 2014).

Whereas Shafie et al. (2012) argued that online identity is not tied to offline identity, Zhao et al. (2008) believed that it is incorrect to think that the online and offline world are two separate worlds. Experimental research has proven that online, teenagers present their true selves more often than they would in face-to-face encounters (Manago, Graham, Greenfield & Salimkhan, 2008) and online presentations of selves are rather accurate (DiMicco & Millen, 2007 in Young 2013; Krämer & Winter, 2008). Back et al. (2010) showed that Facebook profiles indeed reflect actual personalities of their users.

In the beginning, the research regarding online identity focused on questions of anonymity and identity experimentation rather than the investigation of the processes through which individuals create and explore their own identities (Young, 2013). As was previously mentioned, sites such as Facebook require authentic representation of self, moreover, the users are forced to use their real names in order to be a part of Facebook. If individuals ignored this, they would be limited in acquiring online friends, thus making use of the site superfluous. The online world requires people to write themselves into being (boyd, 2008) and therefore, their profiles provide an opportunity to form the intended impression through language, images and various media. Many researchers argued that SNSs are a relevant and valid means of communicating identity and exploring impression management and impression management appears to be one of the main functions of social networking sites (boyd, 2006, 2008, 2014; Gosling, Augustine & Vazire, 2011; Ivcevic & Ambady, 2012; Krämer et al. 2008; Livingstone, 2008; Manago et al., 2008; Mehdizadeh, 2010; Shahrinaz, 2010; Shafie et al. 2012).

Impression management and self-expression

In new media, people have more control over their self-presentational behaviour than in face-to-face communication (Krämer & Winter, 2008), which serves as a perfect setting for self-expression and impression management as termed by Goffman (1959). While creating their online self-presentation, people can think about the aspects of themselves they want to present towards their audience. The importance of being perceived in a positive light complies with human nature and has become fundamental in social circles. People can feel great pressure from their environment to ‘fit in' and this can serve as the reason to modify their online presentation in an effort to be better accepted by their preferred groups. The invention of Facebook has enabled identity construction through the abilities to change, shape or even twist the information and photos posted on an individual's profile in order to direct how others perceive them.

In his article “On Face-Work”, Goffman (Goffman, 1955) described why people constantly take into consideration the impression they present to others. He defines the ‘face' as a positive social value a person effectively claims for themselves. Goffman says that when people meet for the first time, it immediately provokes an emotional reaction. The community in which people show and present themselves needs to be consistent with the community they encounter. For instance, on Facebook, people care about the impressions they make on other people in their network (Angwin, 2009; boyd, 2014, Dorethy et al. 2014; Pempek et al. (2009); Siibak, 2009). Their ‘face' could be a product of the people they interact with on Facebook. Their friends can instantly make judgments about the Facebook owner's profile picture or any other data presented on an individual's Facebook site (e.g. religion or relationship status), which can result as an emotional reaction by the Facebook owner. Based on that reaction, the owner can modify his/hers appearance to appear more socially acceptable to their intended audience (Lerner, 2010). Goffman (1955) has furthered this by explaining that if a person has an encounter with another person, he or she is placed in a social relationship. Each person needs to uphold their ‘face’ in order to gain support from other people inside a group. In order to preserve relationships, individuals must be cautious not to damage other people’s ‘face’. For example, when a Facebook user becomes friends with another user, they are automatically categorized into a relationship. Facebook users try to preserve their image in order to gain the approval of their friends. On Facebook, users can write on each other’s timelines, comment on each other statuses, post photos of each other or ‘tag’ each other in various posts and photos. All of the above can cause a disruption in the relationship between the users, depending on what is being discussed in the post or what the photos show. The information posted could distort the ‘face’ of the profile owner, which in turn may destroy how other perceive the owner’s image (Lerner, 2010). Goffman (1959) identified these common disruptions as “unmeant gestures, inopportune intrusions, faux pas, and scenes.” Unmeant gestures are inappropriate actions that do not correspond with the preferred impression. Inopportune intrusions happen when someone interpolates themselves within another’s boundaries without announcement. A faux pas occurs when someone intentionally goes against social norms (with verbal statements or non-verbal acts) which, in turn, could possibly endanger their self-image.

However, ‘scenes' as Goffman describes them are a purposeful effort to disrepute the people an individual associates with, oneself, or strangers. On Facebook, a user may become very aggravated with another user and he or she may post inappropriate or embarrassing comments on another's timeline or post inappropriate or embarrassing photos. Some users could also reveal secret or private information about other users, which would create a ‘scene', and that could harm the ‘face' of the user in question. With those actions, Facebook owners could become embarrassed by these disruptions, and it can affect their identity and may deteriorate their self-image. Goffman (1959) indicated that people create certain impressions on purpose, just to avoid embarrassment or humiliation. For instance, on Facebook, people can change or ‘un-tag', their photos to adjust how others see them. If a Facebook user is tagged in a photo that they feel portrays an identity they do not want others to see, they could remove the photo to avoid embarrassment. Goffman argues that when people feel embarrassed, they could be seen throughout society as weak, inferior and defeated, so they are motivated to reduce the shame. Teenagers on Facebook can become friends with others from many different social contexts (friends from school, friends from hobbies, friends from work, parents, relatives...) and when all of those friends are grouped together in one place, a so-called context collapse happens.

boyd (2008) defines context collapse as “the lack of spatial, social, and temporal boundaries that makes it difficult to maintain distinct social contexts.” Teenagers may struggle to present themselves in a desirable way for all the different audiences. Facebook features enable them to strategize their desirable identity presentation; for example, they can group family members together, hide their shared content from them, show it just to them, or simply unfriend people who they do not feel comfortable sharing things with.

When it comes to identity, Goffman (1959) addressed it by employing the metaphor of a drama, or the Dramaturgical Perspective. Goffman (1959) distinguished the performance as a front and backstage. The front is a "fixed presentation" where performance takes place in front of an audience. That "fixed presentation" consists of the tools needed in order to perform, as well as a balance between appearance and manner. Appearance refers to personal items that reflect the performer's social status. It also shows an individual's social state or role, for example, if that individual is going to work (wearing the uniform), or if that individual is engaging in informal recreation or formal social activity (wearing a suit). Manner refers to the way the individuals play their roles and it functions to warn the audience of how the performers will act in their roles. Backstage is where the audience is not allowed, and where the performer steps out of character without suppressing him or herself. Facebook enables users to set up their front stage with possibilities to edit privacy settings, profile pictures, and other choices of representation in the information describing their education, work, private beliefs and interests. Offline, the appropriate place is how people choose to express themselves through language, clothes, material things and even other people they associate with. Online, for instance on Facebook, it is a fluid operation. Users can bring themselves into an appropriate place, but it requires time and constant awareness of new privacy settings, updates etc., and choosing the audience (acquaintances, friends, family etc.) at all times. With this, Facebook users can keep in check all of their performances. Goffman’s theory of impression management and the construction of identity is crucial for understanding why people may alter their identities on Facebook. Essentially, Goffman provided insight as to why people put on a front stage when they are presenting themselves to particular audiences, and why will they try to accommodate to social expectations. How this translates to photography will be discussed in the next chapter.

Photography on Facebook as a tool for crafting impressions

Due to the ubiquity of digital cameras and the popularity of the instant photo-sharing technology, photos are everywhere; there are even special SNSs (for instance, Instagram and Snapchat) solely for sharing photos. More than ever before, photos can be taken by anyone at any time, and can be instantly seen by anyone. The sheer volume of image-making has increased exponentially with the introduction of cheap and accessible digital imaging technology and phones with integrated cameras: today, every two minutes, people take as many photos as all of humanity did in the 1800s (Good, 2011 in Winston 2013). Winston (2013) argued that, compared to the old days of analog photography, people increasingly use digital photography to communicate, construct their identities and understand reality. Vigliotti (2014) claimed that Facebook users utilize photos in order to present certain aspects of themselves for public consumption. On Facebook, a user’s profile photo can be understood as an image of self-description and therefore, the language of Facebook photos becomes a narrative tool to express oneself to the world (Vigliotti, 2014). Research shows that online images employed on Facebook profiles are carefully designed to promote their online identities (Shafie et al., 2012) and they are one means by which Facebook users present a favourable image of themselves to other users (Strano & Wattai, 2010). These carefully constructed identities are also managed throughout un-tagging. Dhir et. al. (2015) showed that un-tagging is a common practice with teenagers and that male Facebook users are more likely to un-tag themselves from the embarrassing photos. Siibak (2009) argued that the posted images most often convey an “ideal self” (the self-one would like to be) or the “ought self” (the self-one believes one should be in order to be accepted by other users). These findings verify Goffman’s (1959) theory of impression management in which he claims that people strategically “perform” identities in order to be approved by others.

As was previously mentioned, SNSs, such as Facebook, have provided the necessary tools for people to share their identities through photos with a large number of people and without much trouble or cost. Additionally, phones with integrated cameras eradicate the time it takes for a photo to be shared with others because photos can be uploaded on social networks within an instant. In this way, the combination of camera phones and social networks encourages users to construct and communicate their identities through photos (Winston, 2013).

Dijck,van (2008) argued that today people want their pictures to portray a better version of themselves. This mainly refers to photos that are taken with the intention of being shared to the social network audience. Researchers found that it is common for self-images published on Facebook to be carefully created and well-polished (Siibak, 2009). Zhao et al. (2008), found that individuals seek to construct group-oriented identities by posing pictures with others. Photos are the most prominent way in which users create idealized Facebook identities. Even Though some users' Facebook identities expressed through images can be inaccurate, users do not create fabricated personalities on purpose. Sometimes users craft their identities *as they view themselves*, which can differ from *who they really are* (Winston, 2013). Photos are a crucial element in the attempt to represent oneself as more socially desirable than one really is, without pushing over the limits of plausibility. By publishing only photos of themselves engaging in pro-social behaviour (partying, hanging out with friends or playing sports), Facebook users can make their online personality misrepresent how social they actually are. When it comes to teenagers, the virtual selves exhibited on the photos of SNSs are constructed continuously and re-constructed based on the values associated with the "ideal self" or "the ought self" (Siibak, 2009). Even though there is plenty of research regarding teenagers’ identity creation on Facebook, to the best of our knowledge, none of them focused solely on identity creation through photo sharing. There is an increasing popularity of Instagram, especially among teenagers (Yahya et. al., 2018, Greenfield et.al. 2017) and it is becoming obvious that photo sharing is their preferred way of communication and, consequently, a way to explore their impression management, which is, as previously mentioned, one of the primary functions of SNS. It is important to investigate how teenagers craft their identities thorough photo sharing; do they share photos that reflect their personalities, or do they deliberately post photos which present their “ideal selves” in order to be liked by others.

Methodology

Research problems and hypotheses

The first research prblem is to examine the way Facebook users in the age group of 12 to 14 create their online identity by posting photos. The second research problem is to examine whether there are differences in the way Facebook users in the age group of 12 to 14 create their online identity by posting photos with regard to age and gender.

Hypothesis 1: Facebook users in the age group of 12 to 14 post photos which present their “ideal selves” in order to be liked by others rather than photos which represent their true selves.

Hypothesis 2: Female Facebook users in the age group of 12 to 14 give more importance to presenting their "ideal selves" in order to be liked by others than male participants.

Hypothesis 3: When creating their identity on Facebook, older participants give more importance to presenting their "ideal selves" in order to be liked by others than younger participants.

Research instruments

The questionnaire consisted of a series of statements about the motivation behind sharing photos on Facebook. First, the questionnaire had a list of statements about the purpose and ways of using Facebook profiles in regard to photo sharing, e.g., "I created my Facebook profile because my friends have it too," "I created my Facebook profile so I would not feel like an outsider," "I regularly share photos of myself," "I regularly share photos of my friends," etc. Second, there were statements about the reasons to publish photos and the important elements of sharing photos of themselves, e.g., "It is important to look good on a photo," "It is important that the photo reflects my personality," "It is important that the photo reflects my lifestyle," "It is important that the photo is well digitally altered," "It is important that the photo is taken at a modern place," "It is important that the photo gets many likes," "It is important that the photo gets many comments," "It is important that my friends perceive me as a cool person," etc. Third, there were statements about sharing photos with content other than themselves and the meaning behind them, e.g., "I want to share the brands I like," "I want to share activities I enjoy," "I want to share my accomplishments," "I want to get a lot of comments and likes," "I want to share wholesome thoughts and messages I like," "I want those photos to reflect my lifestyle/personality/thoughts," "I want to look like an interesting person," etc. Last, there were statements about feelings in regard to sharing photos, e.g., "I feel good when photos of me get many likes/comments," "I liked other people's photos so they would like mine," "If a photo I published did not get many likes, I deleted it," "I untagged myself from a photo I did not think represents me right," "I worry how others will react to the photos of me on Facebook," etc. The questionnaire was a paper-and-pencil instrument administrated to participants at schools after obtaining the written consent of participants' parents. Participation in the survey was voluntary and anonymous.

Participants specified their level of agreement with each statement on a five-level Likert scale: 1-Strongly disagree; 2-Disagree; 3-Neither agree nor disagree, 4-Agree; 5-Strongly agree. Additionally, demographic data about gender and age were included in the questionnaire. All of the statements were entered into IBM SPSS software and analyzed. First, the factor analysis was made and, consequently, two groups of statements emerged; one which suggests that teenagers create their online identity to be liked by others, and the other which suggests that teenagers create their online identity to represent their true selves. The detailed list with all the questions and results of the factor analysis is provided in Table 1.

Table 1 - Results of the factor analysis

Item	Comp. 1	Comp. 2	Group*
It is important that the photo gets many likes.	.835		1
I want to get a lot of comments and likes	.766		1
I feel good when I get a lot of likes for a photo of me	.741		1

It is important that my friends perceive me as a cool person	.740	.305	1
It is important that the photo gets many comments	.726		1
I liked other people's photos so they would like mine	.711		1
It is important to wear cool clothes on a photo	.669		1
I feel good when photos of me get many comments	.651		1
It is important that my Facebook friends like it	.614		1
If a photo I published did not get many lies, I deleted it	.573		1
I add strangers on Facebook to have more friends	.555		1
It is important to tag myself, my friends and the place we are at	.553		12
It is important to look good on a photo	.545	.323	1
It is important that the photo is well digitally altered (with Retrica or other filters)	.506		1
It is important that the photo is taken at a modern place	.461	.358	1
When I am on an excursion or at some interesting place, I take a photo just to post it on Facebook	.456	.306	1
I want to point out the person I like	.462	.444	2
My other Facebook friends do that	.445		1
I untagged myself from a photo because I did not like the way I looked	.435		1
When I go out with my friends, I take a photo just to post it on Facebook	.433		1
I often post a photo of me just to stay in trend	.426	.411	1
I worry about how others will react to photos of me on Facebook	.385		1
I want to share my accomplishments (in sports, in school…)	.385	.358	2
I have had negative experience with photos of me on Facebook			
It is important that the photo reflects my lifestyle		.671	2
I want those photos to reflect my thoughts		.673	2
I want those photos to reflect my personality		.651	2
I want those photos to reflect my lifestyle		.709	2
I want to visually show my current emotional state		.619	2
It is important that the photo reflects my personality		.603	2
I want to show who I hang out with	.341	.550	12
It is important that the photo captures an important moment in my life		.624	2
I want to seem like an interesting person	.502	.499	1
I untagged myself from a photo I did not think represents me right			1
I want to share wholesome thoughts and messages I like		.540	2
I believe my Facebook profile completely reflects me the way I am		.493	2

It is important to me that my Facebook friends have a positive image of me		.379	12
I created my Facebook profile so I would not feel like an outsider	.305		1
I created a Facebook profile so I would be in contact with the persons I like			2
I regularly post photos of my friends on Facebook		.348	12
I created my Facebook profile because my friends have it too”,			1
I regularly post photos of my interests on Facebook		.373	2
I want to share activities I enjoy (hobbies etc.)		.346	2
I want to share the clothes I like		.312	2
I want to share the brands I like (e.g. car or clothes brands)			2
I regularly share photos of myself		.449	2
It is important that my friends are together with me		.349	12

*Group 1 - identity created to be liked by others

*Group 2 - identity created to be represent one’s true self

*Group 12 - questions which could not be assigned to either group

Participants

A questionnaire survey was filled out by 200 Facebook users in the age group of 12 to 14 who post photos on Facebook. The questionnaire was distributed in two elementary schools in Zagreb, Croatia and one in Velika Gorica, Croatia between March and June 2015. The schools were selected based on previous cooperation and availability. The demographic characteristics are shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Participants' demographic characteristic

GENDER		AGE	AGE%
Male	51,2%	12	26,4%
		13	38,8%
Female	48,8%	14	34,8%

Statistical pre-processing

Before the data was processed, the distribution normality of all dependent variables was tested using the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test. The distribution of all collected dependent variables deviated significantly from the normal Gauss distribution ($p<0,01$), therefore all further data was processed using a non-parametric statistical test and taking non-parametric statistical indicators in consideration.

Results and discussion

Creating identity on Facebook – participants' opinions concerning important factors of publishing photos

As shown earlier, statements about important factors of publishing photos can be assigned to one of the two groups. The first group points out that identity on Facebook is created in order to be liked by others, and the second group points out that identity is created in order to represent one true self. Therefore, the statements in the questionnaire are divided into those two groups based on the results of the factor analysis, and data processing was done correspondingly. The list of questions and their placement in groups is provided as a supplementary material for this paper.

Table 3 shows measures of central tendency of statements considering publishing photos of themselves that point in the direction of creating an identity relying on being liked by others; concerning looks, clothes worn in the photos, Facebook friends' liking, number of likes or comments they receive and leaving a cool impression. Central tendency elements for *looks* and *Facebook friends' liking* categories show a negative asymmetric distribution (Mean<Median<Mode), which indicates that for these statements, a higher percentage of participants chose higher degrees of agreement (Median = 4).

Table 3 - Creating identity on Facebook being liked by others - measures of central tendency

	Looks	Cool clothes	Facebook friends' liking	Amount of likes	Amount of comments	Impression of being cool
Mean	3,80	2,76	3,40	2,80	2,38	2,58
Median	4	3	4	3	2	2
Mode	5	1	4	1	1	1

Figure 1 shows that with regard to publishing photos of themselves, most participants agree or strongly agree that it matters to them that they look good in a photo (69,2%) and that their Facebook friends like it (54,8%). Other factors show that a large percentage of participants fully disagree. The percentages of participants who disagree or strongly disagree with statements about the importance of wearing cool clothes, number of likes and comments or leaving a cool impression is significantly higher than those of other degrees of agreement. But, when the feelings invoked by Facebook are investigated, 50,7% of participants agree or strongly agree that they like it when photos of themselves receive a lot of likes (40,3% in case of comments), which shows a discrepancy compared to their assessment how important they find it when publishing photos (35,8% for like, 22,6% for comments). 32,3% of participants agree or strongly agree that they want to leave a cool impression on others, and 55,8% agree or strongly agree that they want to leave a positive impression on others.

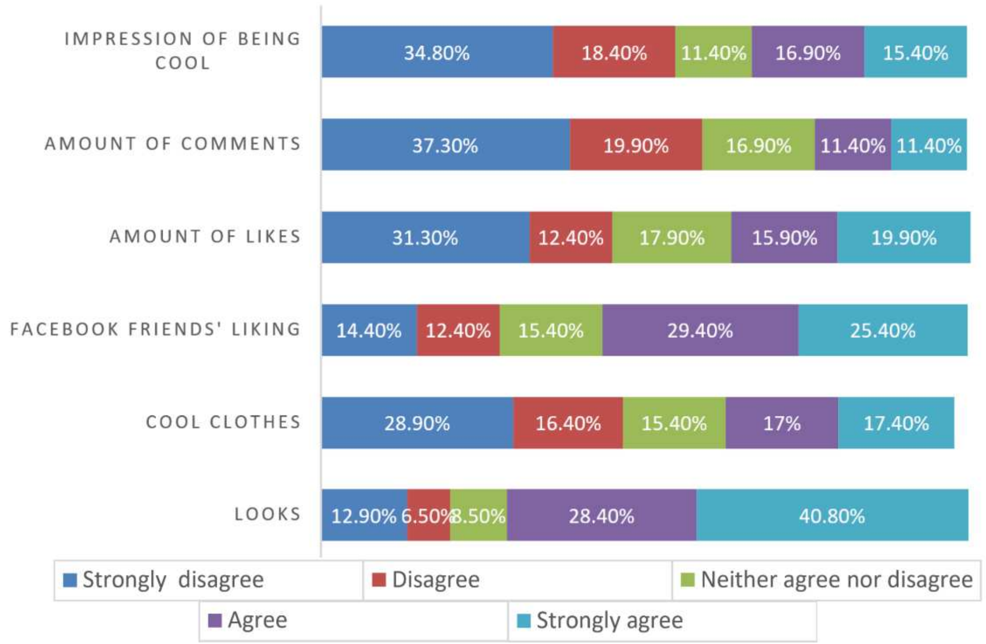

Figure 1 - Creating identity on Facebook: being liked by others - frequencies

Considering the measures of central tendency, four statements relating to users representing their true selves produce a positively asymmetric distribution which indicates that more participants registered lower degrees of agreement. Median values for all statements are 3 or lower. The results are shown in Table and 5.

Table 4 - Creating identity on Facebook: representing their true selves

	Reflection of personality	Reflection of the lifestyle	Reflection of their current emotional state	Sharing clothes they like
	2,95	2,72	1,87	1,75
Median	3,00	3,00	1,00	1,00
Mode	1	1	1	1

Table 5 - Creating identity on Facebook: representing their true selves

	Sharing brands they	Sharing activities they like	Sharing achievements	Sharing wholesome thoughts and quotes
Mean	2,46	3,23	3,03	2,63
Median	2,00	3,00	3,00	2,00
Mode	1	5	4	1

Considering the positively asymmetric distribution and frequencies shown in Figure 2 it is clear that 71,6% of participants do not consider photos that they publish as indication of their current emotional state, and approximately 30% of participants agree or strongly agree that those photos reflect their personality and lifestyle correctly.

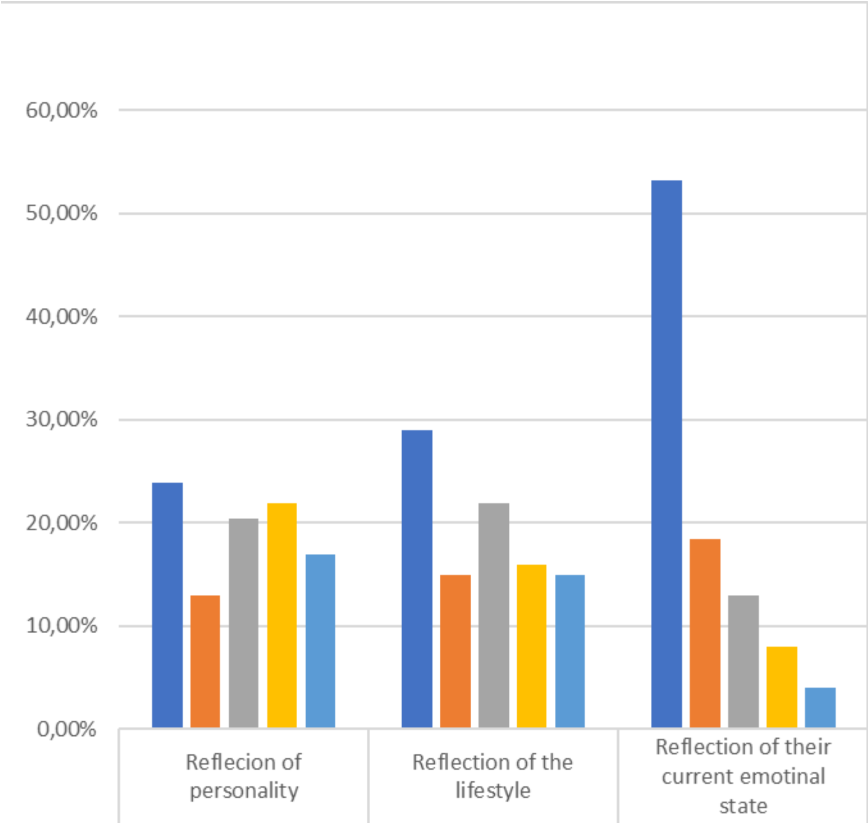

Figure 2 - Creating identity on Facebook: –representing their true selves

Regarding photos other than those of themselves (Figure 3), most participants disagree or strongly disagree that clothes, brands or wise thoughts and quotes are the subjects that they like to share (positive asymmetry). Most participants sometimes or always publish photos in order to display activities that they like (47,8%) or showcase their achievements (44,3%). Only 30,3% of participants strongly agree that their Facebook profile completely reflects their true selves.

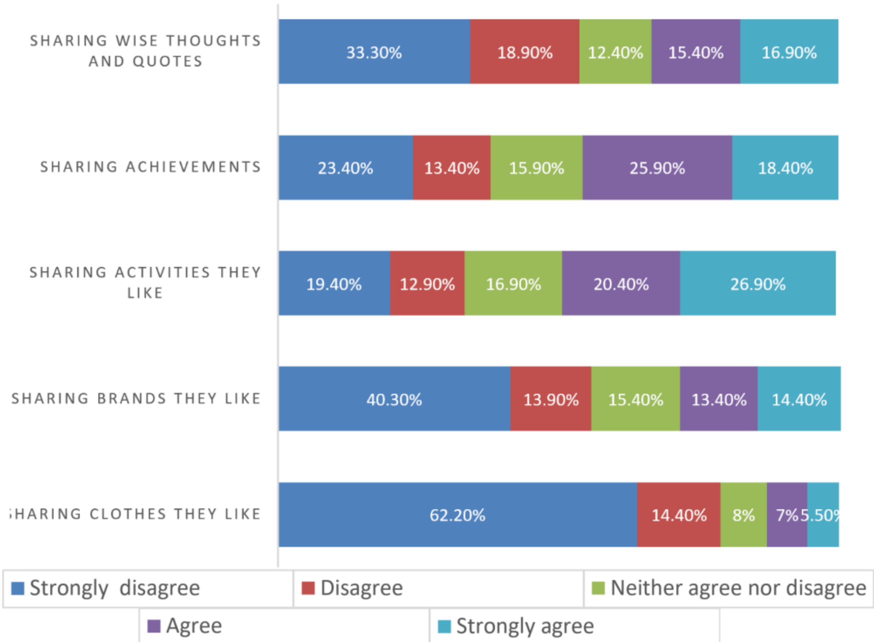

Figure 3 - Creating identity on Facebook: representing their true selves

We can infer certain differences in degrees of agreement among the different groups of statements and in regard of median values. To get a better picture of the differences among these three groups of factors concerning publishing photos, for every participant the mean degree of agreement was calculated specifically for every group of statements. The significance of differences between groups was determined by the Friedman test. Results **Hiba! A hivatkozási forrás nem található.** show that a statistically significant difference exists (χ^2=10,907; df=1; p=0,001), and that the mean values of degree of agreement related to the statements regarding showing their true selves differ significantly compared to those regarding being liked by others (see Table 6). This rejects Hypothesis 1: When creating their identity, Facebook users in the age group of 12 to 14 post photos which present their "ideal selves" in order to be liked by others rather than photos which represent their true selves.

Table 6- Creating identity on Facebook - Friedman Test of differences between groups of statements

	M+sd	M ranked	Friedman Test
Creating identity on Facebook: being liked by others	2,52+0,86	1,38	χ^2=10,907 df=1 p=0,001
Creating identity on Facebook: representing their true selves	2,65+0,80	1,62	

Differences with regard to gender and age

In Table 7, the results of Mann-Whitney U test of differences in average degree of agreements among the groups of statements show that the sample contains a statistically significant difference of average degree of agreements with regard to both groups in favour of female participants.. These results confirm Hypothesis 2: Female Facebook users in the age group of 12 to 14 give more importance to presenting their "ideal selves" in order to be liked by others than male participants. The results show that they also want to represent their true selves significantly more than male participants.

Table 7 - Creating identity on Facebook - Mann Whitney U Test of differences between groups of statements according to gender

Grouping variable: GENDER	*Creating identity on Facebook:* being liked by others		*Creating identity on Facebook:* representing their true selves	
	M	F	M	F
Me	2,36	2,72	2,46	2,84
Mann-Whitney U Test	**MWU=3770; Z=-2,899; p=0,004**		**MWU=3546; Z=-3,356; p=0,001**	

The differences with regard to the age of participants were assessed by Kruskal Wallis test. Results have shown that in the first group of statements, *Creating identity on Facebook: being liked by others*, no statistically significant difference was found (p>0,05). The second group of statements, *Creating identity on Facebook, representing their true selves*, produced a statistically significant difference (p<0,05) (Table 8 and 9). Younger participants, generally, placed higher importance on these statements (higher degrees of agreement). This rejects Hypothesis 3: When creating their identity on Facebook, older participants give more importance to presenting their "ideal selves" in order to be liked by others than younger participants, since no statistical difference was found in that category. However, the results show that younger participants placed more importance to showing their true selves than older participants.

Table 8 - Creating identity on Facebook - Kruskal Wallis Test of differences between groups of statements according to age.

Grouping variable: AGE (12-14)	*Creating identity on Facebook:* being liked by others	*Creating identity on Facebook:* representing true selves
χ^2	5,637	11,761
df	2	2
p	0,60	**0,003**

Table 9 - Creating identity on Facebook – median scores per age group

Grouping variable: AGE (12-14)	*Creating identity on Facebook:* representing true selves		
	12	13	14
Me	2,94	2,43	2,66

Conclusion

The aim of this paper was to examine the way Facebook users aged 12 to 14 create their online identity by posting photos and whether there are differences in creating their online identities with regard to age and gender. The research showed that out of the two groups the statements were classified into, the second group, containing statements concerning identity creation based upon showing their true identities, proved to be most important. Even though the teenagers who participated in this study want to be perceived in a positive light and be liked by others, they find it more important to show their true selves. When it comes to differences regarding gender, female participants placed more importance on both groups. They wanted to show their true identities more than their male counterparts, but they also wanted to be liked by others more than male participants. In regard to differences between age, younger participates placed more importance on showing their true selves than older participants.

According to Siibak (2009), the posted images most often convey an "ideal self" (the self-one would like to be) or the "ought self" (the self-one believes one should be in order to be accepted by other users). These findings verify Goffman's (1959) theory of impression management in which he claims that people strategically "perform" identities that they believe others will approve of. This study differs from those statements and shows that although teenagers create their identities on Facebook with a great consideration of other people's opinions, they want to present who they really are even more. The finding in this paper is in agreement with previous research that showed that online presentations of selves are rather accurate (DiMicco & Millen, 2007 in Young 2013; Krämer & Winter 2008). Back et al. (2010) showed that Facebook profiles indeed reflect the actual personalities of their users. This research showed that 47.7% of participants agree or fully agree that their Facebook profile entirely reflects who they really are. For the participants in this study, the importance of being liked is less important than posting photos that reflect their identity (their feelings, thoughts, lifestyle, etc.). This could indicate that they use photos to create their identity to showcase who they really are.

For future research, it would be advisable to dig deeper into this subject, so we propose a qualitative research in the form interviews. Since teenagers grow up surrounded by new media and their daily lives are intertwined with them, we need to acquire a deeper understanding of their online behaviour.

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Original Article

Media practices of young Australians: Tangible and measurable reflections on a digital divide

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luke gaspard[1], Heather Horst[1], Edgar Gómez Cruz[2] and Sarah Pink[3]

[1] **Department of Media & Communications, The University of Sydney, AUSTRALIA**
[2] **School of the Arts & Media, The University of New South Wales, AUSTRALIA**
[3] **Monash Art, Design and Architecture, Monash University, AUSTRALIA**

Abstract: This paper presents findings on the household availability of digital media devices and the uses made of this technology by young people aged 12 to 18 living within the Greater Melbourne area of Australia. Drawing upon questionnaire data from a purposive sample of 860 students frequency analysis of this data indicates three dominant factors shape a young person's media experience: gender, siblings present within the home, and parents' highest level of education[1]. Moreover, when examining the types of software programs and the social network services used by young people age emerges as an additional layer to understanding these practices. In order to help contextualise these digital engagements, a comparative analysis with youth in the UK and the USA is undertaken to explore the ongoing validity of previous research claiming Australian youth as being some of the most digitally connected youth in the world.

Keywords: Devices; Digital; Gradation; Software; Youth

Introduction

Access to the Internet is a ubiquitous feature of young peoples' lives in the developed world. Whether in the home, school, library, or public-spaces affording free Wi-Fi services, these connective possibilities can facilitate an enormous range of online-based activities, which even ten years before would be unimaginable. Alongside this exponential growth in access opportunities, the increased availability of cheap convergent digital technology expands the range of how, when, and where young people can go online.

As young people have encountered a literal and metaphorical withdrawal from public life due to issues of perceived safety, a lack of suitable public spaces and an increasingly protected socio-cultural status in society (Ariés, 1973; Buckingham, 2000; Qvortrup, 2009a & b; et al., 2009), the Internet has emerged as a contemporary *virtual playground*. Online participation functions as a critical space for youth identity construction, communicative practices and social

[1] Research indicates completed level of education is an important deterimant to earning potential – better qualified people have higher incomes (ABS, 2017; OECD, 2019)

Address for Correspondence: luke gaspard, email: luke.gaspard.70@gmail.com
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relationships, and new forms of learning and literacies (e.g. boyd, 2008; Buckingham, 2007; Jenkins 2006 et al., 2009; Ito et al., 2010). This, rightly or wrongly has been coupled with broader perceptions framing youth as "digital natives" against adults as "digital immigrants", whereby it is assumed or proposed that young people possess greater competence than those providing, managing and shaping their online experiences (Palfrey & Gasser, 2011; Tapscott, 2009) – positions challenged by several authors including David Buckingham (2008), Sonia Livingstone (2002) and Ellen Johanna Helsper and Rebecca Eynon (2013).

This paper presents findings from Australian data collected as part of a larger European Union Horizon 20/20 funded eight-nation research project entitled *Transmedia Literacy: Exploiting transmedia skills and informal learning strategies to improve formal education*. Analysing questionnaire data collected from young people living in Melbourne, Australia, patterns emerge to the types of media used and the types of activities engaged. Three distinct factors emerge as shaping the media engagement throughout this cohort: a participant's gender, whether they have siblings within the household and parents' highest level of education; while age and gender are also essential to understanding the types of software programs and the social network services (SNS) they use. In order to contextualise the practices of these Australian youth comparative analysis is performed against data from youth in the UK and USA over a similar period to examine the commonality and differences to media engagements of young people within the world's three principle Anglophone nations. Outside of government and state regulatory funded research bodies (i.e. the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) and Australian Communications and Media Authority (ACMA)) findings presented here add to the limited body of work providing large-scale analysis to the media practices of Australian youth[2]. Similarly, this work adds to previous research, which establishes how the term gradation rather than divide better defines the digital media experience of youth (e.g. Livngstone & Helsper, 2007).

Convergent digital-technology and young people

Young people are vociferous consumers of the Internet. In recent years the amount of time they dedicate to online use has increased exponentially. Recent figures from OFCOM (2017) in the UK point to almost 21 hours a week spent on Internet consumption; more than time spent watching TV, gaming or using a mobile phone. Young people also go online frequently. As reported by PEW Internet Research (Lenhart, 2015), 56% of US 13 to 17 year-olds go online several times a day, while 24% use the Internet "almost constantly". Alongside this, the Internet takes on greater importance to the lives of youth as they age (ACMA, 2013) and this group are among the most prolific users of the Internet when compared to other demographic groups (ACMA, 2015).

Important arguments to understanding the increasingly online-centred lives of young people are the affordances provided by convergent digital technologies and opportunities offered for sociality, learning, and the pursuit of specialised-interests (e.g. boyd 2008; Jenkins 2006 et al., 2009; Ito et al., 2010). A feature of this digitally convergent landscape is how media consumption is increasingly network-based in contrast to the broadcast-centrism of the past, allowing for a diverse range of content providers to emerge into the marketplace (Jenkins, 2006). The creation of user-generated content (UGC) by individual users utilising affordable easy to manage and widely available creation and dissemination tools is key to understanding how this space functions (ibid.) Because of the fluidity within this media ecology, due to both

[2] An excellent example of large-scale sample work on Australian youths' media practices can be found in another European Union supported work, *Risks and safety for Australian children on the internet* (2011), authored by Leila Green and colleagues.

the movement of content across multiple platforms but also to how users can seamlessly move across, and within these platforms, Henry Jenkins (2006) points to a fundamental shift in the relationship between production and consumption. Thus the once *separate* and *distinct* roles that existed between *producer* and *audience* within a broadcast-system are now blurred resulting in changes to how culture is said to circulate within this digital context (Jenkins et al., 2013).

It is via this democratisation of media production and media consumption where a new continuum is in place for those utilising digital media. As coined by Axel Bruns (2008), the term "produser" encapsulates the collaborative and ongoing relationship within this new circulatory cultural space. Where according to Jenkins (2006) authorship of culture occurs both via the *reading* and *writing* of media content.

However, if to borrow a phrase from Patricia Lange (in Jenkins, 2014), "not all digital youth [are] created equally". Extensive diversity is present in respect of the typology and depth of engagement young people experience. This variability in digital media engagement, in part, reflects long-established differences to the socio-cultural characteristics of households and their incorporation of ICTs (Morley & Silverstone, 1990). Thus parental standpoints on the expected value of ICT purchases for "entertainment" versus "edutainment" influences thinking as to how digital technology should be brought into and included within the structure and organisational patterns of the home (Horst, 2010, 2012; Lally, 2002; Livingstone, 2002). Similarly, parental attitudes, knowledge, and skills can cultivate children's relationships toward the use of the Internet and online services (boyd & Hargittai, 2013; Tripp, 2010), allowing for the implementation of particular value-systems toward their exploitation.

These *soft,* or as we term them *non-material impediments to youth's digital engagement,* materialise in several other respects. The work of gaspard (2015), Seiter (2005, 2008), and Buckingham and Willett (2006), all point to how knowledge and social relationships can act as essential determinants to technological exploitation and inclusion. Thus, sources of information, access to role models and social networks of support to draw upon for guidance and help, all determine the quality of a young person's online experience. Further complicating these issues, literacy levels can impede young peoples' ability to more fully exploit digital engagement (Buckingham & Willlet, 2006; Seiter, 2005, 2008). boyd and Hargittai (2013) also demonstrate how parental background and income impacts parental concern and interest in how younger members of the household navigate networked technologies. Echoing similar sentiments Lynn Schofield Clark (2013) identifies young people within lower- and higher-class households enacting different *ethics* of observation toward parental attitudes and wishes toward utilisation of technology. Similarly, Lisa Tripp (2010) addresses how migrant parents in the USA express concern that their children will engage in "fun"-based activities over more "productive" school-based use of often-hard to find Internet opportunities.

However, there are more *tangible and measurable reflections on a digital divide* that frame the quality and ability of online participation a young person can experience within the context of the home. The socio-economic status of the household including income and the highest level of parental completed education, as well as the number of parents in the home, allied to a youths' age, gender and race and whether they have siblings, have all been identified as critical determinants of a *media-rich home* and the quality of Internet access young people enjoy (ABS, 2011; ACMA, No.3 2008; Hargittai, 2010; Livingstone, 2011; Livingstone & Helsper, 2007).

This paper presents questionnaire findings as to how these more *tangible* determinates shape the digital media activities of young people living in Melbourne, Australia, and in so doing adds to a growing but limited body of work examining youth media practices in this country.

Methodology

Collected data is from a purposive sample of 860 young people aged 12 to 18 attending five high-schools and one primary school in the Greater Melbourne region. Students completed questionnaires between August 2016 and May 2017. Frequency analysis is performed on this data to examine patterns of media use and engagement within this cohort. The research team administered a face-to-face six-page paper-and-pen questionnaire with young people at their school if present on the research teams' visit. Selection of these Australian schools reflected a diverse sample group based upon cultural and ethnic background as well as socio-economic contexts. One of the schools is private[3] and fee-paying; all others are public state schools. Located in the outer-suburban areas of Melbourne approximately thirty kilometres from the city's CBD, two schools lay to the west of the city and two to the east. Of the two remaining schools, both are within the city's inner zone. Questionnaire administration took place with individual classes of no more than 25 students. The questionnaire consisted of check-box responses related to demographic information and types of media available and used within the home, followed by questions as to the use of software programs and social networks. Throughout the remainder of the questionnaire, a five-point Likert scale was utilised to allow respondents to reflect upon engagement and perceptions of different media uses.

Once a school's students completed all its questionnaires data was keyed into an Excel spreadsheet for analysis. Further details of the project's methodology and dissemination materials are accessible at www.transmedialiteracy.org. This paper focuses upon frequency analysis conducted on the media practices of Australian youths. In the execution of this work, there is as per university guidelines adherence to all relevant ethic procedures and collection of relevant permissions

In total, 860 young people completed a questionnaire. Twenty-two of these, due to students not marking their age or gender or falling beyond the age-scope of the study, i.e. 11 or 19, are not included in final data analysis. From the remaining sample of 838 respondents, 497 are male, and 341 are female[4]. The following table (Table 1) details the number of students falling into each of the differing age-bands:

Age	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
Number of Boys	82	54	64	44	60	32	5
Number of girls	96	87	101	65	83	55	10
Total Number of students	178	141	165	109	143	87	15

Table 1: Breakdown of participants by age

[3] In Australia, private schools in addition to receiving funding from school fees and private income receive additional revenue from Government and Commonwealth sources (see Hanrahan, 2017 for further discussion).

[4] While school enrollments in the state of Victoria have historically been gender heavy in favour boys (Victoria State Government, 2019), three of the schools sampled in this study have substantially higher numbers of enrolled boys than girls. The differences in the number of boys and girls completing a questionnaire for this study is simply reflective of the student population present on the day of the questionnaire administration.

Findings

Technology in the home

A key concern of this research was to understand the degree of access to technology a young person experienced in their home. Of the thirteen specific devices asked if present, the mobile phone emerges as the most vital form of technology present in the homes of youth. As shown in Table 2, amongst these students, 97% have access to mobile phones, more than have access to a wireless connection and even overtaking the TV as the most common piece of household technology. The average young person in this study has access to ten pieces of technology.

By and large, any gendered patterns to technological availability do not in the main appear as significant across the sample. Many pieces of technology emerge in near-identical numbers within the homes of boys and girls: laptops, mobile phones, tablets, TVs and Wi-Fi. Boys and girls also tend to have access to a similar number of devices: 9.9 for boys and 9.6 for girls. There is however two forms of technology appearing as particularly gendered, as they either appear more frequently in the homes of boys or the homes of girls: technology for gaming and specialised technology for consuming media content. Gaming devices, namely handheld or gaming consoles, appear more frequently in the homes of boys (46% and 81%) than in the homes of girls (33% and 70%). There are, however, caveats to the gendering of these technologies as boys and girls age. While the level of access to handheld gaming devices decreases as boys and girls age, the opposite occurs in respect of game consoles. From the data we see among younger people aged 12 to 15 10%, more boys have access to gaming consoles than girls, whereas when aged 15 to 18, this difference increases to 23%.

In contrast, girls have greater access to technology whose specific purpose is to either listen or view media content: 7% more MP3 /4 players are found in the homes of girls when compared to boys while 10% more radios are present in those same homes.

Although gender does not appear as a particularly significant qualifier to the number and range of devices a young person has access to within the home, two other essential characteristics frame the media-richness of a youths' household: namely whether the household contains multiple children and the highest completed level of parental education.

In those multiple-child households, of the pieces of technology questioned ten of thirteen devices (DVD player, desktop computer, tablet, handheld games device, photo camera, radio and video camera) are found more in these homes than single-child homes. Only laptops, MP3 / 4 players and mobile phones emerge as present in higher numbers when a participant does not have a sibling within the home. However, the increased frequency at which these three devices appears in these single-child households does not appear as particularly significant, between 1% and 3%.

Similarly, in those households where parents have completed a higher education qualification, ten of thirteen pieces of technology are found in higher numbers than in homes where this is not the case. The following devices each appear as being most sensitive to this qualifier as they are found more in these types of homes: photo cameras, tablets, video cameras, DVD players, MP3/4 players and radios. Conversely in homes described as less educated a handheld games console is the only device significantly more present.

	All young people	All boys	All girls	Boys 12 to 14	Boys 15 to 18	Girls 12 to 14	Girls 15 to 18	With sibling	Without sibling	No Higher education	Higher education
Technology	[N=838]	[N=838]	[N=838]	[N=284]	[N=213]	[N=200]	[N=141]	[N=666]	[N=170]	[N=267]	[N=470]
TV	96%	96%	95%	96%	95%	95%	96%	96%	94%	95%	96%
DVD	75%	76%	72%	81%	70%	77%	66%	76%	72%	70%	78%
MP3 / MP4 etc.	57%	56%	60%	54%	58%	65%	52%	57%	58%	50%	62%
Desktop	67%	68%	65%	66%	71%	70%	58%	68%	62%	67%	68%
Laptop	95%	94%	95%	94%	94%	95%	94%	94%	96%	93%	96%
Tablet	74%	74%	73%	78%	70%	77%	68%	75%	70%	69%	76%
Wi-Fi	95%	96%	95%	96%	95%	95%	96%	96%	95%	96%	95%
Handheld game	41%	46%	33%	45%	47%	31%	37%	42%	37%	44%	39%
Home game	76%	81%	70%	81%	82%	73%	65%	81%	61%	75%	76%
Video camera	66%	68%	62%	71%	64%	68%	55%	69%	53%	60%	68%
Photo camera	77%	76%	78%	77%	76%	83%	72%	79%	70%	74%	79%
Radio	62%	59%	65%	65%	51%	69%	61%	64%	54%	55%	67%
Mobile phone	97%	96%	97%	100%	100%	97%	97%	96%	99%	97%	97%

Table 2: Access to ICT in the home

Uses of software programs

To further contextualise the technologically mediated lives of young people, the questionnaire asked students to record the types of ICT software programs they used. However, where we see the types of technology a young person has access to in the home as not particularly gendered dependent, the software programs and social network services they use does appear to be so. Although survey results here do reflect both quantitative and qualitative findings elsewhere indicating gendered uses of technology (e.g. Kasesniemi & Rautiainen 2002; Puro 2002; Silverstone et al. 1994; Süss et al. 2001; Tufte & Rasmussen 2010), results from participants in this study do not allow for any simple demarcation to the differing ways boys and girls use technology.

Among the Australian young people of this study, significant gendered differences are present to the types of software programs used. Girls prefer the use of media tools, facilitating *creative expressive practices* while boys favour more *technically oriented software*. For girls, programs related to the media making practices of drawing, web-blog editing, writing and music creation are more frequently mentioned by girls whereas software with a heightened technical component, i.e. video-editing and software coding, appear as more prevalent with the boys of this study (Table 3).

	All pupils	Boys	Girls	Boys 12 to 14	Boys 15 to 18	Girls 12 to 14	Girls 15 to 18	With siblings	Without siblings
Software program	[N=838]	[N=497]	[N=341]	[N=284]	[N=213]	[N=200]	[N=141]	[N=666]	[N=169]
Word processor	79%	79%	79%	72%	89%	75%	85%	79%	80%
Photo editing	28%	24%	34%	20%	29%	38%	28%	28%	28%
Video editing	17%	19%	13%	15%	24%	16%	11%	17%	17%
Web blog editing	17%	16%	17%	14%	20%	16%	20%	16%	20%
Drawing	16%	13%	20%	14%	11%	23%	16%	16%	15%
Music creation	19%	18%	22%	19%	15%	26%	18%	18%	23%
Coding	6%	8%	2%	10%	7%	2%	3%	5%	8%
Writing screenwriting / Wattpad	13%	7%	22%	7%	6%	21%	23%	12%	17%

Table 3: Software programs used

These gender differences, although broadly consistent as youth age, are most pronounced when aged 12 to 14. Although older boys do increase their interest in some software programs, a narrowing of these gendered differences is primarily due to girls no longer using these forms of software in the numbers they did when younger. Of the five *creative expressive* tools questioned about older girls are using two of these, drawing and music creation programs, at lower frequency rates than younger girls. While higher numbers of older girls are using creative writing software, the most significant differences between girls at these ages is in use of web-blog editing software but most notably word-processing software.

Like girls of this study, boys also demonstrate similarly non-uniform patterns to their use of software programs as they age. Older boys identify four of the eight pieces of software as more frequently used than younger boys: web-blog editing, video and photo editing, with word-processing representing the most significant difference. Only two of these programs are used more by both older boys and older girls: word-processing and web-blog editing software. The increased use of word-processing by young people within this age-group can likely be explained by how digital technology increasingly plays a part in the completion of homework tasks as youth age (Rideout, 2015, p. 82).

Social media engagement

There is, however, other forms of media use where age acts as a particularly strong signifier to use. Irrespective of gender, social network services (SNS) (Table 4) are used in more significant numbers by older youth compared to younger. Facebook is the service with the most significant increase in use between the differing age-groups (12 to 14 & 15 to 18) whereby older boys and older girls mention the use of the platform twice and three times respectively more than younger youth. This platform is also the only one of the four mentioned used more by boys than girls. Girls, in contrast, are much more heavily engaged in the use of the more visually-based platforms, Instagram and Snapchat. Across the whole of the sample, 26% more girls favour the use of Instagram while 37% more favour Snapchat when compared to boys. What is remarkable in the use of these two social media platforms is how much these tools are present in the lives of young girls, irrespective of age. At least seven out of every ten girls of this study are using either Instagram or Snapchat.

	All young people	Boys	Girls	Boys		Girls		With siblings	Without siblings
				12 to 14	15 to 18	12 to 14	15 to 18		
SNS	[N=838]	[N=497]	[N=341]	[N=284]	[N=213]	[N=200]	[N=141]	[N=666]	[N=169]
Facebook	52%	54%	49%	34%	82%	26%	82%	50%	60%
Twitter	16%	16%	17%	15%	17%	14%	21%	15%	21%
Instagram	70%	62%	81%	57%	68%	81%	82%	68%	75%
Snapchat	63%	53%	77%	43%	66%	71%	87%	62%	63%

Table 4: Social network services use

At these rates of use, social media emerges as the pre-eminent way in which young people utilise technology. This is further reinforced, especially among older youth, when participants respond to questions asking which offline or online activity, they make the most use of on an every-day basis. When aged 12 to 14 one in six records using SNS "Every-day", whereas three-quarters of 15 to 18-year-olds do so over this period.

Unlike how the presence of siblings is important to the availability of technology within the home, households constructed in this way are not a factor to the software tools participants make use. If considering software programs or social media platforms, the level of youth engagement with either is independent of having a sibling in the home.

Offline and online media

Clear amongst student participants is how offline media rarely figures in their daily lives. A revelation even starker among older participants, indicating that in many respects, older forms of media are obsolete in the lives of many young people. Listening to the radio, playing board games, reading comics and paper-based magazines or newspapers are all activities where the overwhelming majority of young people respond "Never" to spending time with these activities. The analysis also reveals these activities, alongside reading, is less relevant to older youth than younger youth. More participants aged 15 to 18 mentions "Never" participating in these media activities while fewer older youth record this as an "Every-day" practice when compared to young people aged 12 to 14.

This same pattern of age-cohort difference is further present across the majority of media activities youth participate. Only two, accessing films and TV series online and use of social media are the only forms of media engagement older youth utilise more frequently than younger youth. Taken in conjunction with other research (e.g. Rideout, 2015; OFCOM, 2017) these findings further reinforce the centrality of digital technology and the Internet as the central focus for the media practices of contemporary youth, especially as they age.

As with social media and the presence of a small number of media devices in the home, reading is another activity displaying gendered patterns of use. Amongst these Australian girls, they are more likely to be avid readers, as 31% record doing so "Every-day" compared to 24% of boys, while 13% of boys claim to have "Never" read a book against 8% of girls.

Content creation

Further considering how youth exploit digital technology, questionnaires asked for responses regarding specific media-making practices. Apparent from analysis of this data is how more "active" creative forms of media use are not significant to the digital lives of these students. Whether utilising media tools in the creation of video content uploaded to the Internet, or the production of fan-fiction texts and stories, games or tutorials, between 51% and 71% of survey respondents record "Never" engaging with any of these practices (Table 5). There are, however, subtle differences to the types of media productions girls and boys participate. Boys more than girls engage with the practices of making and uploading video content to the Internet as well as making stories, games and tutorials. While more girls indicate making video content with a friend and the creation of fan-fiction of a favoured media text "At least twice a week" and "Every-day.

Despite the increased time older youth spend with digital media as already discussed, this does not translate, however, to greater engagement with creative media practices. Of the four practices discussed in this section, only two, making fan-fiction and the creation of stories games and tutorials, are carried out more frequently by older youth than younger youth during a month.

When I go to a friend's home, we make a video				**I like to make videos and upload them to the Internet**		
	Boys [N=497]	**Girls [N=341]**			**Boys [N=497]**	**Girls [N=341]**
Never	55%	48%		**Never**	67%	75%
Less than twice a month	22%	23%		**Less than twice a month**	14%	12%
At least twice a month	13%	13%		**At least twice a month**	7%	7%
At least twice a week	6%	9%		**At least twice a week**	6%	3%
Everyday	3%	7%		**Everyday**	5%	3%
I like to make fan-fiction of my favourite series, movies and comics				**I like to create stories, create games, make tutorials**		
	Boys [N=496]	**Girls [N=341]**			**Boys [N=497]**	**Girls [N=341]**
Never	73%	66%		**Never**	52%	56%
Less than twice a month	11%	13%		**Less than twice a month**	19%	18%
At least twice a month	10%	9%		**At least twice a month**	12%	13%
At least twice a week	3%	5%		**At least twice a week**	8%	6%
/Everyday	2%	6%		**Everyday**	9%	6%

Table 5: Making and sharing media objects

Comparative media use

Electronic media is ubiquitous to the everyday media practices of many young people, particularly those of the worlds' principle Anglo-nations, namely Australia, the United Kingdom and the United States of America. However, despite any socio-cultural and economic characteristics shared by these countries, irrespective of the many similarities present in the digitally mediated lives of youth, tangible differences also exist. To contextualise the media-engagement of the 838 Australian young people of this study contemporaneous empirical work carried out in the UK and in the US by Common Sense Media (Rideout, 2015) and PEW Internet Research (Lenhart, 2015) provide comparable data to these youths' media practices.

Utilising available comparable age-group data from the UK (12 to 18 year-olds) and the US (13 to 18 year-olds), these Australian youth possess in higher numbers mobile computing technology most likely to facilitate access to the Internet. As seen in Table 6, Australian students of this study possess higher numbers of laptops and tablet devices than British and American young people.

Device	Australia (12-18-year-olds)	UK (12-18-year-olds)	USA (13-18-year-olds)
Tablet	74%	70%	73%
Desktop computer	67%	88%*	63%
Laptop	95%	-	77%
Video game console	76%	65%	83%
Handheld game console	41%	-	45%

Table 6: Technology in the home - comparison Australia, UK and USA

***Includes access to desktop and laptop computers**

(Data sources: Helsper, 2016; OFCOM, 2017; Rideout, 2015; Statista.com, 2019a)

In contrast, gaming technology is much more prevalent in the homes of American youths indicating the likely importance of these forms of ICTs in the fabric of households within the respective countries. Further reinforcement of this is found when examining reporting as to how under 18s in the USA are a more substantial proportion of the overall gaming population (28%) (Statista.com, 2018) than youth gamers in Australia (23%) (Brand et al., 2017) and in the UK (22%) (Stastica.com, 2019b).

If to question why more mobile Internet-ready devices are present in the homes of these Australian young people when compared to their UK and American counterparts, the examination of education policy within these countries may help to shed some light.

For some time throughout the industrialised West, a significant focus has been to prepare future generations with the requisite digital tools to be ready for participation within a 21stcentury work-force. The significantly contrasting approaches to meet such demands between the three countries have unsurprisingly produced different outcomes.

Australia, it can be argued, in comparison to the UK and USA, has enacted the most systematic approach to equipping its students with digital technology. In comparison, Education policies in the USA and Britain can both be described at best ad-hoc and fragmentary. In Australia as first laid out in the government-backed *Digital Education Reform (DER) 2008* subsequently followed by Bring-Your-Own-Device (BYOD) initiatives provided for at state levels ongoing commitments have been in place for the provision of one-to-one (1:1) computing technology for students at both the high-school and primary levels. US schools in contrast due to the regulatory structure of education whereby local districts or individual states are responsible for the implementation of policy, wide discrepancies exist to meeting these technological demands. As such large numbers of school district administrators (35%) remain reticent toward students using their technology in the classroom with very few (15%) believing they have sufficient Internet connectivity to meet demand (Project Tomorrow, 2013). Reinforcing how issues of school network capacity impede computing take-up in the US research provided by IT solutions provider, Insight, provides a further clue. According to the company's whitepaper, *Fine-Tuning Critical Infrastructures in the Age of Common Core and Online Assessments* (2015), "75% of U.S. schools do not have the appropriate network bandwidth to support one-to-one computing initiatives." Likewise, the UK's approach to computing technology within schools has and continues to be defined by a failure to have a joined-up forward-looking perspective. In the 1980s with the first introduction of computers to British classrooms education policy allowed domestically-produced computer systems to dominate the school market while other forms of non-compatible windows-based technology achieved wider traction throughout the business world and within the much larger US school system (McKinsey & Company, 1997). More recently, a market-driven choice-based approach, which allows individual UK schools to determine how and where technology budget expenditure occurs has resulted in a considerable discrepancy between how different groups within schools perceive technology provisions. In research conducted by Promethean World (2016), a global technology solutions provider for schools, while headteachers universally agreed resources are adequately "allocated to technology" almost seven of ten teachers believe technology budget resources are inadequate or invested inappropriately. Further research, carried out by The British Educational Suppliers Association (INNOVA, 2015), would appear to support the outlooks' of teachers over that of headteachers. In findings from 632 respondents with some if not all the responsibility for ICT decisions working in primary and secondary schools, "34% of schools believe their current implementation of tablets in the classroom is poor", and just over half (52%) responded they possessed sufficient Wi-Fi capacity to support tablet use.

The success of the Australian approach against that of the UK and USA can it argued be recognised in reporting pointing to the level of computing technology available to school students around the world. According to the OECD, Australia has the fewest students per computer in all countries (0.9) compared to 1.4 in the UK and 1.8 in the USA (2015, p. 20).

Social media

Where online communication tools such as social media are recognised as valuable for young people due to their ability to maintain and foster widespread and dispersed social connections (Buckingham, 2007; Davis, 2010), significant differences are present as to how youths in these three countries engage with this media form. If for example, comparing the every-day use of SNS, 66% of Australian youth are doing so compared to 45% of 13 to 18-year-olds in the US (Rideout, 2015, p.15). These Australian youth are also far more engaged in the use of visually-centric social-media forms when compared to UK and US youth. Firstly, if examining age-comparable data from OFCOM (2017) – British youth aged 12 to 15 – with the youth of this study aged 12 to 14, Australian young people utilise Instagram and Snapchat in far higher numbers (67% vs. 56% and 54% vs. 51% respectively). UK youth, in comparison, make greater use of social media platforms that do not lend themselves to the same degree of visuality, i.e. Twitter and Facebook. Whereas one-fifth (20%) of British youth use Twitter, only one in eight of Australia youth (15%) does so. When considering engagement with Facebook, differences in the rate of use increases dramatically. In contrast to the 31% of younger Australians using the oldest of these social media platforms, 82% of similarly aged British youths use this service. Similarly, if examining data from US young people (Lenhart, 2015), albeit, among those aged 13 to 17, American youth predominately use Facebook (71%) compared to 52% of Australians aged 12 to 18. While the use of Instagram (52%) and Snapchat (41%) by US youths is substantially less than among youths of Australia (Instagram 70% and Snapchat 63% respectively).

Conclusion

Information communication technologies are a common feature of the lives of Australian youth. Internet access within the home is near-universal. All bar twelve young people of the 838 completing a usable questionnaire possess at least one form of technology that likely supports Internet access (desktop computer, laptop and tablet). The presence of digital devices within their homes, when compared to young people of the other principle Anglo-nations marks the youth of this study in many respects as being more highly mediated. Findings from these participants also reflect the presence of *tangible and measurable reflections on a digital divide*. Although households featuring boys and girls are likely to have similar levels of availability to many pieces of technology, substantial variations are present when accounting for technology utilised in pursuit of gaming and consuming digital content. Households with siblings are more likely to be categorised as media-rich, due to the greater availability of technology, when compared to single-child homes. The highest level of completed parental education is another crucial determinate to the quality of the household media experience for youth. This measure is particularly important, as better education tends to equate to higher income levels. National government impetus in the guise of promoting e-learning within schools is also a likely contributor to the construction of the mediated homes of Australian youth.

Gender differences are also present to young peoples' uses of technology in the form of software programs and social media platforms. More girls utilise software supporting *creative-based expressive practices* such as drawing, writing and making music against boys' preference for *technically oriented* software reflecting nuances to the ongoing divisions in the media experiences of youth. Likewise, girls utilise social media more than boys, while boys are more avid gamers than girls.

These youth, however, are not "active" media producers despite the ability to create, modify and share content that technological convergence affords. These observations pose essential questions as to how we frame youths' "active" and "passive" uses of media, and whether these distinctions are at all worthwhile within the context of flexibility and spreadability that the digitally convergent media landscape affords.

If to return to the idea of digital nativism, this research helps reaffirm that in some developed nations at least, a digital backdrop helps to contextualise the experience of youth. Importantly, however, the findings of this work highlight that the ubiquity of digital media in the lives of young people is far from a uniform experience. Future research and policy in respect of digital youth must continue to recognise the existence of real impediments to youths' digital participation. Alongside this, as this research makes clear, when there is relative equality to possessing an Internet connection in the home and the digital tools by which to exploit this gender is a clear determinant to how young people use technology and subsequently the digital skills employed with these practices. The orientation of girls toward more creative expressive practices against boys' preferences for more technically orientated software would seem indicative of the gender discrepancies found in STEM subjects in further education and employment. More research is required to understand the motivations behind these practices. Because in so doing, we can move beyond the myth of digital nativism and instead look beyond access provisions as a way of understanding digital youth to a more nuanced and rounded approach. As Ragnedda (2017) suggests accounting for how social inequalities such as those related to class, gender, power and status inform access to the Internet, it also determines the exploitation of the Internet and digital technologies.

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Book Review Essay

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Patricia Wallace *The Psychology of the Internet*. Second Edition. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016, 392 pp.: ISBN: 978-1107079137
Jose van Dijck – Thomas Poell – Martijn de Waal *The Platform Society. Public Values in a Connective World.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2018, 226 pp.: ISBN: 978-0190889777
Lei Guo – Maxwell McCombs (eds). *The Power of Information Networks. New Directions for Agenda Setting.* New York, London: Routledge Francis and Taylor, 2016, 235 p. ISBN 978-1138847750

Reviewed by: Monika Andok, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Pázmány Péter Catholic University, HUNGARY

The essay gives an overview of three remarkable recently published books, all of them focusing on Computer-mediated Communication (CMC) but from different viewpoints. In the second edition of her book *The Psychology of the Internet,* Patricia Wallace covers not only the psychological aspects of web 1.0 but also looks at that of the SNS. Jose van Dijck and her colleagues examine the changes caused by the Internet in society—which they call Platform Society—and give a genuine sociological approach. I intend to find out if the term Platform Society is only a new metaphor next to many others or offers an original access point to this field. The third book titled *The Power of Information Networks* was edited by Maxwell McCombs and Lei Guo. The authors of the book try to adapt the fifty-year-old agenda-setting theory to the Internet. In the article, I evaluate and compare these three volumes considering the disciplinary differences.

The first edition of Patricia Wallace's (Adjunct Professor at the Graduate School, University of Maryland University College) *The Psychology of the Internet* was published in 1999, translated into several languages and not only useful in scientific research but also in higher education. It has become compulsory reading for courses dealing with the relationship between computer-mediated communication and media. However, since the emergence of social network sites at the beginning of the 1980s, it has become increasingly apparent that the volume is relevant mainly to the network communication phenomena of the '90s. Thus, there was great interest in the release of the second edition of the book, in which Wallace deals with the psychological aspects of social media. In the preface of the second edition, the author also refers to how distant 1999 is: "With eight employees, Google had just outgrown its garage office, and Facebook founder Mark Zuckerberg immersed himself in classics as a high school sophomore" (p. xi) What has not changed, however, is Wallace's scientific commitment; she does not want to paint a happy portrait or unreasonably dark picture of the consequences for

Address for Correspondence: Andok Monika, email: andok.monika[at[btk.ppke.hu
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human behavior and social relationships. Wallace explains this when she says, “Instead, I describe—in a balanced way—what we actually know from research about the psychology of the Internet, citing both positives and negatives and raising many new questions” (p. xii). Wallace adheres to her promise as in the presented themes—for example, the impact of the use of digital games on the cognitive, emotional, or physical development of young people. In the book, she describes research on both the prosocial and negative impacts.

The structure of the second edition differs from its first volume. Of the chapters of the first edition, nine have been revised and combined: the first is titled “The Internet is a psychological context,” the second “Your online persona: the psychology of impression formation,” the third “Group dynamics on the Internet,” the fourth “The psychology of online aggression,” the fifth “Linking and loving on the net: the psychology of interpersonal attraction,” the sixth “Altruism on the net: the psychology of prosocial behavior,” the ninth in the volume “Gender issues and sexuality on the Internet,” the eleventh “The Internet as a time sink” and partly the twelfth “Nurturing life on the Internet.” Besides these, the second edition was enriched by three new chapters, the seventh chapter in the volume is titled “The psychology of online gaming,” chapter eight “Child development and the Internet,” and chapter ten “The psychology of online privacy and surveillance.”

Wallace, as a psychologist, is not primarily interested in network technology, but in network as a human behavior environment and how people behave in this environment other than the offline world. “Broadly defined, cyberspace presents a wide range of experiences, and we need a special kind of taxonomy—one that divides up the known virtual world into better-defined spaces that shares features from psychological perspective” (p. 6). The environments listed in the first and second editions are, of course, different, as the second edition includes social media environments as well. The taxonomy of the first volume mentioned the following environments: the World Wide Web, electronic mail, asynchronous discussion forum, synchronous chat, Mud (Multiuser Dungeon), meta world, and live interactive video. In the second edition, eleven environments are separated by Wallace, which are: (1) the web, (2) the deep web and dark web, (3) email, (4) asynchronous discussion forums, (5) synchronous chat and instant messages, (6) blogs, (7) social networks, (8) Twitter and texting, (9) virtual worlds and virtual realities, (10) interactive video, and (11) mobile apps. The first chapter of this volume contains a brief description of these environments, as well as the special features of online language use. In this initial chapter, Wallace also lists theories that have attempted to describe the psychological dimensions of media use. She emphasizes John Short's social presence theory (Short, Williams, and Christie 1976), Daft and Lengen's (1986) media richness theory, Walther's (2008) social information processing theory, the social identity model of deindividualization developed by Spears and his colleagues (Spears et al 2014) and finally the uses and gratifications approach.

The second chapter of the book deals with the similarities and differences between offline and online impression formation, and also covers the impression formation (profile photos, number of friends) on social networks. The author presents a number of interesting research studies and data about the different social media usage of the different types observed by research studies based on the “Big Five” personality traits used in psychology. (The “Big Five” personality traits: extraversion, openness to experience, agreeableness, conscientiousness, neuroticism.) For example: “The observers related the people with funny email addresses or fantasy characters in the address as more extraverted, and they thought the same about Yahoo! users” (p. 35). Wallace also deals with the issue of how to manage impressions for multiple audiences. “A wall posting and photo from a friend who attended a party with you last night might not be exactly what you’d like your grandmother or employer to see. This phenomenon is called context collapse as multiple audiences merge in ways that make it much more difficult to manage an ‘authentic’ impression” (p. 46). At the end of the second chapter, the author discusses the question of narcissism, whether the younger generation is more narcissist than the elder, and whether the online environment promotes narcissism.

The third chapter of the book is called "Group dynamics on the Internet." Wallace captures the main difference between offline and online social media groups as follows: "[But] while human groups have always existed, the Internet has not, and its effects on group dynamics are profound. … Within social networks, we create our own groups with ourselves in the centre" (p. 57). The author gives a detailed description of how conformity works, group norms, and polarization on the Internet. Regarding polarization, she speaks of the new phenomenon that the literature refers to as the echo chamber according to Sunstein. "The technology makes it quite easy not just to find people of like mind, but to restrict our own access to just the sources that tend to agree with us" (p. 78). In this chapter, Wallace summarizes the research studies on the effectiveness of online workgroups: how the different social status of group members affects the decision-making and whether minority opinions are taken into consideration during the decision-making process. And like in the first edition, she also confirms in the current volume that brainstorming is not effective or successful, either offline or online (p. 89-91).

"The psychology of online aggression" is the fourth chapter in which she deals with the much-discussed issue of cyberaggression, mentioning a number of research studies on this topic. For example, Buckels and her colleagues surveyed a sample of Internet users and found that 5.6 percent reported that they *enjoyed* trolling (p. 110). Wallace shares the opinion of many scholars when stating: "From a psychological perspective, online environments have quite a few features that not only encourage aggressive behavior but amplify and prolong its impact" (p. 116). These features are: anonymity, physical distance, amplification, permanence, and the use of multimedia. At the end of the chapter, the psychologist offers strategies that can reduce online aggression.

The fifth, titled "Linking and loving on the net: the psychology of interpersonal attraction" similarly to the first edition, is begun by looking at the factors that influence interpersonal attraction in the offline environment: physical attractiveness, proximity, familiarity, similarity, humor, "you like me, I like you" spiral. Then the author shows how these factors work in digital media, complementing this with jealousy research. "A survey study of college students found a strong association between amount of time spent on Facebook, feelings of jealousy and jealous behavior" (p. 141). Wallace also writes about a very recent research field related to this, which is post-breakup Facebook surveillance. Online dating, as well as its economic aspects, can be connected to the topic, too, which researchers have also noticed: "Dating sites attempt to appeal to potential customers in many different ways, leading to the proliferation of niche sites and what the marketers call the 'long tail' phenomenon" (p. 143). It is generally true that online dating represents a fundamental change in the way people seek love and romance.

The sixth part of the book is "Altruism on the net: the psychology of prosocial behavior." Wallace begins the chapter by highlighting three areas in which the Internet has been particularly prominent, namely volunteerism, fundraising and crowdfunding, and online support groups. While explaining each of the three areas and opportunities in detail, she also answers the question of why people support each other. "How do online environments affect who you are most willing to help? Just as in face-to-face settings, gender and similarity play a role" (p. 183). Among the editors of Wikipedia, for example, we can find more men—80 percent; by contrast, women are more likely to be in the support groups where people are sharing personal problems.

"The psychology of online gaming" is the seventh chapter and is the first thematic unit that is the novelty of the second edition. Wallace presents the psychological dimensions of games by dividing them into playing genres. Based on focus group researches, the main motivations of online gamers are mentioned as challenge, competition, diversion, arousal, fantasy and social interaction (p. 199). She refers to examinations on both the negative and positive consequences of the games. As a negative sign, violent video games reduce our ability to empathize with people who are suffering and in need. They desensitize us to human pain. But she also shows the other side, the games have cognitive, emotional and social benefits, including the Proteus effect. (The *Proteus effect* describes a phenomenon in which the behavior of an individual, within virtual worlds, is changed by the characteristics of their avatar.) In addition, she discusses how gambling and gamification can be applied in education. She also honestly says that many of these games will soon fall short because they are "chocolate-covered broccoli, and the players recognize the difference" (p. 224).

"On a typical evening, twelve-year-old Jason splits his time between texting friends, completing maths homework, commenting on YouTube videos, playing video games and listening to music." Thus, Wallace begins the eighth chapter of her book titled "Child development and the Internet" (p.228). It is also a novelty of the second edition, and the American psychologist conscientiously presents the complexity of the issue. Within the impact of the Internet on cognitive development, the author primarily describes the benefits of online learning. That is no wonder since she was Chief Information Officer and Associate VP at University of Maryland University College, where she was closely involved in UMUC's efforts to build and launch a worldwide, virtual university. On the subject of physical development, she emphasizes two important negative effects: one is the decline in sleep time and the other is the same in physical exercise. In terms of social and emotional development, it is about the formation of friendships and the development of identity. More exactly about one of the most important issues regarding the Internet and psychology, which is cyberbullying. First, the author clarifies what the difference is between offline and online bullying. "While traditional bullying occurs mostly in school or school buses, cyberbullying is a 24/7 phenomenon. … potential audience for cyberbullying is vast. … perpetrator anonymous" (p. 252). One of the main reasons for bullying is the lack of empathy, and this is rather a typical form of aggression of high school girls. The chapter presents a number of useful practices that parents can apply to promote the good and avoid the bad things and help their children.

The ninth chapter, "Gender issues and sexuality on the Internet" contains only minor changes to the 1999 volume. The author introduced a new subsection titled "The Internet and LGBT Issues" (p. 276-278) in the text.

Although the book was published before the Facebook scandal, the tenth chapter deals with "The psychology of online privacy and surveillance." After reviewing the theme of history and meaning of "privacy," it connects to the most important online phenomena. One is the loss of control over the content we upload, and the other is the privacy paradox. "The privacy paradox is that people say they are concerned about the issue; they also say they have at least some knowledge about how to configure privacy settings. But at the same time, their behavior often does not mirror those concerns" (p. 301). In the chapter, Wallace also deals with the new business models based on the big data and with the topic of surveillance. In the perspective of the future of privacy, she quotes both pessimistic and optimistic authors, but she has committed to the optimist herself (p. 318).

We are increasingly always online. This phenomenon is dealt with in chapter eleven, "The Internet as a time sink." Continuous online presence is a problem for work-life balance, as it can easily lead to a 24/7 work week that has a negative impact on family life. Related to this, Wallace mentions the boundary theory. "*Boundary theory* explores the way people manage the boundaries for work life and home life, how we make decisions about how permeable any particular boundary should be, and how our roles shift as boundaries are crossed" (p. 323). In this chapter, the author refers to the issue of addiction, which was identified as a mental illness only after the publication of the book, in 2018. Moreover, ending the chapter, she talks in short about the possible treatments as well.

The closing chapter of the volume, "Nurturing life on the Internet," draws attention to the importance of digital literacy. And Wallace again summarizes the purpose of writing: "I have no bulleted list of 'ten ways to make the Internet a better place for human habitation' in this book. Human behavior is far too complex for such a distillation, and the range of experiences you might have as you touch down in different corners of the Internet is much too great. Yet throughout this book, you have seen research showing how we are affected by the net and how our own behavior can have positive or negative consequences on our net companions" (p. 347-348).

The book is a high-quality, comprehensive presentation of the psychological effects of the Internet. And as the first edition became a university coursebook, the second edition is likely to do so.

Moving forward to *The Platform Society. Public Values in a Connective World* by Jose van Dijck, Thomas Poell and Martijn de Waal, this venue covers the editors' projects over the past few years concerning the following topics: what are the platforms and how do they work; how can we conceptualize urban transport, health care, education, and governing in the platform society. In other words, what roles do online platforms play in the organization of public values in western societies? Although their effort is multidisciplinary, they cannot offer a well-elaborated new paradigm because they work with a moving target.

The key concept of the Dutch scholars' book is the platform society. "The term refers to a society in which social and economic traffic is increasingly channeled by an (overwhelmingly global) online platform ecosystem that is driven by algorithms and fuelled by data" (p. 4). According to the authors, "Platforms do not reflect the social: they *produce* the social structure we live in. … the term platform society emphasizes that platforms are *integral* part of society" (p. 2). It is claimed that platforms are neither neutral nor value-free constructs; they come with specific norms and values inscribed in their architecture, for example, social media make certain things visible while hiding others (p. 3, 32).

The largest most influential *infrastructural platforms* are the so-called Big Five: Alphabet – Google, Apple, Facebook, Amazon, and Microsoft. These companies constitute the core of the platform society's ecosystem. Next to the industrial platforms, van Dijck identifies *sectoral platforms* too, which offer digital services for one specific sector such as health (PatientsLikeMe - PLM), education (Massive Open Online Courses - MOOCs), news (Google News), and transport (Uber). These platforms can be understood as a multisided market, too. The media researchers analyze all three fields in detail through examples of several other sectoral platforms. In particular, how these platforms (which operate with private benefit and corporate gain) affect public values and common goods. Van Dijck raises the question directly: "But who will pay for the collective costs?" (p. 2)

In the second chapter, the scholars identified three main mechanisms as driving forces underlying this platform-based ecosystem, while filter and steer social interactions: datafication, commodification, and selection. These mechanisms work through the interplay between technology, commercial strategies, and user practices (p. 32). "Datafication is the transformation of social action into online qualified data, thus allowing for real-time tracking and predictive analysis . . . datafication as a legitimation means to access, understand and monitor people's behavior and it is becoming a leading principle" (Mayer-Schönberger & Cukier, 2013; van Dijck, 2014: 198). According to van Dijck, the mechanism of commodification involves platforms transforming online and offline objects, activities, emotions, and ideas into tradable commodities. These commodities are valued through at least four types of currency: attention, data, users, and money (p. 37). Datafication and commodification are closely related to the ways in which platforms steer user interaction through the selection or curation of most relevant topics, services, and actors. The authors discuss three types of selection, namely personalization, reputation and trends, and moderation.

All of them will be elaborated in the forthcoming chapters concerning the analyzed sectors, urban transport, news, healthcare, and education.

The Dutch researchers differentiate three levels among the platforms: single platforms are on the micro-level, platform ecosystems are on the meso-level, and platform societies are on the macro-level. But we cannot study them in isolation from social and political structures. The authors identified the key elements of the single platform are "fuelled by *data*, automated and organized through *algorithms* and *interfaces*, formalized through *ownership* relations driven by *business models*, and governed through *user agreements*" (p. 9).

Platform society can be characterized as a series of confrontations between different value systems, contesting the balance between private and public interests. The book explains how online platforms penetrate a specific field and will be embedded in the ecosystem as a whole, and which public values are championed. Some of these values have already received much attention, such as privacy, accuracy, safety, and consumer protection. But other values do not have, for example, fairness, equality, solidarity, accountability, transparency, or democratic control (p. 3).

The third chapter of the book offers a relevant frame to understand the platformization of news. In sum, news business models change because the rise of platforms leads to a fundamental reorganization of economic relations around platforms as multisided markets. Key values such as journalistic independence, trustworthiness have come under mounting public scrutiny as connective platforms have come to steer the conditions of production and distribution.

The next sector that they analyze in the fourth chapter is urban transport, and their main example is Uber. Platformization affects the entire sector, effectively blurring the division between public and private transport modalities. The authors focus on two central public values in this chapter, the quality of urban transport and the organization of labor and workers' rights. They mention an important aspect "… to regard complementors, connectors, and infrastructural platforms as part of the sector in which they operate. As we have seen, platforms like Uber place themselves outside the sector. While this allows them to operate more cost-efficiently, it also means the company does not contribute to the cost of maintaining public values such as quality, accessibility, comprehensiveness and the organization of labor right" (p. 95).

The health sector, like the sectors of urban transport, news, and hospitality, is currently undergoing its own platformizatition, which is discussed in the fifth chapter. The insights into specific health platforms help the scholars reflect on the conflicting public values as at stake in this debate: the concern for privacy versus the benefit of personalized medicine and the privatization of data by corporate owners versus the accessibility of health data and knowledge of public research (p. 98). They introduce services like DoctorDiagnose, WebMD, Virtual Doctor.

The transition toward a platform society disrupts traditional pedagogies of learning and teaching. Chapter 6 concentrates on education and the authors investigating how platformization is profoundly affecting the very idea of education as a common good. They clarify how datafication and personalization can be leveraged toward enhancing the common good if organized as open initiatives and supported by public institutions, governments, and civil society actors (p 119). Personalized learning means that the online system adapts to each student's learning needs and abilities to optimize individual performance and motivation. This process raises many social, ethical, and normative questions concerning the kind of education children may engage with in the future (p.134).

In the last chapter, the authors shift their focus from the analytical to the normative aspects of the topic and try to identify who is or should be responsible and accountable for anchoring public values in the platform society? But the focus in the book is not so much on developing a normative governance model for the platform society but rather on analyzing negotiations in the process of platformization in order to reveal underpinning mechanisms, patterns, and stakes. Van Dijck and her colleagues introduce a range of public values: the safety of data traffic, privacy, transparency, power to control our personal data, responsibility, accountability, etc. (p. 140).

In sum, we can say that we are very thankful for the thoughtful aspects of the book. But even after raising good questions and analyzing the fields, we cannot consider the issue closed. As a consequence, *The Platform Society* is more useful for researchers than students.

The third reviewed book adapts the old, well-known media effect theory, the Agenda Setting Theory, to the Internet. Since the early 2010s, studies have been published by Lei Guo that examined the contents of CMC based on the Agenda Setting Theory (Guo, 2013). The larger scientific community came to know her in 2011 when she presented about the third level of AS at the annual conference of the International Communication Association. This volume praises the editorial work of Maxwell McCombs and Lei Guo.

The book introduces a third level of agenda-setting theory called Network Agenda Setting Model (NAS), presenting both theoretical and methodological details and contents of many empirical studies, case studies, too. The first chapter deals with a broader perspective on agenda-setting. The second chapter is divided into two large units, the first showing research studies in public affairs and political communication, the second focusing on strategic communications and public relations. Finally, the third chapter shortly summarizes and closes the volume.

The original Chapel Hill study (McCombs-Show 1972) is now referred to as first-level agenda setting. It asserts that the public considers objects that are prioritized in the news media as the most important. The second level—attribute agenda setting—focuses on the news determining not only *what* we think about, but also affecting *how* we think about a given topic. "The NAS model turns attention to the networked media effects. The model focuses on the networked relationships among issues, attributes, and other elements rather than the salience transfer of individual elements per se" (p. 5). In the first chapter, Guo gives a theoretical and methodological explanation of the NAS model. She differentiates the media network agenda (the network of nodes represent the news coverage) and the public network agenda (the network of nodes represent public opinion). The NAS analysis compares the two network agendas and measures the degree of correlation.

Guo elaborated the mechanism of information-processing and then discussed the questions of framing and priming. She suggests that the NAS is an effective tool to detect the associative framing. "Based on the NAS model, researchers consider frames as complex patterns of non-hierarchical associations between different concepts and term this media effects process *associative framing*" (p. 12). Guo offers three additional possible dimensions for analysis, which are the following: the level of elaboration, valence, and direction. The level of elaboration, whether the association is implicit or explicit, is an important factor that can affect the network agenda-setting effect. "On the reception side, there is a question about to what extent audience members elaborate on message associations as a result of media effect" (p. 14). The second suggested dimension of the media and public network agenda is the potential valances of message association, where these ties can be positive, negative or neutral. And the final dimension is the direction of various message associations.

The American researcher gives us well-elaborated methodological guidance, too. She explains some approaches to examine the NAS model. The network agenda-setting analysis consists of five steps, which are the following:

"Step 1: Operationalize the media network agenda. (Content Analysis)
Step 2: Operationalize the public network agenda. (Public survey, mind mapping, social media analysis)

Step 3: Compute the degree of correlation between the media and the public network agenda. (Quadratic Assignment Procedure—QAP, UCINET)
Step 4: Examine the causal relationship between the media and public network agenda.
Step 5: Visualize the media and public network agenda. (NetDraw, Gephi)” (p. 19, 23-31).

The volume contains 11 studies that rely on this methodological background. In the final article of the first chapter, Carroll Craig specified four different types of relational agendas located within three domains along a continuum. “The three domains of relationships identified were uniplex, duplex and multiplex, with two types of multiplex relationships: micro and macro” (p. 45). She presents a lot of cases: the example of a uniplex association comes from the linking of Iraq and/or Saddam Hussein to the events of 9/11. Duplex relationships concern the limited number of configurations created by two linkages connecting three nodes. Multiplex relationships have referred to the extent to which three or more nodes are linked together, and the NAS focuses on multiplex associations.

The first part of the second chapter of the book encompasses seven empirical research studies concerning the fields of Public Affairs and Political Communication.In their article, Vargo and Guo explore how the NAS model can work with big social data. “The widespread availability and accessibility of big social data also makes it possible to examine media effects during an extended period of time” (p. 64).

Sharon Meraz tries to test the operation of the NAS model at the issue level between traditional media and Twitter communities. In her study, she unfolds how networks impact the agenda-setting theory between popular, political discussion communities, and traditional media (she does so by analyzing 43 days’ worth of articles from *The New York Times* and *Washington Post* in 2014). In doing so, she examines how the NAS model helps explain the ebb and flow of everyday issue discussion between social media political discussion communities and traditional media (p. 67). This process is referred to in the literature as *intermedia agenda-setting*.

Nirit Wiess-Blatt examines in her article—“Role of Tech Bloggers in the Flow of Information”—the impact of news media and tech blogs. While the study integrates two research traditions, namely the NAS model and the two-step flow of communication, it found significant intermedia agenda-setting effects between tech blogs and mainstream media coverage. She tries to identify tech bloggers as opinion leaders (p. 98).

Ardèvol-Abreu and Saldaña examined the trend in US public opinion regarding the drug issue. Kim and Min analyzed the network attribute agenda of a public issue, nuclear energy in South Korea. Comparative research studies can also be found in the book edited by Gou and Maxwell, for example Hellmueller and Mellado’s article in which they examine journalistic role performance in the US and Chile. “The application of the NAS model in this study allows us to investigate the media agenda and journalist professionalism from a networked perspective” (p. 128). The Texas University International Journalism Research Coalition’s study offers an international (US, Poland, Spain, Columbia, Mainland China, and Taiwan) comparison of network attribute agendas about the news coverage of the Iraq War in 2003. “Regarding the importance of cultural and political similarity, the evidence clearly favours political alignment over cultural affinity. Five of the seven correlations above the median involve four governments with strong political alignments on the Iraq War—The United States, Spain, Poland, and Taiwan” (p. 226).

The second part of the second chapter of the book leads the readers to the fields of strategic communication and public relations. All four empirical papers deal with the issue of agenda building.

Kiousis and Ragas reveal how scholars can connect the research tradition of political public relations and NAS. Ilia, Bantimaroudis, and Meggiorin investigated the influence of press releases from four global biometric corporations (Identix, Sagem Morpho, Viisage, Visionics) on their media coverage. Etter and Vestergraad unfold NAS in a public relations domain, with a focus on Greenpeace's campaign against Nestle's use of palm oil in certain products. Lisa Weidman analyzes the attributes of Oregon wine in her article "Attributes of a Cultural/Consumer Product."

In sum, the NAS model, the third level of agenda-setting theory, asserts that the ways in which the news media associate different objects, attributes, and other pieces of information in depicting social reality will have a significant impact on how members of the public link these elements in their mind (p. 19).

We can agree with Guo, who wrote: "The NAS model does not intend to entirely revolutionize our previous thinking on the effects on mediated communication. Instead it seeks to add more theoretical links to the media effects models" (p. 15).

All three volumes are important contributions to new media, CMC research, though from the different disciplines of psychology, sociology, and media effect theory. All of them have the strength to include not only theoretical review but several empirical research as well. While the books edited by Gou and McCombs and van Dijck's *Platform Society* are more useful for media researchers, Wallace's *The Psychology of the Internet* holds its place as a university coursebook.

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