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SADRŽAJ

CONTENTS

Kada smo prije tri godine pokrenuli časopis *Medijske studije*, želja nam je bila ne zatvoriti se u okvire Hrvatske i regije. Cilj nam je bio da *Medijske studije* postanu međunarodno prepoznate kao znanstveni i stručni forum za aktualnu, relevantnu i originalnu raspravu o medijima, komunikaciji, novinarstvu i odnosima s javnošću. Na kraju treće godine djelovanja, imajući pred sobom ovaj tematski broj, s pravom možemo reći da smo uspjeli u svojoj namjeri.

COST (*European Cooperation in Science and Technology*) je europski međuvladin okvir za suradnju istraživača u području znanosti i tehnologije. Najstarija je istraživačka europska mreža osnovana 1971. godine i okuplja relevantne europske znanstvenice i znanstvenike iz različitih područja. Aktivnosti COST-a organizirane su kroz brojne četverogodišnje projekte (*Actions*), a jedan on njih je i COST *Action IS0906 Transforming Audiences, Transforming Societies* započet u svibnju 2010. godine. Članstvo u tom projektu te sudjelovanje u nizu inicijativa, istraživanja i konferencija koje su proizašle iz njega omogućilo nam je upoznati se i surađivati s uglednim europskim znanstvenicama i znanstvenicima iz područja medijskih studija i komunikacijske znanosti.

Kao rezultat intenzivne suradnje nastao je i ovaj tematski broj *Medijskih studija* posvećen medijskoj pismenosti. Sonia Livingstone zadala je sadržajni okvir ovog tematskog broja i pozvala nekoliko autorica i autora da napišu članke. Izvršne urednice ovog broja, Tao Papaioannou, María del Mar Grandío Pérez i Christine W. Wijnen, predanim radom osigurale su da 12 odabranih, recenziranih, kvalitetnih članaka, okupljenih na jednom mjestu, u koricama *Medijskih studija*, postanu dostupni publici koja je zainteresirana za medije kao neizostavni element u društvu. Od srca hvala gošćama urednicama koje su svoje znanje i iskustvo te svoju strast za istraživanjem medija podijelile s nama. Bilo je vrlo ugodno i inspirativno zajedničkim naporima stvarati ovaj tematski broj. Vjerujemo da će i naše čitateljice i čitatelje izabrani tekstovi potaknuti na promišljanje o ulozi i značenju medijske pismenosti unutar područja kojim se bave te o ulozi medijske pismenosti uopće u životu.

Zahvalnost iskazujemo projektu COST *Action IS0906* te Zakladi Adris, Ministarstvu kulture Republike Hrvatske te Sveučilištu Saint-Louis iz Brisela koji su financijskom potporom omogućili pripremu i tiskanje ovog broja *Medijskih studija*.

Viktorija Car
glavna urednica

CRITICAL INSIGHTS IN EUROPEAN MEDIA LITERACY RESEARCH AND POLICY

This special issue has resulted from the work of the Task Force on "Media Literacy" of the COST Action, "Transforming Audiences, Transforming Societies," IS0906, http://www.cost.eu.

COST is an intergovernmental framework for European Cooperation in Science and Technology, enabling the coordination of nationally funded research at the European level. The Action "Transforming Audiences, Transforming Societies" (2010-2014) coordinates research efforts into the key transformations of European audiences and identifies their complex interrelationships within the social, cultural and political dimension of European societies. A range of interconnected but distinct topics concerning audiences is being developed by four Working Groups: (1) New media genres, media literacy and trust in the media; (2) Audience interactivity and participation; (3) The role of media and ICT use for evolving social relationships; and (4) Audience transformations and social integration. As part of Working Group 1, the task force on "Media Literacy" examines conceptual, methodological and policy issues concerning audiences within the changing media and communication environment.

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FRAMING MEDIA LITERACY

The term 'literacy' was developed in the 19th century to describe the ability to read and write as it spread among common people, distinguishing itself from the word 'literature' which was traditionally associated with high culture (Williams, 1976). Ever since, literacy and then specifically media literacy research has expanded from focusing on how readers and audiences interpret, critique and respond to the mass media to also examining user activities and interactions in the digital, networked era. Media literacy research today is highly multidisciplinary, drawing on insights from social studies of technology, information science and human-computer interaction, educational practice, media and communication research and audience studies. Among these different disciplinary perspectives, we see significant differences and even tensions regarding the conceptual framing of media literacy. These struggles over definition and evaluation of media literacy persist, as do the continued challenges of implementing media education initiatives in formal and informal settings, and of encompassing not only children and young people but also adults, especially marginalized individuals such as immigrants and the elderly. Recent developments in the media landscape, together with international collaborations in media literacy research, further broaden the range of multi- and interdisciplinary approaches to media literacy, linking together literacies based on computer/ICT skills and the capacities of critical understanding, creative expression, and political and civic participation (Celot and Tornero, 2010; Carlsson 2010; Frau-Meigs and Torrent, 2009; Lankshear and Knobel, 2008).

It may be that such developments are stretching the concept of media literacy too far. Media literacy is increasingly expected to integrate highly diverse competencies and skills, often under the single definition of the ability to access, analyse, evaluate and create messages across a variety of contexts (Aufderheide, 1993). But is it helpful to draw diverse literacies associated with information, communication, evaluation, digital platforms and so forth into a single umbrella concept that emphasises the development of universal, platform-neutral, generalisable criteria by which to assess media adoption, interpretation and use? Or are distinctions among types of literacy, each with their different histories and contexts, best maintained? Is it even appropriate to conceive of media literacy primarily as an individual phenomenon – the skills available in consumers' heads, as it were. Or should it be conceived also on a societal level (as is the case for print literacy, where one may talk of a literate society)? Education is the most commonly-employed means of enabling media literacy, whichever way this question is answered; but the responsibility for those that do not learn all that is needed in a digital age is differently conceived depending on whether media literacy is considered an individual or a societal prerequisite.

Furthermore, beneath apparent agreement over its importance are some fundamental and unresolved debates over whether media literacy essentially concerns technical or instrumental skills in managing media or whether it also includes more abstract and ambitious competences regarding learning and knowledge creation, citizenship and human rights to information, inclusion and participation in society (e.g. Gutierrez and Tyner, 2012). This debate concerns not only the nature but also the purposes of media

literacy, as scholars, educators and policymakers all try to identify and promote the many ways in which literate media uses are important for citizens and consumers across different spheres of daily life, on both an individual and societal level (Ding, 2011; Livingstone et al., 2013). For example, is the purpose of media literacy to enable people to accommodate to the existing media landscape or to critique it – and even to critique the society that represents itself through media in particular ways?

This special issue of *Media Studies* turns to theoretical and empirical research for critical insights regarding future directions, with the emphasis on the European perspective and theoretical origins of the concept as well as making particular reference to European policy. As guest editors of this issue, we begin with some observations about the current state of media literacy research as well as its recurrent challenges. We suggest that, notwithstanding the recent explosion of interest in forms of media and digital or information literacies, building on a longer history of research and practical initiatives in media education, the results are uneven at best. For, despite enthusiastic calls for new digital literacy programmes and, interestingly, the recent embedding of media literacy requirements within national and international regulation, there remains little agreement about media literacy or how to measure it and, therefore, little evidence that efforts to improve it are effective. Indeed, there are good reasons to be concerned that the emancipatory vision of academics are being hugely scaled down by policy makers, that efforts to measure media literacy tend to trade validity for reliability, and that the persistent reduction of media literacy – which we argue to be a profoundly social phenomenon, a capability of a community or culture – to an individual property perpetuates inequalities and significantly undermines its potential benefits to democratic societies. Therefore, our aim in editing this collection is to encourage further theoretical, empirical and critical investigation of media literacy in the context of an acute awareness of the challenges associated with its promotion, resourcing and implementation in terms of policy commitment.

CONTEXTUALISING MEDIA LITERACY

Prioritising questions of skill tends to neglect the social contexts in which the different technologies and texts that mediate communication are encountered (Livingstone, 2004). Literacy does not simply demand the knowledge and ability to encode and decode messages but also rather demands "applying this knowledge for specific purposes in specific contexts of use" (Scribner and Cole, 1981: 236). For example, researchers describe how the development of online relationships depends on how people participate in interpretive communities that value particular forms of literacy: in one study, analysis of media practices among high school students on Facebook indicates that youthful media competences are shaped by forms of cultural capital as mediated through the group-endorsed communication norms developed within an online peer culture (Papaioannou, 2011). Such research is consistent with the view that media literacy must be understood as a social practice, anchored in one's social environment as well as in the wider social, cultural and political contexts (Baacke, 1999; Buckingham, 2007).

A contextualised approach requires a distinction between media literacy and media literacy practice or – to use Noam Chomsky's (2001) terms – between competence and performance, because being able to research how people act in relation to media does not necessarily allow us to judge their competence with respect to their complete abilities and knowledge that may to some extent be invisible for the researchers (Livingstone et al., 2013). Bearing this in mind, we must reflect on our methods and the focus of our research as well as our (normative) judgements and definitions of a media literate person – or community, or society. On the other hand, we need to consider a range of social and cultural factors which may also exert influence on what is considered media literate (and by whom). Then we need to inquire into the central focus of media literacy policies in different societies – whether this is the media system, the educational system, perceptions of moral and ethics or the image of media users or consumers (especially children) affects conceptions of media literacy and, in consequence policies for assessing and enabling media literacy (Donoso and Wijnen, 2013; Wijnen, 2008).

ENABLING MEDIA LITERACY

Contextualising media literacy in sociocultural terms emphasizes not the unity but rather the plurality of media literacies, and this in turn has implications for media education. For example, what children and young people do with media and information technologies in school and outside school is a pressing question for educational models which aim to facilitate learning through harnessing the affordances of digital culture. It is still debated whether informal and formal learning practices should be viewed as complementary elements of a fluid learning process, recognising that they exist in different contexts and have different characteristics (Jenkins, 2012; Sefton-Green, 2013). Introducing media literacy in the classroom has also challenged educators to re-examine the purpose of integrating technology in education. Are transmedia story-telling or participation in digital media production of value in themselves (Drotner, 2010; Drotner and Schrøder, 2010) or merely a means to an end of knowledge creation and negotiating new practices in learning (Thomas et al., 2007)? Certainly it is widely hoped that forging links between literacy, learning and pleasure in both informal and formal learning environments will encourage children and young people to acquire new ways of thinking through participating in new forms of practices and prepare them to adapt and negotiate new spaces and new technologies that continuously develop in a mediatized society (Ito et al., 2010). Such a vision motivated the BBC, for example, to mobilise some 1,000 UK schools to produce their own news in 2012 (BBC News School Report, 2012): over 30,000 11-16 year olds turned their classrooms into newsrooms, choosing and making news for publication on their school websites and a total of 90,000 young people were involved over the academic year (Ofcom, 2012a). But are such initiatives sustainable? And how can they be scaled up to encompass the population?

More negatively, there are concerns about new forms of digital exclusion which pose additional burden to media literacy education (Buckingham, 2007). Communication in the digital world has led children and adults to engage in more cultural and social uses of

media, as demonstrated in the ever growing popularity of social media. But it remains to be seen as how we should evaluate these uses in terms beyond the functional, or whether these can be soundly integrated into more significant activities - for example, collaborative learning, constructing collective intelligence or sharing knowledge. Further, although social media have enabled and encouraged children to portray or view themselves as more active and autonomous, they also pose risks such as commercialization, risky contacts, inappropriate content, problematic conduct and reputational or identity risks (Livingstone, Haddon and Görzig, 2012). Addressing the complex and shifting balance between the benefits and risks of increased media use is, to a greater or lesser degree in different countries, a matter of policy, as discussed below.

EUROPEAN POLICY TO PROMOTE MEDIA LITERACY

Within the European Union, along with many other parts of the world, strategic ambitions for media literacy encompass competences relating to education, citizenship and democratic participation are widely claimed. Benefits are conceived in terms of national competitiveness (a skilled labour market; strong creative industries), harm reduction (via responsible and aware consumers), empowerment at both individual and societal levels, and social inclusion. In short, media literate individuals living in a mediatised society in late modernity are being valued and promoted as economically, socially and politically desirable – increasingly so with the onward march of a digitally convergent, networked society. For example, the 2010 Audio-visual Media Services Directive (EC 2010), building on prior initiatives by the EC's MEDIA and Safer Internet Programmes, the Life Long Learning Initiative and the EUROPE 2020 strategy, and informed by parallel initiatives from the Council of Europe and UNESCO, anticipates continual improvements in national levels of media literacy over the coming years. Further, in its 2009 Recommendation, the Commission encouraged member states to debate the inclusion of media literacy in compulsory education curricula. As Suzanne Ding (2011: 7) observes,

the main task for the future will be to further strengthen the role of media literacy in these policy fields, streamline the understanding of media literacy and the requirements for media literacy education, encourage stakeholders in the public and private sector to increase their initiatives while constantly adapting the new results in media literacy research on the development of new technologies.

Certainly such policies are evidence-based. In 2009, the study *Assessing media literacy in Europe* by the European Association of Viewers' Interests (EAVI) on behalf of the European Commission DG Information Society provided a comprehensive view of the concept of media literacy, "helping the Commission to carry out its obligation to report on media literacy levels in the EU 27 Member States and to implement concrete policies at a European Level" (Celot, 2011: 20). An assessment of film literacy in Europe is also underway, conducted by the British Film Institute in partnership with the Institute of Education-University of London and Film Education Company- with objectives to identify and analyse the existing situation concerning film literacy in Europe, including initiatives in informal and formal education settings across all age groups (European Commission Media, 2012). But are these policies proving successful? There are persistent difficulties in

developing rigorous indicators to evaluate progress in national levels of media literacy, and it is also unclear whether, when identified, these indicators will indeed reveal steady improvement.

More critical still, some question whether it is really society's wish for citizens to participate through digital media by contributing to cultural production and economic competitiveness or, instead, whether society's best interests would be better served by efforts to promote civic media literacies – enabling citizens to engage in social and political deliberations as part of the democratic process. This latter view eschews the individual skill model to emphasise, instead, that empowerment lies in the provision of institutional contexts (or 'opportunity structures') which enable people to participate and experience agency, including in and through the media (Coleman, 2007). Yet Ofcom's (2012b) report measuring media plurality across television, radio, the press and the internet suggests that the existing framework may be insufficient for ensuring that citizens are informed by a diverse range of views and for preventing excessive influence over political participation by dominant interests.

Yet more fundamental issues arise when one considers the social and economic conditions that account both for the relatively low levels of media literacy in the first place and, moreover, for the considerable inequalities in media literacy that largely reflect other forms of social disadvantage (Helsper, 2013). A recent assessment of media literacy levels within Europe by EAVI drew on an approach that reflects the ambition and breadth of their definition in encompassing both individual skills and environmental factors including media education, media policy, media availability and degree of plurality, roles of the media industry and civil society. This revealed a significant gap between media availability and the informed use of it made by citizens (Celot and Tornero, 2010). Where does this leave policy? The EC promises a new media literacy strategy in 2013 (Zacchetti, personal communication, Sept. 2012), although the threats to this on an international scale are very salient, especially in an 'age of austerity'.

THE EMERGING AGENDA

If media are to play a significant role in facilitating participation in the public sphere and promoting democratic values, far greater institutional efforts will be required. Policy should be grounded in the experiences of media use, learning, expression and civic participation among citizens; and it should be developed and implemented through collaboration with academic stakeholders, schools, the media industry and civil society (Livingstone, 2011). But as yet, there is still insufficient dialogue between policy and academic development to underpin the development of evidence-based policy. This should be a two-way dialogue, with research addressing the problems faced by policy (for example, in measurement, implementation and evaluation). But also, as an independent and often critical enterprise, research should extend, challenge and critique policy, recognising the tension between the generally instrumental or 'administrative' ambitions of policy and the often-critical concerns of the academy (Lazarsfeld, 1941). Moreover, both

policy and research must be continually renewed as the media landscape, and societal expectations of its citizens, change and expand.

The emerging agenda is, on the one hand, descriptive – more and more people are using the media in more and more ways, and both researchers and policy makers need to grasp how media use is embedded in daily life. For example, Ofcom's (2012c) report shows that one third of UK 3-4 year olds go online: what do they do, with whom, and with what consequences? The research agenda must also take a historical perspective. Again to take a UK example, although use of the same indicators over several years reveals media literacy to be rising among children and adults over the past decade, such a rise is also shown to be small in scale and to have flat-lined in the last couple of years, raising questions about the efficacy of media literacy initiatives (Livingstone and Wang, 2011). Given the tendency of policymakers to focus more on instrumental or functional skills than wider civic or participatory competences and practices, we support the efforts of many researchers also to examine – and chart the barriers as well as enablers – for these in particular.

Last, the research agenda surely includes critical analysis of how media and communication technologies increasingly pervade all spheres of society, in ever more complex, subtle and often-opaque ways, placing ever greater demands on the competence of citizens and consumers to navigate them in empowering rather than exploitative ways. Since the technological infrastructure is heavily commercial and global and yet only partially regulated or transparent, these demands are significant and, as critics of today's neoliberal agenda fear, the burden of misunderstanding or mismanaging them will fall disproportionately on the already disadvantaged (Lunt and Livingstone, 2012). In short, media literacy, indeed literacy in general, has both an explanatory and a normative agenda. We must ask, first, what do citizens and consumers know about their changing media environment and, further, what should they know? And, then, most critically, what does it matter if they don't have this knowledge and in whose interest is it if they do?

THIS ISSUE

This special issue includes 16 contributions from 23 authors, covering a considerable range of conceptual, methodological as well as educational issues in the recent media literacy discourse. We begin with four articles that present different approaches to the conceptual framing of media literacy. The first contribution comes from Divina Frau-Meigs: "Transliteracy as the New Research Horizon for Media and Information Literacy". She considers the notion of 'transliteracy' as a means to harness the potential advantages and mitigate the risks of the so-called 'Information Society'. In addition to an epistemological analysis and a dynamic mapping of transliteracy, she demands "a detailed study of all the political and policy-relevant issues concerning the regulation of [...] transliteracy as a collective phenomenon" (p. 22). The next article by Sian Barber explores media literacy and active user-engagement and interaction in relation to online audio-visual content. She questions how user expectations fit within digital initiatives which prioritise access

and preservation of archives and online research rather than active user-engagement. Through interpreting the results of a qualitative case study of 82 German children, Senta Pfaff-Rüdiger, Claudia Riesmeyer and Anna Kümpel discuss the relation of media literacy to developmental tasks and conclude that a skill-based media literacy model can help to explain digital inequalities. Uwe Hasebrink's article highlights dimensions of the activity of the user which have not been adequately examined in the current media literacy discourse. He argues that media literacy not only means actively participating in media-related communicative practices but also taking responsibility for and engaging in the formation of the technical, political and economic conditions of communication processes and the overall media environment. He discusses the potential role of the audience as well as concrete instruments for strengthening user participation in media governance as an 'overlooked' aspect of media literacy.

Among the diverse challenges that promotion of media literacy must face, researchers need to tackle the problems of measurement. The problem currently attracting attention in the European Union centres on the fact that the *Audiovisual Media Services Directive* (2007) has demanded measurable criteria to be applied in the effort to improve media literacy in the adult population. The articles by Monica Bulger and Paolo Celot address this methodological challenge. Paolo Celot presents the EAVI studies of media literacy, among the most comprehensive across Europe in terms of their purpose and scope. He first briefly describes the results of wide comparative investigations concerning all 27 European Union member states, conducted for the European Commission by the author in a consortium with other partners. Then he provides future scenarios and perspectives on media literacy in Europe, pinpointing the emerging trends and international expert recommendations which indicate the priorities in order to start new, concrete initiatives. Monica E. Bulger focuses on the task of measuring national levels of media literacy using the report "Testing and refining criteria to assess media literacy levels in all EU Member States" as a case study. She argues that conceptually, approaches to measuring media literacy are often broadly inclusive, without necessarily considering how media literacy is enacted or identifying specific examples of media literate actors within daily contexts. But logistically, indicators are often defined in terms of existing data or data that can be easily collected, rather than developing measures with stronger validity, as could be identified through empirical research.

The third section of this special issue focuses on educational issues. Hans Martens argues that it is vital to recognise preexisting national and regional differences in order to understand the diversity of European media literacy practice. By examining three media literacy initiatives in the Flemish part of Belgium, he concludes that media literacy is better understood as a fluid construct of media-related knowledge and skills. From his point of view, this open perspective should also be applied when developing models of media education. Jos de Haan and Nathalie Sonck reflect on digital skills research in the last 15 years and the implication of this body of research for media literacy policy. They focus especially on the question of the degree to which media literacy research is able to support policy development. The next article by Carmen Marta and María del Mar Grandío Pérez offers a critical perspective on the tradition of media literacy research in Spain in order to

explore how Spanish academics, industry practitioners and policy makers are facing the challenges in media literacy policy development and implementation specifically with regard to media education curriculum in public schools. Asking what pedagogic model is suitable for media literacy education in a mediated society where mediated citizenship is becoming increasingly important, Ben Andrews and Julian McDougall propose a model of curation pedagogy for the inexpert. They suggest that students 'show' media literacy in new spaces – not by recourse to skills, competences or analytical unmasking of the properties of a (contained) text, but by exhibiting – curating a moment in time of textual meaning-making and meaning-taking, while also mindful of the artifice of such an attempt to hold and curate the flow of meaning.

Finally, this special issue concludes with five book reviews. Fausto Colombo reviews Peter Lunt's and Sonia Livingstone's book entitled "Media Regulation: Governance and the Interests of Citizens and Consumers" (Sage, 2012), Stjepka Popović offers her opinion on two books: "Djeca medija: Od marginalizacije do senzacije" (Children of the Media: From Marginalization to Sensation) (Matica hrvatska, 2011) by Lana Ciboci, Igor Kanižaj and Danijel Labaš, and "Vidi me, čuj me – Vodič za uporabu konvencije UN-a o pravima osoba s invaliditetom i promicanje prava djece" (See Me, Hear Me: A Guide to Using the UN Convention on the Rights of Person with Disabilities to Promote the Rights of Children) (UNICEF, 2011) by Gerison Lansdown. Lejla Turčilo reviews "Putokazi prema slobodnim i odgovornim medijima" (Guideposts to Free and Accountable Media) (Kuća ljudskih prava and FPZG, 2012) edited by Viktorija Car. The last one, Neven Benko discusses David Gauntlett's "Making is Connecting – The Social Meaning of Creativity, from DIY and Knitting to YouTube and Web 2.0" (Polity, 2011).

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MEDIJSKA PISMENOST:

KONCEPTUALNA PITANJA

MEDIA LITERACY:

CONCEPTUAL ISSUES

TRANSLITERACY AS THE NEW RESEARCH HORIZON FOR MEDIA AND INFORMATION LITERACY

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ABSTRACT *Media and information literacy is a concept that is valid yet at the same time obsolete. It refers back to the modernist era, with its very specific linear view of media. In the cyberist era, characterized by the primacy of online exchanges over offline exchanges, the rise of user-aggregated contents and an increase in strategies between broadcast media and broadband media, literate activities are more complicated and so are the relevant competences expected of users and learners. This article considers the notion of 'transliteracy' as a means to harness the potential advantages and mitigate the risks of the so-called 'Information society'. The new context for media and information literacy is first examined, then a tentative definition of transliteracy is proposed. Lastly, the research questions and areas of exploration are passed in review along with a few proposals.*

KEY WORDS

INFORMATION LITERACY, INFORMATION SOCIETY, MEDIA LITERACY, TRANSLITERACY

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During the modernist era, from mid-19th century, the West moved from an economy of production to an economy of consumption via the use of culture and the expansion of linear and analogical broadcast media. In our times, the dawn of the 21st century heralds the advent of the 'cyberist era' which focuses on the connections between energy and information to produce knowledge. It also ushers in the master narrative of the 'Information Society' where most interactions for work and leisure begin online and may or may not have consequences offline (Frau-Meigs, 2011b). The West has moved from the economy of consumption to an economy of participation, this time via use of culture that is new and promoted by non-linear, broadband networks of ICT-driven media. Participation however cannot be reduced to the liberal-technical mantra of self-expression that promotes individual impulse over shared construction of culture. Culture as a construct still consists of our human efforts in quest of a coherent set of answers to our predicaments and longings in real life. This culture is increasingly arbitrated by a broad range of media. It is a transformative situation which heightens the need to develop practices that provide meaning and that also help form a new mindset together with a new identity structure that are not inherited from the 19th century (self-discipline, rationality and restraint).

MEDIA AND INFORMATION LITERACY IN CONTEXT

Moving from the economy of consumption to the economy of participation is possible only through media. This move is not spawned by an exclusively rational view of mankind but by a cognitive view that associates emotions, actions, reasons and values to form a new sensibility that modifies the social structure. A drastic change of attitude already seems to be coming about as virtual spectacles and services begin to dominate in the social sphere of work, leisure and school. The post-modernist tendency to refuse delayed gratification and the discipline of frugality seems to have extended over to the cyberist era. A curious inversion is taking place as leisure activities are turned into participatory labour in the world of the so-called creative industries. Media propel personal experience and hedonism, exploration of creativity under all forms (including the destructive) and the elimination of physical and psychic distance in favour of immediacy and simultaneity, expressivity and reflexivity. How to find social norms and values for conduct in this creatively constructed incoherence? How to establish the boundaries for participatory behaviour, in economics as well as in culture? What will societies led by the information paradigm actually live? How to build knowledge societies on foundation of this information?

This paradigm change requires researchers to revisit the territories of the 'Information Society' for they are now much more closely related to computation (computer literacy) and communication (media literacy), areas where the term 'information' gathers added meanings and uses. This move implies a new concept of 'transliteracy' which has a double definition in today's context of convergence:

1. the ability to embrace the full layout of multimedia which encompasses skills for reading, writing and calculating with all the available tools (from paper to image, from book to wiki);

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2. the capacity to navigate through multiple domains, which entails the ability to search, evaluate, test, validate and modify information according to its relevant contexts of use (as code, news and document).

If husbanded properly, information can hopefully be expected to yield knowledge. Yet this prospect is not so certain, and information may well lead to nothing but itself if data-mining follows its own economic logic. Adding knowledge to the equation brings cultural and social dimensions to information but with no guarantee of a harmonious realization. One cultural contradiction of the 'Information Society' is indeed the potential hiatus between information and knowledge: the gap between them must be bridged by the cultures of media and information; the gap between education and the cultures of media and information also needs to be narrowed.

The advent of new scientific paradigms also coincides with the cyberist moment, when cognition and its social and bio-cultural extrapolations provide new complex interpretations of human nature and culture. However, this may not solve the tensions and contradictions but merely displace them; trend and counter-trend will continue to coexist and create contrastive ways of life and mindsets. Mind theory is a key in cyberspace, with its focus on the knower instead of what is known and on the constructs the knower can elaborate in multiple perspectives, including simulated ones. The means to know grew uncertain in postmodernism and this heritage has been passed on to the new cyberist perspective of open cognition, with its own referent (postmodernism referred too much to modernism), its own alternative value system, and so on. Cyberism is less negative and dissipating than postmodernism and tries to distinguish itself from it. Cyberism recognizes the need for foundation and transmission. It is not based on acquisitiveness and consumerism, although it recognizes the need for exchange and the market, yet with non-proprietary spaces, common goods and relational exchanges. It acknowledges that limits can be set to permissible behaviour, and that morality derives from the ethics of everyday life. "In this ethics of everyday life, some distinctions have to be elided, as not valid anymore, so as to reach a new standpoint that allows the co-presence of distance and proximity, privacy and publicity, identity and difference" (Frau-Meigs, 2011b: 13).

Therefore, when dealing with these transformative changes, how to infuse this cyberist perspective with a humanist dimension that responds to the demands of people for social justice? How to establish - in a cyberist system that is transborder and global by nature - a new social contract where all the actors share the same vision and accept to be accountable for it?

This balancing act calls for a theory of culture - beyond just economics or politics- which also contains within it a theory of media. Taking communicative agency at the core, and using social cognition to build a model for the transmission of ideas based on the transmission of neural networks, such a theory applies mind theory to draw parallels between the social reproduction of culture and the biological reproduction of our cells.

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The information paradigm in this equation adds the idea that media mimic these mechanisms in the reproduction of data in the digital age; media are constructed as externalizations of neural networks and internalization of ecological signals, the brain being in co-evolution with the environment, to find the right scale of human interaction (Frau-Meigs, 2011a: 43).

All media are cognitive artefacts, unified by our human capacity for representation to enable us to monitor the environment and process information, our two main cognitive needs for problem solving and that which ultimately justify and legitimate our constant generation of media. Internet arrives at the current moment of the evolutionary chain of media to fulfil the cyberist need to understand the global scale of our interactions with nature. This is not to deny the earlier radical changes or specific contributions each media, all of which are still present and dynamic, but to remind us that they obey social and cultural uses; they are not ruled merely by our economy or our technology. The issues of human interest remain fundamental to our understanding, and they are open-ended and generative. They do not discard our embodiment in nature, even when they take a detour through virtual reality.

Such a theory of media in culture must be based on a vision of humanity that resembles a set of nested dolls or an onion skin, with multiple scales of life, from the global sphere to the local community, offline and online, linear and non-linear, where our dynamic self engages with our basic desires for identity and justice. This theory can not accept the idea that capitalism as a mode of production generates culture as an epiphenomenon of its consumer activities. Just as the recent failures of the liberal economy are reminders that politics are necessary, not just to establish order but also to provide thrust and trust, the economy would fail if ideas and art did not circulate in spite of the market.

Media cultures have come to dominate the cyberist moment, as they encourage the socialization of young people on digital networks. The current challenge in order to ensure wellbeing and self-fulfilment online and offline is to find the right scale of interaction that binds people together, beyond the contractual nature of economic exchanges. While the market works on niches and fragmented productions which, at best, compile a series of roles into a self, culture ensures that identity emerges from the fluid integration of dignity and privacy, to ensure a correct fit to the viable nesting of the multiple scales of self.

These rapid changes bring with them the realization that education is a social and cultural construction and that media are taking an ever larger portion of the time for such construction. Media education and information literacy both came together in the late 1990s as a means to deal with the basic needs to understand critically such media contents and uses. With a history dating back to linear media, it focused on understanding advertising and representations, at best with a cultural studies background that allowed media to be understood as 'texts' and the audience as 'readers' (Hall, 1973: 128-138). As such, media and information literacy still hails from the modernist era, with expectations related to the linear transmission of the 19th century school system (Frau-Meigs, 2006).

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THE CASE FOR 'TRANSLITERACY'

In its present connotation, media and information literacy runs the risk of becoming obsolete unless it embraces the cyberist era and its multilinear modalities. In particular, it needs to encompass the "shuttle screen situation" (Frau-Meigs, 2013) whereby what happens on the top surface screen of audiovisual media sources is discussed within the netroots screen of digital social media with feedback to the top surface screen (fanfictions, webseries and newsblogs, but also modified scripts and scenarii). Although some uncertainties remain as to the future evolution of the two cyberist era subsystems – TV-based developments and computer-based developments – online television remains a major provider of stories, just as narrative remains a centrepiece of social learning and interaction. The audiovisual networks of broadcast media are still the providers of dominant narratives (news, series, games, cartoons,…), which are then recycled on the digital networks of broadband media. But these narratives are no longer "text". They are 'spectacles': their appeal to audiovisual and kinetic dimensions is more akin to total shows like opera and implies other modes of coding in the brain and on the screen. Transmedia storytelling, as described by Marsha Kinder (1991) and Henry Jenkins (2006), is increasingly associated with alternative inventions of the self and the fulfilment of "life longings" as proposed by Paul Baltes (Scheibe et al., 2007: 778-795). The growth of serial experiencing online is also a strong trend attached to content aggregation and behaviour of online users over a long period of time. Current models of media and information literacy are therefore not very adept at taking on the larger and more complex mediascape of the 21st century in which the foundation of creativity and employability will be the ability to deal with information not only as news and stories but also as code and as data.

The concept of 'transliteracy' emerges within this specific context, where the modernist literacies need to be drastically revamped. The traditional rationale of media literacy had emerged as a means to cope with the rise and massification of the modernist linear broadcast media (Hoggart, 1975; Buckingham, 2000; 2003). As internet developed, some tinkering was done, with the notion of information added in. The functional definition of 'media and information literacy' was first bound in its implementation to the school-library complex and then to the new skills necessary for the labour market. But in the cyberist context this approach runs the risk of becoming a constraint rather than an empowerment. It needs to be extended to take into account a more systemic definition, encompassing the human dimensions of information cultures as they develop their institutional, political, social and educational missions.

A change of paradigm is needed to allow a clearer and larger vision of the issues to emerge: from mere information search to the complexity of 'transliteracy'. The learning shift implicit in such a process must be verbalized and rationalized so that teachers and learners integrate and appropriate its potential for disruption. Focusing on user-generated content reinforces the need for new types of media literacy (about images, codes, games, platforms,…) as the ability to read and write is extending across a range of media platforms and networks, and new cognitive and intellectual tools can thus be made available to learners and teachers.

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A rapid review of the state of the art reveals that the definition of 'information' is no longer consensual (and the perception of media boundaries is itself in upheaval). Its contours vary according to the fields under consideration. From the perspective of *information literacy*, a notion that appeared in 1974 in the United States in the context of the American Library Association, it encompasses a mastery over information which is related to the economics of data production and the referencing of documents with a strong stress on their verifiability, with some fall back on the necessary training of users. From the perspective of *media literacy*, it relates to mastery over a series of semiotic resources (text, image, sound,…), with a strong focus on news and their relation to the training of users to develop a critical mind so as to assess truth and trust in the media and to foster civic agency and democratic participation. As for *digital literacy*, it is often seen in contradistinction to computer sciences (focused on programming languages) and it covers a more or less stable set of uses and practices regarding computers and digital tools or platforms, without necessarily understanding their design, functioning and finalities (Serres, 2012; Delamotte, 2012).

Discussions around these three forms of literacy began to converge around societal issues as the internet developed and the risks of digital exclusion appeared. The notion of 'information cultures' started to be used to describe the fact that the digital divide could not be limited to the question of infrastructure and access to technologies but also had to cover their effective uses, their representations in the users' minds and their potential for creativity and empowerment. The discussions however seem to have been stalled by the implementation of certification solutions such as the 'European Computer Driving Licence' (ECDL), heavily related to skills development in e-learning contexts.

At the international level the tensions between these different forms of literacy are also at play, often in disputes over the articulation of computer sciences and ICT training. This is especially seen in the school context where most countries have made the historic choice not to teach computing, except in optional and vocational sections. This has increased the gap between information as a science and information as a culture to the point that the hard sciences (physics, chemistry, maths, biology, etc.) tend to reorganize themselves around 'information sciences' that exclude the humanities and therefore the political, social and economical dimensions of information cultures (Bruillard, 2012).

Adding media literacy to this equation between information and informatics can only enhance the complexity of the issue. This is necessary, however, as most of the contents broadcast over the networks result from the mastery of multi-modal semiotic resources (text, image, sound…). Furthermore, such an addition reflects the reality of the users' experiences, blurred as they are by the lack of clarification about the finalized goals of information according to the context of application (as data, code, document, news,…). It also reflects the reality of social changes, in particular technical convergence, the opening of the traditionally disjointed spaces of school and industry, and also the greater empowerment of learners in spaces other than schools and libraries.

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Within this context, the recently coined term of 'transliteracy' was first proposed by the Transcriptions Research Project directed by Professor Alan Liu in the Department of English at the University of California Santa Barbara (USA). In 2005, it became the Transliteracies Project, looking into the technological, social, and cultural practices of online reading (http://transliteracies.english.ucsb.edu/category/research-project). Professor Sue Thomas, of the Institute of Creative Technologies (IOCT) at De Montfort University (Leicester, UK), subsequently founded the Production and Research in Transliteracy (PART) group, looking into writing and production practices (http://nlabnetworks.typepad.com/transliteracy/). In both English-speaking countries, transliteracy is considered as a means to foster the reading and writing facet of the "3 Rs" with a focus on English teaching although various disciplines in the humanities are also brought into play together with digital technology experts, (Liu, 2012).

Thus in its origins in the English-speaking world transliteracy developed far from the universe of libraries, media and spreadsheets. When it arrived in France, the meaning of transliteracy shifted in order to make sense of the convergence of media, information and computer literacies. The pioneering work was done by the research group LIMIN-R (http://www.ina-sup.com/ressources/dossiers-de-laudiovisuel/les-e-dossiers-de-laudiovisuel/e-dossier-leducation-aux-cultures). The English umbrella term presented the rhetorical advantage of embracing a whole series of platforms, competences and uses whose hybridization needed elaboration. In its cultural transfer into the French world, the term adopted, *éducation aux cultures de l'information* (education in information cultures), then shifted from its original emphasis on basic literacy to enhanced information search with ICT-driven media.

To conclude this rapid state of the art, two points need to be underlined: the necessary archaeology and epistemology of the discourses on information and on transliteracy; the cultural and situational constraints around information as the major raw and refined material of the "Information Society" (Castells, 1997; Lash, 2002). The notions around information and its search constitute 'discourses' whose origins, argumentations, contents and transformations need to be mapped, especially to identify the tensions in the field (around the need to 'adapt' to the digital culture, at all costs for instance, with its technologically deterministic overtones). The competing paradigms on learning show tensions between transmission (top-down knowledge acquisition in school institutions), co-construction (bottom-up development of competences via shared tools for mediation) and participation (horizontal and vertical circulation of knowledge within communities).

Additionally, transliteracy deals with the editorialisation of information in the digital era whose organisation stems from networks, screens, platforms and programmes where "documents" acquire a radically original plasticity. It also encompasses the transferability of diverse practices and skills in contexts that are differentiated both as regards the information (at school and out-of-school, in the personal sphere and the professional sphere) and the societies and countries within which they evolve.

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Such an approach implies exploring a threefold research hypothesis: that the three forms of literacy (information, media and computer) have overlapping concepts, methodologies and finalities; that they are in a process of interdisciplinary structuring; and that such multi-media and trans-domain structuring may produce 'transliteracy' defined as the ability to read, write and encode in interaction with digital tools and platforms as well as the capacity to search, test and validate 'information' in its various shapes as understood in computer sciences (codes), in media and communication sciences (news) and in information sciences (documents).

This scaled-up move from media and information literacy to computer literacy and then on to transliteracy is ground-breaking because of its interdisciplinary nature and its integrative purpose, in a context where some initiatives have been set up at the local level without any encompassing framework. The functional definition of 'media and information literacy' can no longer be tied to the school-library complex but must be expanded to take into account a more systemic definition that encompasses the human dimensions of interconnected information cultures as they develop their institutional, political, social and educational stakes. Such an approach is notoriously under-theorised and is usually technology-driven in its analysis.

Analysing transliteracy involves exchanges between at least three research communities that do not always work together: computer scientists, media researchers and information and library scientists, along with an additional group - education scientists. It also requires fostering interactions between rarely collaborating research fields and rarely collaborating institutions (libraries, schools, engineering schools, communities of practice). Using the umbrella term 'transliteracy' is an operational strategy as its polysemy encapsulates notions that are not always thought together but which can cohabit in meaningful ways that reconnect the fragmented field of analysis. This is especially relevant as most users are already practicing and experiencing these transliteracies without feeling any rupture among them, in relative continuity with their day-to-day lives and work. The challenge is to connect research with practitioners, and to transfer research notions and concepts to practices in the field which today look very much like self-taught or self-acquired knowledge – transliteracy 'in the wild' as it were.

MODELLING TRANSLITERACY

For lack of analysis and clarification the new literacies, necessary and complementary to the former '3 Rs' (reading, 'riting, and 'rithmetic), might take place somewhere else, in spaces outside the bounds of university, school and research. Having a variety of constructs and methods does not exclude the possibility of giving a certain legitimacy to this new field. Theoretical and methodological variety is by no means a sign of 'unscientific' functioning but on the contrary a sign of 'normal' functioning, as exemplified in the various currents expressed in mathematics or in literature. While we are capable of teaching the scientific attitude towards the physical and natural world, we seem to allow

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magical thinking and intuitive capacities to develop within the 'Information Society', and this can be damaging for learning as much as for civic agency and participation.

Being aware of the centrality and the inevitability of these literacies we are able to consider transliteracy's horizon of possibilities, and foster better knowledge of the processes associated with computer sciences and information and communication sciences. Such a stance implies an analysis based at the same time on the contents and their specificities (audio-visual media, representations,…) and on the processes and modes of access inherent to computer sciences (coding-decoding, file-sharing,…) with an emphasis less on the technological objectives than on the actors, their uses and their finalized needs and goals.

Consequently, the notion of 'transliteracy' is seen not only from the perspective of reading and writing but mostly from the perspective of information search and use. As such it is related to the framework of 'information cultures', seen as a more acceptable understanding of the term 'Information Society'. It is precisely because media, information and computer literacies are becoming objects of public policy and implemented in various curricula that it appears necessary to consider the terminologies and the definitions that refer to them, and to question the ideological and political issues at stake in their implementation. The final inclusion of this transliteracy within national public policy benchmarking tools reflects the awareness that such complex and cumulative knowledge constructions call for regulatory mechanisms that support and sustain them.

Thus, in addition to the epistemological analysis of transliteracy and the proposal of a theoretical model for transliteracy, two types of complementary investigations are necessary:

1. an epistemological inventory intended to assess sites, domains and projects related to transliteracy to provide a dynamic mapping of the process;
2. a detailed study of all the political and policy-relevant issues concerning the regulation of this transliteracy as a collective phenomenon.

Transliteracy affords many opportunities for theoretical developments that are much-needed in the area of converging literacies. Three major research questions that can mobilize analysts are:

1. What new sharing of competences between these three disciplinary fields do the uses of transliteracy generate?
2. What new collective dynamics, on the scale of the school and the territory, may be set up with the development of transliteracy through various configurations of "learning events" – which include the transliterate task and its outcomes (Gagné and Driscoll, 1988)?
3. What political and educational options may appear to achieve full-fledged transliteracy?

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PUTTING THE NEW CONCEPT ON THE MAP

Mapping transliteracy

To establish a new epistemological approach to the notion of 'information' and apply it to transliteracy, it is necessary to identify the way in which the three scientific domains overlap with each other. Mapping this overlap of notions, research institutions, virtual platforms, etc. will help identify the way interdisciplinary connections are made and will point the way to both new and emerging forms of structure.

Constructing digital maps with technologically advanced solutions requires the elaboration of smart criteria for site selection which will provide indications on how the three scientific domains are evolving, from a bottom up perspective. These maps need to be conceived as instruments to construct knowledge since they locate the information that is available on the web. Combining the functionalities of advanced graph technologies, they create visualizations to elaborate a quantitative epistemology of information via the mining of huge of electronic data.

Three types of maps can be produced via such quantitative epistemology:

1. 'contents' maps from online publications (research projects, databases, regional and European reports,…) and associated metadata. This type of corpus provides information on cooperation networks, the density of their exchanges, their thematic similarities and affinities, and the prospects for innovation;
2. 'actors' maps that illustrate the social network of the communities involved in information search and in transliteracy. This type of map supplies information about the geography of the research community and the modalities in which they are interconnected;
3. 'web resources' maps that take into account external data and publicly accessible online resources. They provide information about information cultures, especially when they target social controversies and communities of practice involved in transliteracy.

Such smart mapping is capable of 'understanding' the characteristics of the users in order to adapt the information resources to their contexts and to inform in a pertinent way. These maps can help build transliteracy in relation to knowledge profiling, using strategies that are elaborated in the 'Network Sciences'. Very few examples exist in the qualification and selection of information. Providing such tools for the scientific community can elucidate how transliteracy could be constructed at the crux of interdisciplinary fields within the social sciences (including contiguous fields such as game theory and enhanced simulations).

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Modelling conceptual relations that link transliteracy and e-learning

The relation between information cultures and literacies is under-theorised. Yet it is crucial to identify the major components to be considered in order to encompass the complexity of transliteracy. Any modelling attempt will need to take into account the phenomenon's high degree of hybridisation as well as its cross-cultural dimensions. It will also have to integrate the personal and collective context and the different learning paradigms (transmission, co-construction and participation). The aim is to produce a general framework to analyse and comprehend the situations of transliteracy, and to do this without being normative, so as to allow for a certain amount of generativity.

To elaborate a matrix of the elements needed to construct transliteracy, several steps seem necessary:

- To identify learning events via specific opportunities such as 'Internet day' or 'week of the press' and to include hybrid situations in this process because as yet there is no such thing as transliteracy, just 'quasi-transliteracy'.
- To evaluate heterogeneous competences because various approaches to competences exist, with different types of templates and criteria for evaluation (that need to be considered critically).
- To consider e-strategies and overlapping uses because the search for information can be contiguous to the operations related to programming, story-telling and problem-solving.
- To define the emerging perimeter of transliteracy and monitor its evolution as new uses, practices, beliefs and representation systems appear, all of which imply the overlap of several fields.

Additionally, in this type of research-action some extensions and projections can be made for the full-fledged implementation of transliteracy by including recommendations for public policies that will help develop a template for national policies. Providing such a template will hold the advantage of highlighting the added value of such policies. Five major steps need to be underlined: development of comprehensive transliteracy programs at all education levels; teacher and librarian training; awareness raising targeting governmental and civil society institutions; research and its dissemination networks; international cooperation. This design must be closely related to the theoretical transliteracy model so as to help formulate the milestones and the different phases for implementation: preparation, implementation, and follow-up. It can provide criteria to determine the scope of necessary tools and pertinent actors to elaborate enabling environments for transliteracy (Frau-Meigs and Torrent, 2009).

Ultimately such a comprehensive process has much to lend to the frontier field of 'e-learning' which needs to be elaborated beyond mere electronically-supported teaching. Information and communication systems cannot be considered merely as platforms for expression but also as tools for mediation, creation and participation in today's networked cultures. The field of e-learning needs to be bolstered by theoretical and methodological advances. It needs to incorporate the critical enquiry of 'information' and to acknowledge

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the multi-modal dimensions of transliteracy so as to harness the opportunities of today's digital convergence. For it cannot remain solely at the technological level but must translate into meaningful societal uses. Information and its communication are fuelling knowledge development in the 21st century. As such this field can be of benefit to all researchers interested in the digital aspects of the humanities and information cultures as well as teachers, librarians, webmasters and other communities focusing on training and practice for young people.

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* Considering the interdisciplinary nature of the notion explored in this article, an extended bibliography has been added to the references mentioned in the text.

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TRANSPISMENOST KAO NOVI ISTRAŽIVAČKI VIDIK ZA MEDIJSKU I INFORMACIJSKU PISMENOST

Divina Frau-Meigs

SAŽETAK *Medijska i informacijska pismenost predstavljaju koncepte koji su valjani, ali koji su zastarjeli. Odnose se na modernističko doba s vrlo specifičnim linearnim pogledom na medije. U virtualno doba koje je karakteristično po davanju prvenstva* online *razmjeni sadržaja nad* offline *razmjenom dolazi do porasta sadržaja koji su prikupili korisnici te do novih strategija u tradicionalnim i novim medijima. Aktivnosti opismenjavanja postaju sve složenije, kao i potrebne kompetencije polaznika te očekivanja od korisnika i učenika. Ovaj rad razmatra* transpismenost (transliteracy) *kao način za iskorištavanje potencijalnih prednosti i umanjivanje rizika 'informacijskog društva'. Prije svega autorica je ispitala novi kontekst medijske i informacijske pismenosti te je definirala transpismenost. Na kraju su pregledana istraživačka pitanja i područja te je dano nekoliko prijedloga.*

KLJUČNE RIJEČI

INFORMACIJSKA PISMENOST, INFORMACIJSKO DRUŠTVO, MEDIJSKA PISMENOST, TRANSPISMENOST *(TRANSLITERACY)*

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UNDERSTANDING ONLINE AUDIO-VISUAL CONTENT: A EUROPEAN INITIATIVE, MEDIA LITERACY AND THE USER

Sian Barber

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ABSTRACT *Recent debates about media literacy and the internet have begun to acknowledge the importance of active user-engagement and interaction. It is not enough simply to access material online, but one must also be able to comment upon it and re-use it. Yet how do these new user expectations fit within digital initiatives which increase access to audio-visual-content but which prioritise access, preservation of archives and online research rather than active user-engagement? This article will address these issues of media literacy in relation to audio-visual content. It will consider how these issues are currently being addressed, focusing particularly on the high-profile European initiative EUscreen. EUscreen brings together 20 European television archives into a single searchable database of over 40,000 digital items. Yet creative re-use restrictions and copyright issues prevent users from re-working the material they find on the site. Instead of re-use, EUscreen offers access and detailed contextualisation of its collection of material. But if the emphasis for resources within an online environment no longer rests upon access but on user-engagement, what does EUscreen and similar sites have to offer to different users?*

KEY WORDS

ARCHIVE, AUDIO-VISUAL SOURCES, CULTURAL HERITAGE, EUROPEAN TELEVISION MEDIA LITERACY

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A 2011 report from the independent regulator for the UK communications industries (Ofcom), defined media literacy as "the ability to use, understand and create media and communications in a variety of contexts" (Ofcom, 2011). Yet when users and audiences are described as being 'media literate' what does this actually mean? Are user expectations changing and is the emphasis now upon engaging with material rather than simply accessing it? Do we have the same expectations of all users, or do we expect different levels of literacy, comprehension and expertise from different users?

Debates about media literacy and digital literacy are frequently focused on the user experience. Do the majority of people have access to the internet, can they find and use material online, can they create and contribute to online material? Engaging with online content no longer simply means accessing, reading or referencing, but also creating, adapting and sharing. The proliferation of social media applications has created a seismic shift in the way people engage with the material they access online, and this in turn has affected levels of media literacy. Simon Popple considers that as users become more proficient in using new media tools and finding new ways of engaging with online content, they become "technologically empowered" (2012: 321). Yet has the importance of user engagement obscured a fundamental point about understanding the material found online?

This article will explore how media literacy relates to audio-visual content found online and the impact that improving levels of media literacy has on online archives and websites. I will pay particular attention to the way in which media literacy, including aspects of understanding and engagement, fit within the scope and agenda of a recent high-profile European initiative, EUscreen, which offers access to over 40,000 items from European television archives. My involvement in the EUscreen project allows me a rare opportunity to reflect upon the nature of the project and the way in which the site engages with its users.

PARTICIPATION NOT JUST WATCHING

Peter Godwin and Jo Parker have drawn attention to recent changes in the internet and suggest that in the last ten years it has become essentially "a place for collaboration, more personal and driven by us, the users" (2012: 3). Nowhere is user-driven collaboration more evident than on social media sites such as Facebook, MySpace and Twitter, but user engagement also proliferates on YouTube.

As the most popular and frequently used collection of moving image content on the web, YouTube occupies an important position for its users and also those who study media and digital communications. Lynn Spigel acknowledges that the site:

Shows little concern for the original airdates or broadcast networks, and it's typically impossible to know the surrounding programme context in which TV clips originally aired... YouTube's clip culture is part of a process of popular memory in which the uses of the past are tied to present day concerns and conversations. (2011: 68-69)

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YouTube's concerns are less about what questions people are asking of its content and more about how they are responding and contributing to it. Spigel terms the YouTube approach 'collective archival bricolage' and suggests that presenting material in this way problematises traditional historical approaches which both desire and require context and historical specificity. This may be true, yet YouTube does not position itself as serving the research community: it exists to serve all internet users and emphasises user involvement and engagement. Jean Burgess and Joshua Green define YouTube as a "site of participatory culture" (2009: vii) and draw specific attention to the way in which the site "illustrates the increasingly complex relations among producers and consumers in the creation of meaning, value and agency" (2009: 14). Such active engagement has been identified as a crucial component of media literacy yet Burgess and Green suggest that media literacy is not something that individual users possess but is rather a process which is facilitated and encouraged by a system that both enables and shapes participation – a system which exists on a site such as YouTube.

But it could be argued that the YouTube community are unusual in their active and highly-visible engagement and participation. It is easy to see user engagement with the material on the site in the comments and observations posted underneath the videos. Other sites do not have the space or opportunity for users to engage with the material in such a direct way and engagement may not be their principal objective. For sites created as part of digitisation or academic initiatives such as the European Film Gateway, EUscreen or its predecessor Video Active, the imperative is access rather than engagement.

With such sites, user engagement is encouraged but contextualisation of the material for users is seen to be far more desirable. The need to contextualise has emerged amidst growing concerns from academics, teachers and researchers about the free and easy availability of online material. While this profusion of material unquestionably offers great riches, using it can be far from straightforward. Concerns about contextualisation are also paramount for organisations who contribute to collections of online material. It is difficult to access, share or reuse any online archive material without running into issues of copyright and ownership and it is within this modern context of legal restrictions, limited access, and prohibited uses of material which all collections of audio visual material must be considered. These online collections all exist for very specific reasons and these reasons - be they curatorial, economic or social – must be duly acknowledged. As Craig Robertson points out, "all historians should be aware of the processes through which archives create 'records' through collection and classification but media historians need to be particularly cautious" (2011: 4). To take Robertson's point further, it is not simply media historians who need to be cautious, but rather anyone who accesses anything online – a user group which goes far beyond the parameters of any academic discipline or community.

In a media literate world and when accessing material online, all users should recognise what questions to ask of the material, the host site, the contributor, and the organisation which created and produced it. As Julia Noordegraaf points out:

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Once out of the context of the archive with its systematically compiled catalogue of information, contextualised materials and tacit knowledge on the origins and meaning of the object, the meaning of archive holdings becomes open to various interpretations depending on the specific use made of it and the type of information that accompanies it. (2010: 3)

In this way information accessed online must be subject to higher levels of rigorous of investigation than conventional, text based offline sources. Academic writing and pedagogy is gradually acknowledging that understanding a wider variety of sources, including those found online, is a crucial aspect of contemporary research and scholarship (Barber and Penniston-Bird, 2009). But again, this is an issue which extends beyond the world of academia. As more and more material becomes available online and is removed further from the control of archivists, librarians, historians or curators, the need for higher levels of general media literacy and understanding become paramount. Accessing this material is no longer the issue, but rather recognising its possibilities and its limitations. While users may be media literate they may have limited understanding about the context of the material they find and use. They may not recognise issues of selectivity, curation, and contextualisation which are essential to fully understand online resources. Yet Simon Popple suggests that this is changing, observing that "as audiences become more attuned to the potential of exploring and engaging with digital resources, they are also becoming more sophisticated in their use of materials and questioning of 'institutional' interpretative strategies and restrictions based on access, copyright and content" (2011: 321).

Andreas Fickers remains unconvinced arguing that "it seems as though ritualised practices of critical source analysis are neglected when dealing with audiovisual sources from the web" (2012), while Robertson considers that "media and methods of inquiry are changing; the effects this is having on historical research and writing is still in the process of being fully grasped" (2011: 4). But bringing users with new and highly developed levels of media literacy together with online resources does not mean the end of academic rigour, but rather the emergence of a different set of challenges for both academics and internet users.

PRESERVATION, ACCESS AND USE

In removing the barriers of access, online resources are now (in theory) available to all. But just as the medium of the Internet is different from the book, the museum or an academic journal, users of online moving image material may not be conversant with standard historical methods and critical sourcework. Similarly it could also be the case that many who study academic history are not versed in the historiographical practices necessary for evaluating online material and unfamiliar with the importance of new media forms to academic disciplines. These two disparate disciplines – history and media studies – need to find common ground and recognise the validity of each other's approaches. Perhaps the bigger issue here is that, as both Fickers and Robertson identify, the discipline of history does not adequately address online audio visual sources. This inadequacy draws attention to the need for new methodologies with a focus on media literacy and

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comprehension in order to deliver what Fickers terms a 'new digital historicism'. This would better equip users, and in particular students and young scholars, with the skills necessary to interpret an increasing range of digital and freely available moving image content.

Although most important for scholars and researchers seeking to use audio-visual material in their academic work, these issues of understanding and interpretation apply to all users. For example, one of the key problems when approaching online sources is the issue of abstraction. Unlike sources located and positioned securely within a journal, newspaper or a carefully catalogued archive, material found online frequently includes little contextualising information. As well as asking basic questions of the material itself, what is it, who made it, why was it made and so forth, anyone accessing online material should also be asking who has selected the material, how is it presented and structured, what narratives are presented, what is included alongside the online material, is it part of a collection, what has been included and what has been left out, and how is the material intended to be used?

Users should also ask questions about the provenance of the material. Is it original material produced by fans, a music video posted by a new band or is the material part of the archive holdings of a broadcaster, museum or library? Or is it a mash-up of earlier items? Do we know who curated or selected this material and what was their motivation?

These are the kind of interrogatory questions which need to be levelled at online material – much in the same way that we evaluate written and published sources for their authenticity, usefulness and reliability. Such questions encourage users to understand what they see online and critically engage with material rather than simply accept it unquestioningly. Such an approach also recognises the difference between simply accessing and viewing material and fully understanding it.

It is also important to consider where online content has come from, who has provided it and what their objective is in making it available. Unlike much of the amateur-produced content on YouTube which is principally intended to be seen, a great deal of digitisation work is carried out by libraries and archives with a view to preservation and not to increase access. Within many television archives, the archives are repositories of material for broadcasters and journalists. In this way they are 'working archives'. They do not exist for academic or research purposes and it is misleading to consider them in this way, a point Paddy Scannell has made in relation to his work at the BBC television archives (2011: 42).

At the 2011 Media and History conference in Copenhagen, Thomas Christensen from the Danish Film Institute developed this point when he drew attention to the Institute's current programme of digitisation and highlighted the impact such processes have upon the original collections. For example the creation of 'new' material extracted from the original material, thereby effectively removing the need for keeping the original material and for continuing to allow access to material that has been digitised. Such processes are anathema to archive historians who like nothing better than to rummage around in the

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original papers and transcripts and see earlier versions and formats. But as Christensen argued, there exists a basic misunderstanding within the research community about the processes of preservation and access and that they should not be considered in the same way but in fact as two separate functions undertaken by archives.

So issues pertaining to the reasons for preservation, digitisation and access must be taken into account when accessing moving image content. It is not simply enough to explore online collections but also to consider why they have been created and by whom. In this way archive collections on the internet bear striking similarity to offline collections of curated material. In her consideration of historical method and practice Ludmilla Jordanova notes that:

While museums satisfy curiosity about the past, they also shape the forms such curiosity is permitted to take. They transmit ideas about the past through a variety of lenses, of which visitors are unlikely to be fully aware: they convey narratives and values as well as insights and information. (2000: 145)

Of course, the internet is not a museum, but some of the issues Jordanova identifies here are relevant. In a museum, the material and collections are carefully curated and the visitor is taken by the hand and led through the collections so that they get the most from the exhibits. Often a key painting, piece of sculpture, or collection will include information about the artist and subject as well as information about the item itself. In some museums, additional information about the provenance of the item will also be included to provide the visitor with further detail and to enhance and enrich their overall experience. Within online collections, the material will again be presented in a very specific manner and similar choices will have been made relating to what to include in the collection and how to detail about the collection and contributor in the most effective way. Yet these curatorial issues are never straightforward, either in a conventional museum or in an online collection. As Noordegraaf has pointed out, often the choices of what to include in online collections have been made in accordance with criteria not available to the researcher (2010: 7). We simply do not know why the items have been selected for digitisation and inclusion in an online collection and what have been rejected; why has photograph number 14 been included and not any of the surrounding photographs? Is it the best example, is it typical or atypical? Are all the related items missing and is item 14 the only one remaining? These are all valid questions and ones which the user or researcher must bear in mind regardless of whether he or she is confronted with physical paper or broadcast archives or an online database. Issues of omission and absence are crucial in all archive based research. The problem with online research is that it is extremely difficult to see what has been excised from a collection or what was simply not included in the first place.

As shown, issues of access, use and context permeate discussions about using online material. I want to now extrapolate further using the recent EUscreen project as a case study. Like many other projects of its kind, EUscreen is not concerned first and foremost with user engagement or media literacy. However it does serve as an example of how sites which aim to attract and engage general as well as academic users, need to recognise the existence of users who are highly media literate.

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CASE STUDY: EUSCREEN AND EUROPEAN TELEVISION HISTORY

EUscreen is one of a number of projects which offer free audio-visual content to Internet users. This project brings together 20 European television archives to create a searchable database of over 40,000 items to provide the user with a unique and engaging journey through both the history of European television and the history of Europe itself.[1] Like similar projects, the EUscreen database emerges from a consortium of academics, archives and technologists and is funded by an external organisation, in this case, the European Commission as part of the e-Contentplus Programme. As part of this funding the content on EUscreen will also become available through Europeana, the gateway to Europe's vast heritage collections which currently provide access to over 20 million objects from libraries, museums, archives and audiovisual archives.

One of the most important aspects of the EUscreen project was to contextualise the content for users. Detailed metadata accompanies every item to make the collection accessible and usable and this information is provided by those who know the material the best – the archivists themselves. Such information is intended to encourage the user to recognise that the material included is not random but has been carefully selected. This selection process highlights the importance of the archivist who has chosen the material for inclusion. As Luisa Cigognetti has identified, it is these shadowy figures who determine "what is going to be kept, secured and thus remembered in the future" (2001: 36). The more we know about the people and organisation who have contributed the material, the more useful that material then becomes.

EUscreen's focus is television and its valuable content is drawn from countries as diverse as Sweden, Austria, Greece and Ireland and presents food for thought for both the serious researcher and the casual browser. A researcher keen to explore attitudes towards migration within the European Union can access a range of news material which addresses this issue directly but also a range of other programmes including a piece of Belgian musical theatre with immigration as its subject, a heated political debate from Denmark and a thoughtful exploration of the plight of refugees in Sweden. A casual browser keen to find favourite artists or music legends could watch and listen to clips featuring Duke Ellington, Leonard Cohen and Tom Waits as well as performances from Eurovision winners Cliff Richard, Dana and Marie Myriam of France. There are also items which are unabashedly entertaining; animals doing amusing things, circus training from Romania in 1962 which shows parrots and dogs driving a car, footage of Slovenian frogs which change colour in the mating season, as well as a range of still images from popular programmes such as British sitcom *Allo Allo*.

In order to make the collection easy to access and search, all items have been assigned to one of 14 historical topics. The topics are varied and include society and social issues, war and conflict, religion and belief, politics and economics and demonstrate that the site is not simply a resource for European Television scholars, but is also relevant for those interested in economics, politics, history, languages, art and culture. As with all databases,

[1] For an introduction to the project itself see Barber, 2011.

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one of the key issues for users and consequently for the wider project team is how to make the mass of material easily accessible and useful to a range of different users with different needs. One way in which this issue has been addressed is through the detailed metadata schema and the wealth of contextualising information that accompanies every clip. The country of origin, provider, broadcast date, whether the clip is part of a series, when it was made, a brief summary of its contents, what language it is in or if it is mute are all key parts of the metadata schema. Such detailed metadata and careful contextualisation is intended to avoid the 'archival bricolage' of YouTube to create a very different kind of resource and user experience.

One of the biggest draws on the site is the inclusion of material from countries such as the Czech Republic, Poland, Slovenia and Romania, countries which have a history of state-controlled broadcasting and whose archives possess content only recently digitised and being shown to international audiences for the first time on EUscreen. Yet in order for users to fully understand the nuances of the material, it is important to recognise the different cultural and financial imperatives of production and the involvement of the state in production. It is not simply enough to look at Polish television news items and the way issues of healthcare, economics or social progress are discussed. The involvement of the state and the possible lack of autonomy experienced by the broadcaster TVP at key moments must be fully understood, explored and evaluated. And this is not simply the case for broadcast organisations from countries in the former Soviet-bloc. Austrian broadcaster ORF has drawn attention to the fact that despite starting television broadcasts in 1955, it was only in 1964 that the first Austrian referendum freed the broadcaster from political influence by ending the proportional representation of political parties in the company's management.[2]

To all intents and purposes, much of the content presented online by archives offers very specific and clearly identifiably narratives. For example the narratives which Dublin based broadcaster RTE have chosen to present as part of their curated content deal with civil rights and the outbreak of the Troubles in Ireland in the late 1960s. Such narratives tell us a great deal about the material contained within the archive, but also about the preoccupations of both those who curate the material and those who will view it. Meghan Dougherty and Steven Schneider term such web archiving activity as "a merger of stewardship methods and scholarly methods" (2012: 257) and this is precisely what is taking place on EUscreen when archival and academic practice come together.

So how can a user get the most out of the EUscreen material on a specifically defined topic and recognise the different points of view which inform this material? If a student was composing an essay or working on a project on the fall of the Berlin Wall then visual material showing this event would be both relevant and useful. Yet a student keen to explore the event itself would need to be aware of its historical complexities and consult books and journals to further understand it. The student would need to be aware of the importance of oral history and eyewitness testimony, as well as understanding the crucial

[2] ORF piece on *Critical Studies in Television: Scholarly Studies in Small Screen Fictions* online at http://www.cstonline.tv/category/featured-archives from June 2012 (03.08.2012).

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role played by television in relaying this event around the world, and its subsequent status as a significant and meaningful *televised* historical occurrence.

A quick search among a conventional university library catalogue throws up some key sources but also underlines some key approaches including Marxist readings and accounts which contextualise the event and link the fall of the Berlin Wall to the Cold War, communism and the intervention of powerful states like the USA. Any account of the fall of the Berlin wall would need to avoid a straightforward narrative and recognise a plethora of sources and material which evaluate and explore the collapse of the wall as a political, social and cultural event. There is much more detail offered in this range of written sources than can be contained within a brief clip. Yet, the visual also has an important part to play. As a significant event of the 20th Century, television footage of the fall of the Berlin Wall can be found through the most basic internet search. The television footage with its images of jubilant celebration not only captured and communicated the temporal excitement and historical significance of this particular event and flashed it around the world but the event became effective shorthand for the fall of communism and the break-up of the USSR. The fact that it was all captured on television is crucial and subsequent programmes have frequently drawn attention to the televised nature of the event as well as to the event itself.

A student who studied a clip of the event would need to ask some basic questions; why is the event being filmed, who is doing the filming, for what purpose, which organisation, who is it being relayed to, is it live, or is it being commented upon retrospectively? All of this information is relevant and can lead to a further exploration of the moving image content, but is it readily available and can it be trusted? A search for material on "Berlin Wall" on EUscreen offers 60 different items contributed by providers from Belgium, Slovenia, Denmark, the Czech Republic, Britain, Sweden, and the Netherlands as well as Germany, all of which offer a variety of different viewpoints and perspectives. The BBC footage and that provided by Dutch broadcaster Sound and Vision is from the 1960s and focuses on tensions in Berlin and the building of the wall while the Belgian clips feature reporting of the collapse of the wall itself as well as interviews with eye-witnesses. The contemporaneous German material provided by Deutsche Welle is moving and poignant, filled with scenes of celebration and joy, and with a number of retrospective programmes made in subsequent months and years focus on the implications for Germany and looking back on the years of division. The Czech television material is a programme about escapes from East Berlin which, although it draws heavily on older footage, was only broadcast in 2002 and so has a very different intended audience and a very different broadcast purpose from contemporaneous programmes.

This material can help contribute to an understanding of the event itself but it is crucial to recognise that all of the television items shed light on the variety of national perspectives, the involvement of a range of broadcasters and the different audiences being targeted. All of this could be usefully incorporated into an essay drawing on techniques of visual or textual analysis as well as historical critique which explores the variety of the material and the range of different motivations at work within the programmes. The detailed metadata, which is such a fundamental part of EUscreen, and

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inclusion of information such as broadcast date and country of production are essential in helping to explore this significant event through television. Yet the material on EUscreen has not only been contextualised for the users: parts of the site features material which has been specifically curated.

CURATING THE MATERIAL

The EUscreen project enables the researcher to discover a great deal more than simply what exists within the database and the historical collections. Using specially designed tools and drawing on information provided by design workshops and user testing, the project team has developed a set of exhibition tools. Using these tools, each project contributor will curate a selection of their own items into a series of virtual exhibitions to draw attention to key material and to provide further detail and context. These topics range from Sound and Vision's exhibitions on architecture, an introduction to the Catalan language provided by Televisio de Catalunya, French Television history showcased through the extensive Ina collection and a voyage through Hungarian music and dance curated by NAVA.

It is anticipated that these exhibition tools will soon be made available for users of the portal to curate their own exhibitions and playlists, thus providing an improved level of user engagement. These tools are a means for site users to "capture, conserve and interface" with archival objects, a process which Dougherty and Schneider deem to be crucial and one which further engages a broader range of users (2012: 255).

In addition to these independently curated exhibitions which can now be found on the portal, two larger, expertly curated exhibitions have also been added to the site focusing on the selected topics of European Television History and Being European. Both of these exhibitions utilise content from all the different content providers to encourage users to look beyond individual collections and to experience the diversity of the material on the site. These two comparative exhibitions recognise points of similarity and difference while simultaneously offering the user a curated voyage through the EUscreen collection. Expert curation is combined with moving image clips, digitised documents, audio recordings and still images to offer a multi-layered user experience and also to serve as an example of what the site can offer to the teacher and the researcher.[3]

As the curator of Being European, it has been my job to view content assigned to this particular topic and to construct an engaging narrative for site users. This has been a far from straightforward process but has allowed me to become familiar with a great deal of content on the portal and to explore the ways in which this content could be presented. Perhaps the most fascinating part of this process has been the range of issues which has emerged from the content. For example there is a great deal of material in this particular topic which focuses on the European economy, but the footage is far from uniform and includes far more than mere reactions to the Euro. Instead programmes draw attention to

[3] For further information on the CVE development process see Barber, 2012.

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the ways in which different national broadcasters address issues of economics and finance and make them accessible to television audiences. Many programmes look beyond their own borders to focus on the economic position of their European neighbours, such as Televisio de Catalunya's report on Italy's industrial boom in the 1980s and a series of programmes from different broadcasters including the BBC which draw attention to the high standards of living and strong domestic economy of Sweden.

Creating this exhibition has also highlighted brand new areas of interest, for example the focus on children, with programmes aimed at children to help them understand the EU, including an introduction to the Euro carefully explained to Slovenian children in a quiz show format, or a young Swedish reporter going to Germany to report on the recent fall of the Berlin Wall. There are also programmes about children, such as a 1970s report about problem children being rehabilitated in Sweden from Irish broadcaster RTE, the success of the children's chess championships in Romania, and the risks of drugs for teenagers as reported by ORF.

All of this material and additional context is offered on the site itself and the exhibitions provide a way for users to explore a range of material which has been expertly curated. The process of creating exhibitions also called attention to limitations in my own media literacy. I had to learn how to use the specifically created tools and how to make the exhibition engaging, appealing and interactive with links to external sites, maps and further information for the user. Throughout this process I also had to undertake further research into significant European events and to contact the providers of the content to ask for clarification on particular issues. As the process of curating these exhibitions developed, it became apparent that despite our best efforts, the portal was not providing enough information on the history of the broadcasters themselves and that more information from the partner archives was needed.

BEYOND THE PORTAL

In order to address this absence on the site, some of the archives and broadcasters have provided further information on their organisations, offering fascinating insights into their own institutional histories. A series of articles profiling these organisations can be found in the online journal *Critical Studies in Television* which focuses each month on a different EUscreen archive and the treasures held within their vaults.[4] In addition to giving broadcasters an opportunity to present the best of their archive collections to media and television scholars, these articles not only highlight their own digitisation and preservation initiatives, they also illustrate the relationships between these broadcast organisations and larger historical events.

For example Czech Television recounts how during the Velvet Revolution, the radio continued to broadcast from the roof of the building to provide a rallying cry across the airwaves. Belgian broadcaster VRT revealed that a policy of retaining broadcast

[4] View this series of articles on *Critical Studies in Television: Scholarly Studies in Small Screen Fictions* at http://www.cstonline.tv/category/featured-archives (11.11.2012).

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programmes was established only after the sinking of the *Herald of Free Enterprise* ferry. VRT's news rushes were used in the subsequent investigation into the disaster thus proving the usefulness of archive content. Before this event, each department was responsible for keeping its own content, with no formal policy within the organisation. The National Library of Sweden reveals how Swedish law on the retention of all written (and later visual) content which was originally intended as a form of state censorship now ensures the preservation of the Sweden's literary and cultural heritage. The French Ina (*Institut national audiovisuel*) documents the complex history of French broadcasting and its deregulation in the 1980s which led to a plethora of privately owned channels in competition with the public service broadcaster, while Dutch archive Sound and Vision reveals how it is responsible for holding and digitising 90,000 hours of video, 22,000 hours of film, 98,000 hours of audio material and over 2.5 million pictures.

This series of articles reveals the complex relationship between broader social events, governments, broadcasters and their programmes, audiences *and* the medium of television. It also shows that understanding as much as possible about the material and reception of the material leads to increased understanding of the material.

CONCLUSION

Despite the increasing focus on user engagement, the key to media literacy is still understanding. There are strong imperatives for improving media literacy and encouraging general users as well as students and researchers to effectively engage with what they find online rather than simply using it unquestioningly. In this way, engagement and understanding should perhaps be seen as sharing an objective. But unlike many other online sites, EUscreen's purpose is not to act as a social media space or to encourage users to add their own content but rather to offer a range of content relating to European Television and its history. Instead the creation of the EUscreen archive is motivated by both access and enrichment. It has been created for a specific purpose – to provide access to a range of rare television content – but like many other digital archives - it may come to be used for a range of "additional, possibly unforeseen purposes" (Dougherty and Schneider, 2012: 259).

One of the prime motivations behind EUscreen is the concept of "digitising to make available". Perhaps in the follow up project, EUscreen XL which will be launched in March 2013, users will be encouraged to add their own content, to tag media items, to download and re-use, to create mash-ups using the video content, to link to other sites and to add comments to the material. In an increasingly globalised and mediatised world, this kind of activity has become commonplace and as Burgess and Green note, "the near ubiquity of digital technologies means creative practice is necessary for both critical awareness and informed participation in the media" (2009: 71).

Yet such activity raises huge questions about moderation of material, about copyright and ownership and about creative re-use. If all of these things were to be permitted without restriction then the central objective of the EUscreen project – to provide carefully

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contextualised material with detailed metadata – could be undermined. Certainly the site itself would provide a very different user experience to the one presently offered.

Despite the contributions made by EUscreen and similar projects, a great deal remains to be done to encourage users to fully engage with and effectively understand online content. It is not enough to foreground the availability of resources for specific user groups: accompanying work needs to be undertaken to help users get the most out of these resources and to study their use of sites like EUscreen and the European Film Gateway. Only with increased understanding of user practices and behaviour can we begin to measure their own levels of media literacy and their understanding of the material they find and use online.

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NEDOVOLJNO PRIDAVANJE VAŽNOSTI AUDIO-VIZUALNOM SADRŽAJU NA INTERNETU: EUROPSKA INICIJATIVA, MEDIJSKA PISMENOST I KORISNIK

Sian Barber

SAŽETAK *Nedavne rasprave o medijskoj pismenosti i internetu istaknule su važnost aktivnog uključivanja korisnika i interakcije. Više nije dovoljno samo pristupiti sadržaju na internetu, već je potrebno komentirati sadržaj te ga ponovno upotrijebiti. Ipak, postavlja se sljedeće pitanje: kako se ta nova očekivanja od korisnika uklapaju u digitalne inicijative koje povećavaju pristup audio-vizualnom sadržaju s obzirom na to da su digitalne inicijative kao prioritete postavile očuvanje arhiva i mogućnost pristupa* online *arhivama te istraživanje arhiva prije nego li aktivno uključivanje korisnika? Ovaj rad proučava teme koje se tiču medijske pismenosti u odnosu na audio-vizualni sadržaj. Razmatra se kako se tim temama danas pristupa te se pritom fokusira na eksponiranu europsku inicijativu EUscreen. EUscreen okuplja arhive 20 europskih televizija u jednu bazu podataka putem koje se može pretraživati preko 40.000 digitalnih stavki. Ipak, ograničenja u kreativnom korištenju sadržaja i autorska prava sprečavaju korisnike da ponovno koriste sadržaj koji nađu na internetskoj stranici. Umjesto toga EUscreen nudi pristup i detaljnu kontekstualizaciju svojih kolekcija sadržaja. No ako u* online *okruženju potreba za sredstvima počiva na uključivanju korisnika, a ne više samo na pristupu sadržaju, što zapravo EUscreen i slične internetske stranice nude različitim korisnicima?*

KLJUČNE RIJEČI

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MEDIA LITERACY AND DEVELOPMENTAL TASKS: A CASE STUDY IN GERMANY

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ABSTRACT *This article presents a skill-based media literacy model which can help to explain digital inequalities. The model integrates the everyday life of children and their developmental tasks. Under this concept, users are media literate if they are able to fulfil their developmental tasks successfully by using the media and to reflect upon the consequences and risks of their media use. In 2011, 82 German boys and girls were interviewed to gain a better understanding of the connections between internet use, media literacy and digital inequalities.*

KEY WORDS

MEDIA LITERACY, DEVELOPMENTAL TASKS, INTERNET, DIGITAL INEQUALITIES, QUALITATIVE APPROACH

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INTRODUCTION

Media literacy has become a buzzword today, especially in media regulation where educating media literacy aims to ensure child protection in an increasingly complex online environment. However, the concept itself is still "a patchwork of ideas" (Potter, 2010: 676) and, with regard to its aim, has very different implications. While some researchers still focus on the negative effects of media use (ibid.: 681), others stress the empowerment function of media literacy (Hobbs, 2011: 422). Media literacy is not only a way to *prevent* risks, but rather an opportunity to *enable* children and youths to use the various possibilities the internet offers. Hence, it can be seen as a chance both to understand and to overcome digital inequalities. The concept of digital inequalities assumes that different patterns of internet use influence the life chances of a user (Zillien and Hargittai, 2009). The more media literate a young user is, the more he or she can benefit from using the web – also in terms of solving youth-specific problems and fulfilling various needs.

Therefore we suggest placing the concept of media literacy in a broader theoretical frame: the everyday life of children and their developmental tasks. The internet has become an essential part of the younger generation's everyday life. They frequently go online, communicating with their friends, listening to music, watching videos on *YouTube,* or doing school work (Feierabend and Rathgeb, 2011: 304; Livingstone et al., 2010: 13). They work on their identity online, form and foster social relations with their peers, and have a space to themselves (Pfaff-Rüdiger and Meyen, 2009; Paus-Hasebrink, 2010a). Hence, they fulfil their developmental tasks (Havighurst, 1956). This is in line with our concept that users are media literate if they are able to fulfil their developmental tasks successfully by using the media and to reflect upon the consequences and risks of their media use (Schmidt, Lampert and Schwinge, 2010: 267). This approach allows us to integrate different online practices into a single concept of media literacy, instead of developing a separate concept for each (Friemel and Signer, 2010; Koltay, 2011). The aim of our paper is to demonstrate the theoretical potential of a skill-based media literacy model that can help to explain digital inequalities. In 2011, we conducted 82 interviews with German boys and girls between the ages of 9 and 19 from different social backgrounds to gain a better understanding of the connections between internet use, media literacy and digital inequalities.

MEDIA LITERACY

Media literacy plays a vital role in children's use of the internet. Although the time spent online does not necessarily coincide with diversity of activities (as shown by the example of excessive gamers – see Livingstone, Hasebrink and Görzig, 2012: 329), nevertheless the more children go online, the more online applications they are able to use (Livingstone et al., 2010: 30). Hence, media literacy is a way to benefit from the internet and close the gap between online opportunities and actual online practices (Sutter, 2010: 41). At the same time, media literacy has recently gained importance in terms of explaining digital inequalities (Paulussen et al., 2010: 362). Unequal distribution of media literacy skills therefore can lead to unequal opportunities – both on- and offline.

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Conceptualizing media literacy primarily as a response to negative effects certainly falls short of the mark and ignores the central dimension of empowerment (Hobbs, 2011: 419). Instead, media literacy has both a micro and a macro perspective. It aims to support the user's self-determination and emancipation and also help the user participate actively in society as an enlightened citizen (Süss, Lampert and Wijnen, 2010: 107-108).

The most well-known and widely adopted definition of media literacy, dating from a decade ago, distinguishes four media practices: to access, analyse, evaluate and create media messages (Livingstone and Helsper, 2010: 311; very similar in Baacke, 1999). *Access* integrates both the technological opportunities and skills to go online and the social situations of doing so (Livingstone, 2004: 6). With *analysis*, the definition focuses on knowledge about media structures, audiences or representations (ibid.). *Evaluation* stresses the critical abilities to comprehend this knowledge and to relate it to one's own practices, or as the OFCOM describes it, to "understand the material, and to have an opinion about it" (Rumble, 2011: 11). The new media support the importance of the fourth dimension: Media literate users should have the skills both to (technologically) create content and to share it with their networked communities (Livingstone, 2004: 7-8). The definition clearly focuses on literacy as *social practices*. Following this definition, the EU Children Online survey asked children, for example, about changing privacy settings on a social networking profile or comparing different websites to decide if the information is true (Livingstone et al., 2010: 31). However, it makes a difference whether users know about a practice or risk and act accordingly, if they are aware yet ignore it, or even if do not know it at all. Therefore, we suggest distinguishing between knowledge and practice (Friemel and Signer, 2010: 151; Paulussen et al., 2010: 362).

For a long time, media literacy has concentrated on cognitive or evaluative skills (Koltay, 2011: 211). However, current social online practices like online gaming or cyber bullying indicate that emotional and social skills are often involved as well. The German media literacy research tradition, coming from a literary studies perspective, extends beyond the cognitive frame by integrating technological, social, motivational, emotional, evaluative and creative skills (Rosebrock and Zitzelsperger, 2002: 157-158). This research tradition stresses the *results* of a positive educational process, in order to know what users have to learn to actively benefit from their media use. Social skills, for example, include the ability to interact with others and to communicate about media content (Groeben, 2002: 178), a point recently integrated in the EU media literacy definition (Ding, 2011: 6). Motivational skills focus on what to expect from different media and on developing the right strategies to use the media according to one's own needs (Groeben, 2002: 171-175). Evaluative skills refer to the awareness of mediality, among other things, whereas enjoying media content, for instance, is part of the users' emotional skills (ibid.: 166-171).

In the future, a concept of media literacy should

>combine both *process* (social practices) and *results* (constitutive skills) of media literacy, since skills foster further media use (Sutter, 2010: 42) and media use influences skills (Livingstone, 2008: 105),

>be aware of the distinction between knowing and acting and

>integrate emotional, social and motivational skills.

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In the context of media literacy, a procedural perspective also includes environmental factors, as literacy is commonly developed in social situations (Sutter, 2010: 45). In the next chapter, we describe how self-determination theory and developmental tasks nourish media literacy.

A SKILL-BASED MODEL OF MEDIA LITERACY

Instead of taking the self-efficacy approach (Hargittai, 2005) and relying on self-disclosure of literacy, we suggest using self-determination theory and developmental tasks (Havighurst, 1956) so as to more closely examine the process of gaining media literacy. Moreover, self-determination theory clearly has a growth perspective: How can children benefit from their actions? Examining the everyday lives of children means integrating developmental tasks and asking *how* people gain experiences and become more competent (Paus-Hasebrink, 2010b: 197). Furthermore, by theoretically attaching media literacy to a broader context of needs and developmental tasks, we are able to recognize what influences media literacy.

In self-determination theory, basic needs are the "central organizing concept" (La Guardia and Patrick, 2008: 202), they are "essential and universal" (Ryan and Deci, 2000: 328). Edward L. Deci and Richard M. Ryan (2000) empirically identified three basic needs necessary for growth and well-being: *autonomy*, *relatedness* and *competence*. These needs guide every action, including media use, and the pursuit of these needs influences the development of children (ibid.: 327). These three needs often go hand-in-hand, and lead to psychological well-being if they are fulfilled. Developmental tasks can be derived from these needs as well. *Autonomy* means both the wish to become more independent (for example from parents), and the extent to which children can concur with the forces that influence their behaviour (ibid.: 330). Young people have to find a way to integrate the external forces into their own actions, an important condition for developing a coherent sense of self and for achieving emotional independence from parents and other adults (Subrahmanyam and Šmahel, 2011: 28).

Competence emphasizes the 'challenges' children have to confront while acting (La Guardia and Patrick, 2008: 202) and the gratifications they gain if they master these challenges. In their adolescence, young people have to learn the norms and values necessary for acting in society, involving moral considerations (Subrahmanyam and Šmahel, 2011: 29) and the need to reflect upon the world. *Relatedness* refers to "the desire to feel connected to others, to love and care, and to be loved and cared for" (Deci and Ryan, 2000: 231). Adolescents have to build relationships with their peers of both sexes (Subrahmanyam and Šmahel, 2011: 32), a need that becomes increasingly important as they get older.

Following the self-determination theory, a person is media literate if they are able to fulfil their needs successfully by using the media. Which skills are necessary depends on the basic needs and the everyday life of the user. The different media literacy skills can

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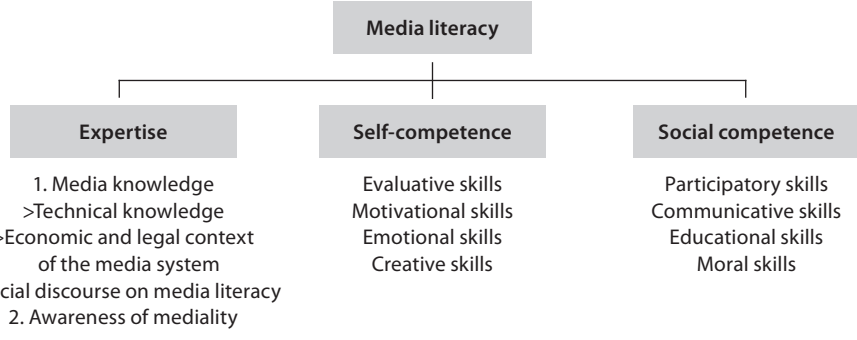
be (re)grouped by relating them to the corresponding needs[1]. Integrating the previously cited concepts of Livingstone (2004) and Groeben (2002), we suggest the following model that differentiates between three dimensions of media literacy (see Figure 1).



Source: Compiled by authors (following Dewe and Sander, 1996; Groeben, 2002 and Livingstone, 2004).

▲ *Figure 1.*
Expertise, Self-competence and Social competence:
A skill-based model of media literacy

Expertise focuses on the *need for competence*, including knowledge of technical, economic or legal contexts regarding the media system, media effects, the social discourse on risks and harms and an awareness of mediality. Technological skills mean mastering both hardware and software (Livingstone, 2008: 202) in order to find one's way in the online world. It indicates a clear sense of mastery: whether young users know (technologically) how to create an avatar or install software on their own (cf. analysis in the Livingstone model). Media knowledge, including technological, legal or social discourses, is a precondition for being able to benefit from the internet while avoiding risks. Following Norbert Groeben (2002), we include awareness of mediality as a skill to ensure expertise. Even if the major part of the younger generation's everyday life takes place in the online environment and the frontiers between online and offline blur, the question remains, if (young) users (still) know that online actions or offline actions can have different consequences. Young users especially, who define themselves by their competence, will try to achieve expertise.

Self-competence, on the other hand, concentrates on the *need for autonomy* (and identity). It covers evaluative, motivational, emotional and creative skills. Are users able to reflect on the benefits and risks of their usage? Are they aware of the consequences of their actions online? Are they able to relate online experiences to their previous, real-world experiences? Even if emotional and social skills have become more important, *evaluative* skills remain a key factor when it comes to benefiting from the internet. *Motivational* skills are concerned with whether users are able to fulfil their needs and are therefore also able to manage their identity by using the internet. *Emotional skills* include both mood

[1] On the issue of adult education, see Dewe and Sander, 1996.

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management itself and the ability to deal with emotional online experiences. *Creative skills* refer to the abilities to create a homepage or a profile on a Social Network Site (SNS), i.e. being an active internet user. Users, who strive for a coherent self, will especially require skills in self-competence.

Social competence is based on the *need for relatedness*, and involves participatory, communicative, educational and moral skills. With the new online practices, social skills are becoming more and more important as they often hold consequences for other social relations as well (Sutter, 2010: 47), and do not just concern access (Livingstone, 2004). Here, we distinguish *participatory skills* (how to *act* with others online, how to treat others online) from *communicative skills* (how to *talk about* online content). Talking about content helps in dealing with it: Do children know how to talk about their experiences online? To whom can they talk about it? As for *educational skills*, users show a greater level of mastery if they can show others how to use the internet. Developing or integrating social norms in one's own behaviour is a crucial developmental task in adolescence, but do adolescents actually know what is right and what is wrong in their own internet behaviour?

Most of these skills are not isolated but work together: For instance, moral skills require evaluative skills, and creative skills require technological ones. However, as the results of our study will show, differentiating them gives a clearer insight into what is actually missing in the younger generation's media literacy.

METHOD

Qualitative methods are superior to standardized quantitative methods when investigating media literacy in the everyday lives of users because of the qualitative focus on "the context, the setting and the subjects' frame of reference" (Marshall and Rossman, 1989: 46). Using these methods, respondents are able to speak freely about their everyday life, their needs, and their usage patterns. Although in-depth interviews cannot deliver representative results nor measure how common literacy is in the population, they can at least reveal and explain typical patterns. Theoretical sampling was used to select the participants in order to enable generalizations. Internet usage among German youth and the experience of opportunities and risks online still vary according to gender, age and education (Feierabend and Rathgeb, 2011; similar assumption in Livingstone et al., 2010: 19).

Since comparative studies like PISA and IGLU show that educational opportunities are (still) connected to social background and socioeconomic status (Nold, 2010: 138-139), we have conceived educational levels to be an indicator of social status. Hence, the quota sample of 82 young internet users was selected according to the following three criteria:

>Gender: 38 girls and 44 boys;
>Age: 13 persons younger than 12, 18 younger than 14, 24 persons between 14 and 16 years of age, 20 persons between 16 and 18, and 8 persons older than 18 years;

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>Education: 13 persons still in elementary school, 37 pupils at grammar school (*Gymnasium*) or with A-levels (*Abitur*), 32 at General Secondary School (*Hauptschule*) or after it.

The topics in the interview guideline referred to theoretical assumptions and concentrated on internet usage (patterns of use, motives), media literacy, and everyday life as a contextual factor. We conducted the interviews in 2010 und 2011. Most took place at the respondent's home or at school and lasted about 60 minutes. The interviews were recorded on tape and then transcribed into written form.

To analyse the data, we follow a theory-driven approach, which differs from classic grounded theory or hermeneutics. By means of theoretical coding, we used our theoretical concept (a combination of self-determination theory and media literacy) to interpret the qualitative data (Creswell, 2007). We developed a portrait of each person, analysing their different skills and contextualizing them by reference to their everyday lives. The following chapters describe the different skills of German youth, beginning with the internet in the daily life of our interviewees and their social online practices. The findings help understand the connection between developmental tasks, media literacy and digital inequalities.

INTERNET IN EVERYDAY LIFE

Internet has come to constitute an essential part of children's' everyday life. Teenagers especially are 'always on', ready to chat or to comment on friends' posts. Parallel use is also very common – the youngsters listen to music on *YouTube* while chatting with friends on *Facebook*. Typical web 2.0 sites like *YouTube*, *Facebook* and *Wikipedia* are the most frequently used applications (Livingstone et al. 2010: 37, Feierabend and Rathgeb, 2011). While *YouTube* offers free videos and music, *Facebook* is used to meet the need for relatedness. Furthermore search engines (e.g. *Google*) and online encyclopaedias like *Wikipedia* are an important part of youngsters' internet use as they are popular resources for research and school projects. Contrary to social expectations, content creation is of no importance among our interviewees. Except for creating profiles on SNS, the majority do not contribute their own content, but rather remain passive. Hence, the current usage of the web (e.g. for their need of autonomy and identity) is far from its full potential.

The extensive use of the internet may be partly explained by the wide range of technical equipment: Even the young(est) users own PCs or laptops, smartphones, iPods and game consoles and can access them in their own rooms mostly unrestricted. Most parents generally do not limit their children's internet use (e.g. block applications with security software), and only regulate it in terms of *time*. Thus, the internet can be described as a free space in the otherwise well-protected parental home – a possibility to act in private and relatively independently and to use it to fulfil their need for autonomy and emotional independence. Although family mediates the first (mostly very early) contact with the internet, parents are generally the last point of contact for problems and questions. Being digital natives, children often exceed their mothers and fathers in terms of expertise.

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The role of the school in mediating media literacy is also marginal – in general the curriculum only includes technical skills like typewriting and handling of Microsoft Word. Hence, for the most part, the youngsters have to face problems on their own.

EXPERTISE

Technical media knowledge

Usage determines knowledge: Without exception, all our interviewees know a lot about the applications they use regularly. However, a closer look reveals that most of them are lacking background knowledge (e.g. about hardware and technical details). Thus, if something does not work, the young people follow a trial-and-error approach, usually rebooting their PCs. If they are unable to solve the problem, they ask siblings or friends for help. Interestingly, they learn quickly and instantly what might have caused the error when it occurs again. Teenage girl Faranaz (14), for example, knows that a broken fan can cause problems: "That happens frequently. The computer gets too hot and shuts down."

The few youngsters that create their own content, generally older boys, almost inevitably have more technical media knowledge. These interviewees are more likely to conduct online searches in order to solve their problems (e.g. in specific online forums), score higher in interactive skills, and usually have no problems utilizing their knowledge to assist family and friends. Manuel (14), for example, recently uploaded software tutorials onto *YouTube,* so that "others can understand it more easily". At the same time, he demonstrates his own expertise and therefore fulfils his need for *competence*: Gratification is not only gained by solving the problem on his own but also by sharing his knowledge with the web community.

Knowledge about the legal and economic context

Boys and girls do not give much thought to media structures. They use everything the internet offers them, but – once again – lack further knowledge and/or have no interest in understanding broader contexts. With few exceptions, they know nothing about media owners, financing models or the general operating mode of the internet. The younger the interviewees are, the less they know – furthermore, this knowledge is rather unspecific: "Some people lie on the internet" says for example Laura (9).

The assessment of *Wikipedia* is a good example for this. Despite knowing that everyone can publish and edit entries for the encyclopaedia, most of the older interviewees use it and have no idea why teachers forbid it, nor how exactly it works. Although some of the interviewees even received bad marks for presentations based on *Wikipedia* entries, they do not change their behaviour, but simply resolve to be more careful next time.

Another example: illegal downloads. Whereas some are simply not able to detect legal gray areas (like torrent sites or converter software for *YouTube*), others are perfectly aware of their wrongdoing. For example, Natalia (17) reacts with disbelief to the question

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as to whether she pays for music online: "No, do you actually do this? Why should I pay for something that I can get for free?" The consequences are widely unknown or ignored. Only a small number of interviewees feel uncertain and are afraid of getting caught. A friend of Manuel, for example, (14) had to pay "[…] 500 euro all because of an audio book! So I don't do this stuff, it's too risky." Since knowledge of media structures is not of high standing among their peers, the youngsters cannot use it to fulfil their need for competence and thus widely ignore it.

Social discourse about risks and norms

The young users appear to have certain knowledge of internet risks. Almost everyone knows about the dangers of cyber bullying, data abuse, or the ease of changing identities. They pay attention to the media discourse on the (assumed) connection between online gaming and rampages (e.g. school shootings), internet addiction, and employers' interest in SNS profiles. Knowledge about social discourse certainly exists, but, again, it is rather general. Often, the boys and girls only replicate arguments they picked up somewhere, in the family, school or media.

Many interviewees dissociate themselves from the public discourse, since their own experiences vary. But then again, the difference between knowledge and social practice is quite evident. For example, although they are aware of the discourse about data security, they do not adapt it to their own privacy settings on SNS. As Angelina (13) says, "We're not 5 years old anymore. We know the online risks – but without any risks it would be boring." Thus, overall, it can be stated that knowledge alone is not enough in terms of media literacy, since youngsters either ignore knowledge in order to fulfil their need for relatedness and social acceptance, or their knowledge is limited to what they need in their daily practices.

Awareness of mediality

As already stated, our interviewees consider the internet to be an additional space to their social practice, and thus as an extension of their private lives. In this space, they are able to move mostly without restriction and fulfil various needs. Contrary to the public discourse, the web is not seen as some kind of illusory world – rather, it offers the possibility to extend various schoolyard activities, like talking, playing and socializing, easier than ever before. Most of the interviewees only interact in closed networks with their existing friends and are very cautious in dealing with strangers – 14-year old girl Faranaz states: "I instantly deny friend requests from people I don't know! I only talk to my friends."

Thus, the problem is not that children are losing touch with reality, but rather that they often do not see that their online actions have implications, too. Awareness of mediality is therefore strongly linked to *evaluative* and *moral* skills. A person who lacks the ability to see the connection between virtual and non-virtual space is less likely to consider their behaviour sufficiently and thus more likely to hurt others with overhasty comments (see below). Hence, many youngsters still have to acquire the competency to act with others in a socially responsible way.

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SELF-COMPETENCE

Evaluative skills

As mentioned before, there is a big difference between knowing the risks and acting accordingly. Not everybody is capable of transferring knowledge to their actions (or willing to do so) – and it is striking that this is not a question of understanding. The children and teens who use SNS are perfectly aware of the fact that they reveal a lot about themselves online. Zoe (14) compares this to the behaviour of adult smokers: "They know it's totally harmful and they also know the consequences – but they're doing it anyway." In this case, the need for relatedness and peer acceptance seems to be of more importance than potential dangers. When asked about advice for new SNS-users the interviewees claim unanimously: "Don't give away too much about yourself!" But in contrast, only few can tell for certain which privacy settings they have chosen for their profiles or how many friends they have. While some of the interviewees continuously take time to reflect on their actions online, critical scrutiny is rather uncommon overall. Because of their lack of experience younger children, especially, have problems evaluating web applications thoroughly.

Motivational skills

All of the boys and girls interviewed are very goal-oriented and able to find what they need online (see chapter *Internet in Everyday Life*). Nevertheless, the actual usage of the web is far from its full potential: Surprisingly, although most of the interviewees have diverse hobbies, e.g. sports, music, pets and animals, they only rarely use the internet to improve their capabilities or gain further knowledge by interacting with like-minded people. It seems that solidarity and safety in the peer-group are more important than individual identity work online, in other words than fulfilling their needs for competence or autonomy. Especially for teenagers the desire to feel connected is much stronger than the desire to work on their personal strengths and capabilities. The high priority of SNS can be seen as an indicator for this.

Emotional skills

Not surprisingly, the internet is used as a kind of mood management tool by most of the participants. 19-year old Benedikt states quite frankly: "When I feel bad, I go online." When they watch funny clips, interact with friends on *Facebook* or play games, everyday frustrations seem easier to forget. But then again, the internet also confronts young users with situations that are hard to deal with: Shocking videos on *YouTube*, not getting comments on *Facebook*-posts of personal importance or even worse – mocking and bullying via SNS.

It is striking that boys and girls have almost no processing strategies and thus are often exposed to emotions that they cannot deal with properly. As stated before, juvenile internet use is generally a private, individual activity. While this separation might be helpful in the progression of motivational skills and coping with developmental tasks, it becomes a problem in the case of emotionally charged issues. Considering that almost

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every interviewee, especially the older ones, has been confronted with disturbing situations online, the lack of adequate processing strategies is an urgent matter.

Creative skills

Creative usage of the internet occurs only rarely among the interviewed youngsters. While most of the interviewees find it too tedious and time-consuming, some admit that they lack the required knowledge, or worry about negative reactions. The example of Melanie (16) shows that criticism online can be very discouraging – especially in teenage years: After receiving critical comments about a poem she posted in a forum, she never tried uploading her own content again. The opportunity to fulfil her need for competence *online* became irrelevant after this bad experience. Then again, some of the (few) active juveniles specifically seek feedback online: "On *YouTube* you can see the ratings and comments – and I quite like that! So you can see how talented other people think you are at sports" says Jonas (12). Due to the positive reactions he received, the internet was an important means for him to gain gratifications and experience competence. It is noticeable that it was primarily the male interviewees who became active on the internet while the female ones tended to remain passive.

SOCIAL COMPETENCE

Participatory skills

Without a doubt, social networking is the most popular online activity among the interviewed youngsters. To fulfil their need for relatedness youngsters use a variety of applications like *Facebook* groups and wall feeds, private messages or chats. Overall, it can be said that all of the interviewed youth were able to participate in online interactions, but sometimes still lacked the ability to sufficiently think about the effects of their behaviour. Permanent availability, and thus the pressure to react, may be one of the reasons for insufficient evaluative and participatory skills, since there is simply not enough time to reflect on one's actions. Apart from that, online communication offers the young users many advantages. While it is sometimes difficult for teenage boys and girls to show their affection in school, it is much easier in a private chat: "The boys don't talk to us in the schoolyard – but on MSN, without their friends, they do" (Rebecca, 14). The developmental tasks of teenagers, especially the ones related to building relationships with peers of the opposite sex, therefore seem easier to achieve online.

Communicative skills

Only few of the interviewees regularly exchange online experiences and talk with others about problems and worries caused by the internet. As already stated, parents are generally the last point of contact: Not only because young people are afraid of punishment, but also because many parents are not familiar with applications used by their children and – more importantly – unable to see the personal relevance of these applications for the daily life of their children. Furthermore, talking to parents to some extent conflicts with the wish to become more independent and experience autonomy.

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Similar problems may be observed in a school context. Although the youngsters give accounts of teachers initiating debates about bullying and internet risks, the sustainability of such interventions remains questionable: "At some point it is just annoying" says, for instance, Erik (12). Instead, the juveniles are most likely to talk to their (older) siblings, who seem to understand them and their worries best.

It is astonishing that the young users talk online all the time and about almost everything – but do not go there to handle their emotions or find solace. Although this generally applies to all the interviewees, girls are a bit more likely to open up to others.

Educational skills

Helping family and friends to solve technical, moral or other problems requires certain knowledge of the particular subject. This may sound trivial, but it is a necessary precondition for the development and stabilization of educational skills. Thus, not surprisingly, the youngsters who know much about technical aspects in particular are the ones who support others effectively. Vice versa, those with a limited skill repertoire are usually not in a position to educate – rather, they need help themselves. It is predominantly the male interviewees who score higher in educational skills – a circumstance that is also confirmed by many of the girls interviewed: "I know what I have to do, but people rarely ask me for advice – that is rather a task for the boys" (Zoe, 14). Educational skills are strongly linked to the general need for *competence*: Youngsters who have a marked interest in experiencing competency are especially keen to share their knowledge with others.

Moral skills

It is striking that most of the youngsters do not have a guilty conscience about their immoral or even illegal actions online. Bullying is a very present issue among the interviewed teenagers – either because they were (more or less) involved in or affected by harassment, or because they had heard about such cases from friends. While some of the interviewees generally disapprove of this behaviour, many seem to try to justify it, like Philipp (12): "The teachers always blame us, but there is a reason why we mock him. He is actually kind of nice, but then again he is kind of an asshole and that is pretty annoying." Due to the growing use of SNS, mobbing is not only easier to *extend* beyond schoolyard boundaries to include leisure time and the private sphere, but also more visible – for the victim as well as for the spectators.

Furthermore, the bullies commonly have fewer inhibitions online, since the threshold is lower due to text-based communication and the possibility for anonymity. Contrary to common expectations, adolescents with better education, and/or from families with higher-status occupations, do not behave better or show more compassion for others. Rather, relevant factors influencing moral skills seem to be self-assurance, empathy and fundamental ethical principles. Hence, the internet does not support the developmental task of learning about social and moral norms and integrating them into one's own behaviour, since the young people act in SNS without having someone who can actually show them how to do it, e.g. parents. Therefore, moral skills seem to be all the more important.

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CONCLUSION

The concept of media literacy in an online environment must integrate everyday needs of youngsters, their developmental tasks and their patterns of internet use in order to understand digital inequalities and specific opportunities and risks more precisely. Following our concept, users are media literate if they are able to fulfil their developmental tasks (Havighurst, 1956) successfully using the media and to reflect upon the consequences and risks of their media use. As our study shows, needs determine media usage as well as knowledge and available media literacy skills. According to the developed model of media literacy (following Dewe and Sander, 1996; Groeben, 2002 and Livingstone 2004), skills can be grouped into three main categories – *Expertise*, *self-competence* and *social competence*.

While almost all of our 82 interviewees know a lot about the applications they use regularly, their knowledge about the legal and economic context is rather limited and unspecific. Furthermore, many of the interviewees do not understand that their online actions have implications, too, and are unable to see the connections between virtual and non-virtual space. Regarding aspects of self-competence, it is striking that all of our interviewees score high in motivational skills (i.e. are able to find what they *need*), but are lacking important emotional and evaluative skills. The largest deficits occur in terms of social competence. Increasing social needs lead, for instance, to increasing use of SNS but do not necessarily lead to greater social skills, due to the gap between knowledge and action. The interviewees are often well aware of the opportunities and risks of the internet, but nevertheless act in an inappropriate way, creating fake accounts, bullying others, or downloading music illegally. Hence, social practice alone does not create skills. This is all the more important, since the girls and boys transfer their online behaviour to offline interactions – their attitude of 'the end justifies the means' therefore is problematic in a broader social context.

Developmental tasks and related needs appear to have specific influence on the repertoire of media literacy skills. While youngsters who define themselves by their competence are also keen to achieve *digital* expertise and, for instance, score higher in educational skills, the ones with a limited need for competence are not motivated to acquire it online. Interestingly, youth-specific needs can both *decrease* and *increase* literacy skills. The needs for relatedness and autonomy are often connected with ignorance of potential dangers (i.e. a lack of evaluative skills or awareness of mediality) or conflict with the willingness to talk about (online) problems – especially with adults (see for similar results Livingstone et al., 2010: 12). But then again, the need for autonomy enables the youngsters to develop a variety of motivational and participatory skills on their own.

Furthermore the application of our model revealed that skills form a bundle: technical knowledge goes hand-in-hand with evaluative and communicative skills. Awareness of mediality, evaluative and moral skills converges to properly reflect upon the consequences of online behaviour. Moreover, communicative and emotional skills work together to deal with harmful media content – a competence a lot of our interviewees were actually missing.

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Contrary to common expectations, adolescents with better education, and/or from families with higher-status, do not behave better or show more compassion for others online. Thus, deficiencies in media literacy, especially in terms of *social* competence, cannot be explained simplistically with educational or social status – rather, they are a problem of (self-) socialization. Hence, self-socialization, often used in a 'trial and error' principle, cannot be the cure-all. Whereas the technological skills are often sufficient, even older girls and boys need help in developing evaluative and social skills. Parents and teachers often lack the knowledge of online practices required to support their children in developing media literacy. Other ways of educating skills, maybe by teens, older siblings or friends, are necessary, since knowing is not enough in terms of media literacy.

Since the presented study followed a qualitative approach, it is not possible to establish causal relations or draw conclusions about the general population. Nevertheless, typical patterns emerged and should be considered in future studies. Thus, a next step for research would be to conduct a quantitative study that investigates the connection between the different literacy skills as well as their relation to developmental tasks and digital inequalities more thoroughly.

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MEDIJSKA PISMENOST I RAZVOJNI ZADACI: SAVEZNA REPUBLIKA NJEMAČKA KAO STUDIJA SLUČAJA

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SAŽETAK *U radu je predstavljen model medijske pismenosti koji se temelji na vještinama. Pretpostavlja se da taj model može pomoći da se objasne digitalne nejednakosti. Model ujedinjuje svakodnevni život djece i njihove razvojne zadatke. Prema predloženom konceptu za korisnike se može reći da su medijski pismeni ako su sposobni uspješno ispuniti razvojne zadatke koristeći medije, a očekuje se i da promišljaju o posljedicama i rizicima korištenja medija. 2011. godine intervjuirano je 82 djece u Njemačkoj s ciljem da se dobije bolji uvid u poveznice između korištenja interneta, medijske pismenosti i digitalnih nejednakosti.*

KLJUČNE RIJEČI

MEDIJSKA PISMENOST, RAZVOJNI ZADACI, INTERNET, DIGITALNE NEJEDNAKOSTI, KVALITATIVNI PRISTUP

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THE ROLE OF THE AUDIENCE WITHIN MEDIA GOVERNANCE: THE NEGLECTED DIMENSION OF MEDIA LITERACY

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ABSTRACT *Conceptualisations of media literacy often include the dimension of the media users' participation in media regulation or, more general, media governance. In doing so the expectation is stressed, that beyond the ability to participate in media-related communicative practices, literacy would also mean that media users engage in forming the technical, political, and economic conditions for communication processes. However, this aspect seems to be widely neglected when it comes to empirical research on patterns and levels of media literacy. As a consequence, talking about media users as actors of media governance sounds unfamiliar and somehow strange: Media politics and media regulation are rather done for media users and their interests – or sometimes rather against their interests – but almost never by media users. This article proposes a conceptual clarification of the potential roles of the audience and discusses them with regard to concrete instruments that could help to strengthen this aspect of media literacy and thus the role of audiences in media governance.*

KEY WORDS

AUDIENCE PARTICIPATION, MEDIA GOVERNANCE, MEDIA LITERACY, CITIZENSHIP

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INTRODUCTION

Audiences as actors within media governance? One might be tempted to keep an article on this question very short by referring to the fact that politicians and media companies often claim to act in the interest of the audience, and that audiences are not actors and therefore cannot play an independent role within media governance (e.g. Jarren, 2002: 178). However, current discussions on new forms of media governance which meet the challenges of today's converging media environment, characterised by the blurring boundaries between different types of media, stress the need to consider the perspective of audiences as relevant stakeholders (e.g. Bardoel and d'Haenens, 2004; Livingstone and Lunt, 2011; Lunt and Livingstone, 2012). As several authors (e.g. Mitchell and Blumler, 1994; Baldi and Hasebrink, 2006) have pointed out, media political objectives cannot be conceived as a list of formal or content-related characteristics that concrete media offers have to provide. Since media governance can be regarded as the process to develop a communication order that serves the particular society and culture (Scholten-Reichlin and Jarren, 2001: 233), audiences have to be involved in this process: Media services and regulators should ensure their accountability towards the public and provide procedures that allow for users' participation; they should invite (and listen to) the expressions of interests and needs of different parts of the public, transparently define their objectives, engage in evaluations of their political decisions, concrete media products and production procedures, and seriously consider the public's feedback and critique (see Collins, 2008a; Lunt and Livingstone, 2012).

While there is much consensus that media users should have a voice in media and information politics and that media users' ability to participate in media politics should be an integral part of the broader concept of media literacy, the exact way users can involve themselves in media governance and the specific aspects of media literacy that are needed is controversial. Starting point of the following considerations is a broad understanding of media governance that includes all processes aiming at a) defining social, cultural, and democratic objectives for media services, b) setting the legal and political framework for media related activities and c) evaluating the actual performance of single media services and the media system as a whole. In connection with these processes media users may get involved with different kinds of actors, particularly with media industry, media politics, and different parts of civil society. Thus a comprehensive concept of media literacy has to consider the different ways how users could take part in processes of media governance.

One important part of the procedures, which media themselves and other public bodies apply in order to consider the user perspective, is empirical research on users' interests, patterns of use, and appreciation. However, in connection with debates on political objectives regarding media empirical research on audiences plays an ambivalent role, since it is often unclear which particular aspect of the users' interests and needs they represent, for instance whether they indicate the *public interest* or the *interest of the public* (Mitchell and Blumler, 1994; see also Lunt and Livingstone, 2012).

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Against this background, the core objective of this paper is to discuss different conceptions of audiences with regard to their implications for the audiences' role in media governance[1]. In doing so, it sets out to contribute to more reflective and fruitful empirical research on the inclusion of users in media governance processes as one aspect of media literacy. It will develop two arguments: Firstly, a conceptual clarification will be proposed with regard to different user roles, which shape users' opinion and appreciation of media services. Based on this clarification empirical research on audiences should provide a more appropriate reconstruction of what audiences expect from the media (see section *Enhancing the concept of media users*). Secondly, different options will be discussed as to how media users can participate in regulatory processes. In thoroughly investigating these different options, research can contribute to identifying the most effective and efficient ways of involving audiences in media governance processes (see section *Investigating options to involve users in regulatory processes*). The concluding part links the two arguments and pleas for strengthening the aspect of audience involvement in media governance as key element of media literacy (see *Conclusion*).

ENHANCING THE CONCEPT OF MEDIA USERS

In scholarly discussions today it seems to be common sense to understand the audience as "active" (for the following see Hasebrink, 2010). This conceptualisation focuses on the processes of selection, interpretation and understanding in contrast to the concept of the "passive" user being simply exposed to media messages – a concept that is attributed to former eras of media effects research. The change of paradigms in research – the shift from perceiving the user as easy to manipulate towards an interpreting media user – has been an important step towards a more appropriate understanding of the user. However, within the frameworks of public debates on media politics as well as from the perspective of media industry and media politics the concept of the active media user is interpreted in a quite selective way: Users are exclusively regarded as individuals using the media for their individual needs, as consumers who select the media offers they like and who avoid the media offers they dislike. In consequence, the specific kind of audience research which measures the figures of different kinds of media outlets is regarded as an appropriate indicator of what users want, so that in debates on media politics these figures serve as "the voice of the audience".

Effects of this implicit conceptualisation of the audience can be observed in debates on media quality or, in connection with recent debates on the remit of public service media (e.g. Collins, 2008b), on the 'public value' where ambivalent roles are attributed to media users. One position, starting from the observation that media offers, which attract the masses are presumed to be of low quality, argues that users should not be involved in quality discourses, because they do not seem to look for quality. The opposing view states that extensive audience research is able to reveal the interests of the users, who in this way are taken into account by the media companies. In this perspective high audience shares are regarded as the best indicators for high quality. Neither position refers to the user

[1] This paper builds on an earlier publication of the author in the *Journal of Information Politics* (see Hasebrink, 2011) and relates it to the concept of media literacy.

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as participating in decision processes about which kind of media could serve the public, and both promote a rather limited perspective of users as consumers expressing interests solely via their actual choices of available concrete media offers.

The corresponding theoretical basis of this selective understanding of the active audience is the uses and gratification approach, which postulates that media use can be seen as the maximisation of individual gratifications. Approaches that attempt to understand what quality means for recipients (e.g. Greenberg and Busselle, 1992; Gunter, 1997), are theoretically as well as methodologically very much connected with this theory. The central objective is to identify dimensions of gratifications for different media offers. Even in more comprehensive approaches towards models of quality and accountability in the media (e.g. McQuail, 1992, 1997; Schatz and Schulz, 1992), users are only taken into account regarding the satisfaction of their individual needs. These needs are usually contrasted with normative criteria extracted from theories on democracy and then taken as contradictory poles of these normative quality criteria. Accordingly, some studies showed that media offers which from a normative perspective are classified as "high quality" usually do not get high audience rates (e.g. Hasebrink, 1997).

However, this perception of the audience does not provide a complete picture of the users. Transferred into the sphere of political participation this would mean to merely take voting in elections as an expression of the interests of citizens, while crucial criteria for democratic participation like participation in public debate or sensitivity for the interests of citizens or, in this case, users in their everyday culture, are ignored.

James Webster and Patricia Phalen (1994) proposed a distinction between three concepts of the audience: users as *victims*, as *consumers*, and as *commodities*. The concept of users as victims is based on the assumption that the media strongly influence their users. The users therefore have to be protected against media influences. The concept of users as consumers regards users as rationally selecting the media offers which are expected to serve their individual needs. And the concept of users as a commodity refers to the concrete value which the advertising industry is ready to pay for a specific audience. For the considerations on how media users can be involved in media governance, the distinction between the concepts of consumers and commodity seems to be less relevant. More fruitful is another concept: the concept of users as *citizens*. In the context of a study on instruments for the protection of viewers' interests Uwe Hasebrink (1994, see also Hasebrink, Herzog, and Eilders, 2006) pointed to at least three dimensions of users' interests:

a) The users as *consumers* have an interest in media offers that serve their individual needs and preferences. According to the corresponding concept as described by Webster and Phalen (1994) users act as customers of media companies. The plainest forms of this case are pay-per-view-offers, but usually audience research measures customer interests by means of the number of contacts of specific offers.
b) A second dimension of users' interests refers to the users as *owners of rights*, or as individuals who need protection and the possibility to defend their rights. This

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dimension corresponds with the above mentioned concept of "victims" according to Webster and Phalen (1994). For example, users can become objects of media reporting. As such they need protection against false or offensive statements. In addition they have religious and moral feelings and values and therefore need protection against programmes that violate or exploit these feelings or restrict individual development. The latter point is particularly important for young people and children.

c) The users as *citizens* are seen as members of a democratic society who have an interest to have the media contribute to the general aims of society, e.g. the prevention of monopolistic power in the media market and of biased news coverage, guaranteeing the interests of minorities and the promotion of a greater understanding of the issues and problems facing society.

The two latter dimensions stand in contradistinction to the consumers' dimension. The argument here is that despite the tensions between them, the three dimensions actually go along with each other, i.e. each user has specific interests on all three dimensions. It is also assumed that users are aware of the contradiction that might exist between their consumer interests and the normative perspective and that they know from experience that they have to create a personal balance between them.

With regard to investigations into the question of what the users themselves regard as relevant objectives for media governance, such considerations lead to the conclusion that users' judgements will vary depending on their user role. Figure 1 provides a systematic overview of this idea: the three roles are linked to specific perspectives, which emphasise specific criteria for assessments of media systems and media offers, which, as a result, lead to specific valuations of the media system.

From the viewpoint of a *consumer*, the user's perspective is defined by gratifications sought and obtained, i.e. the core question is how well media services serve the users' individual needs. The relevant criteria for this perspective correspond with the catalogues of needs and motives, which have been elaborated by research within the uses-and-gratifications paradigm; e.g., users look for information, and/or for entertainment, and/or for some instrumental values. As a consequence, valuations are based on the gratifications ascribed to the media system. Thus these valuations indicate the *individual value* of the media system as an outcome of media governance.

For *users as citizens* it is crucial whether the media system fulfils certain democratic, social, and/or cultural values. The relevant criteria reflect traditional – but not necessarily undisputable – values and normative standards, e.g. the diversity of topics and opinions, the contribution to cultural innovation, or the investigative and critical potential of the media being available. The valuations of the users reflect their perceptions of the media's functions for society and culture. Thus they indicate the *public value* of media services and the media system in general.

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ROLE OF THE USER		
1. Consumer	**2. Citizen**	**3. Owner of rights**
PERSPECTIVES ON OBJECTIVES OF MEDIA GOVERNANCE		
Gratifications sought and obtained: Which media will best serve my individual needs?	*Relevant democratic, social and cultural values:* What should media provide from a cultural and social perspective?	*Relevant rights and risks:* Which kinds of media could violate legitimate rights?
CRITERIA FOR THE EVALUATION OF THE MEDIA SYSTEM		
e. g. information, entertainment, instrumental value, aesthetic aspects, humour, suspense, surprise	e. g. diversity, non-bias, background information, investigative journalism, critical reporting, innovative products, credibility	e. g. violence, pornography, misinformation, hidden commercial messages, violation of personal rights
VALUATION OF THE MEDIA SYSTEM		
Ascribed gratifications	*Ascribed characteristics, which foster democratic, social, and cultural values*	*Ascribed characteristics, which are regarded as violating rights or causing risks*
Individual value	**Public value**	**Social value**

Source: Hasebrink, 2011, adapted version.

▲ *Figure 1.*
User roles and objectives for media governance

For the role of users as *owners of rights or potential victims*, the perspective is shaped by the question as to which aspects of media might violate relevant rights. The criteria for judgements partly correspond with legal norms regarding the protection of minors, the separation of edited content and commercial messages, or the protection of personal rights and consumer rights. The valuations from this perspective indicate to what extent media might cause any harm; they refer to the *social costs* of media.

To summarise, it can be concluded that the conceptual distinction between different user roles is an important step. The paradigm of audience research that dominates the public discourse on media politics constructs audiences exclusively as consumers. This kind of research only listens to the voice, which is reflected by actual media-related behaviours; in contrast it lends no ear to audiences expressing their interests as citizens or as owners of rights. The challenge for audience research is to develop methodological approaches, which are able to grasp indicators for all three user roles. This would allow for investigating combinations of user roles and the relative weight of the three roles in

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different user groups. While the argument here is that these roles are analytically different from each other, it is likely that there will be specific combinations of concrete user roles. It is this interplay between the three roles, which is particularly relevant for regulatory issues.

The conceptual distinction of three user roles can also stimulate the discourse on media literacy. It makes sense to distinguish three corresponding aspects of media literacy: a) the ability to be aware of one's individual needs and to realise if the media system actually serves these needs; b) the ability to reflect on the media's role for society and culture and to participate in political initiatives in this area; c) the ability to realise potential social costs or benefits of media and to know about options that can help to avoid these costs or to foster these benefits. This conceptual clarification should help to construct measures of media literacy that systematically cover all three user roles in order to assess the prerequisites of the users as actors in media governance.

INVESTIGATING OPTIONS TO INVOLVE USERS IN REGULATORY PROCESSES

Beyond conceptual considerations regarding different user roles in different types of media governance activities and their implications for the concept of media literacy, we can refer to research projects, which investigate the opportunities, conditions, and limits of different forms of audience participation in media governance and can thus contribute to the development of efficient forms of taking the audiences into account. In this section we will summarise the results of a European study on mechanisms to secure the interests and rights of TV viewers in 29 countries (see Baldi and Hasebrink, 2006). As a first step, a conceptual clarification is presented, which discusses the respects in which media users may be regarded as civil society actors (Hasebrink, Herzog, and Eilders, 2006). As a second step, different methods of involving media users in media governance processes are discussed with regard to the question of whether they meet different civil society criteria and what their implications regarding media literacy are.

Media users as civil society actors

Political theories of democratic participation processes link legitimacy of democratic societies with broad *inclusion* of citizens in political processes, even under circumstances where large parts of society are scarcely organised and have only poor resources (Dahlgren, 2002). As a continuous, active participation of all citizens in current mass societies seems to be illusory, *deliberation* turns out to be an important mode for participation, i.e. public debate on political decisions. Inclusion in this perspective is realised by open access to public debate for all society members (Neidhardt, 1994). According to this model, public spheres are the space for aggregation and articulation of competing interests and as such serve as a means of controlling governance. Decisions of authorities are confronted with the interests of citizens and become an issue of public criticism, meaning that authorities are made accountable for their politics. This mechanism gets all the more reliable as more actors participate in public debate.

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Following participatory liberal theory, the role of civil society is to identify upcoming problems (Barber, 1984; Dahlgren, 2002) and to introduce them into the political system. Beyond the important aspect of inclusion, the deliberative model of democracy emphasises further central criteria, such as proximity to the so-called 'life-world', and ideal requirements for public debate such as respect, fairness and rationality (Habermas, 1992; Gutmann and Thompson, 1996). Jürgen Habermas introduced the important element of communication into deliberative theories. He states that the logic of the functioning and reproduction of modern societies will be understood correctly only through the consideration of communication processes. With the concept of the 'public sphere', Habermas directed attention to the mutual exchange of authority and citizens. Without a public sphere, the interests of civil society actors cannot be accomplished. While the public sphere can be characterised as the link between authority and citizens, civil society is the link between individuals and public sphere (see Lunt and Livingstone, 2012)

The implementation of media users' interests needs presence in the public sphere. Regarding the question of how this presence and noticeable articulation of users' interests can be fostered, communitarian approaches assume that users' interests can be articulated and represented best by more or less formal associations (Newton, 2001). All forms of organisations starting with sporadic collective activities, informal networks and citizen initiatives on specific issues up to powerful NGOs can help to raise public attention for civil society interests, in this case for media users. Civil society actors are able to articulate latent or new risks, to place them on the public agenda and thus to make them an urgent issue that has to be dealt with by politics, regulators and media companies (Heming, 2000). Thus, despite being scarcely organised and lacking resources, users' interests can become powerful forces when users and their organisations succeed in raising public attention and support for their objectives.

In summary, civil society in the media sphere can be characterised as an audience constellation, which is discursive, independent, pluralistic, bound to life-worlds and oriented towards the common welfare. With these characteristics, civil society has a special sensitivity for problems and concerns of media users and can articulate them in the public sphere and introduce them into the political process (Dahlgren, 1995). In this respect, users' organisations can be of special importance as they cover the different characteristics of civil society actors. With this theoretical framework in mind, the following section summarizes the result of a European study on the situation of television viewers' role as a civil society actor (see Baldi and Hasebrink, 2006); although this study focused on television related issues, the lessons to be learnt from this research should be relevant also for other media sectors like radio, newspapers, or online services.

Options for media users' participation in media governance

The range of options for users' participation starts with models that are not self-initiated by the users but made available through politics, regulators or media companies themselves. Secondly, we will deal with the viewer organisations that represent the core types of civil society actors. In each case we will shortly refer to the strengths and weaknesses and to the particular implications with regard to media literacy.

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Representation in controlling bodies In some countries different societal groups are represented in controlling bodies of public service broadcasters and regulatory authorities. This is the case, for example, in Austria, Germany, the Netherlands and Switzerland. By participating in the bodies of these institutions, the representatives of different groups communicate their perspectives particularly in relation to viewers' protection and citizens' interests, and exert influence on the realisation of their interests in the programmes of the relevant broadcasters or the decisions of the regulatory authority.

A problem of this model turns out to be the double role of the members and their representatives in that they act as stakeholders towards the company and at the same time as representatives of the company towards the public. Another problem of this model seems to be that the broadcasters or authorities are more likely to reject complaints or other initiatives by single viewers as illegitimate on the basis that the public is sufficiently represented through these bodies. In general, there is a trend towards decreasing viewers' influence and that of their representatives in this model, as with growing competition on the market the management gains autonomy.

With regards to civil society criteria, closeness to everyday life and the interests of viewers depend on the structure of the different groups of citizens represented in the organisations. Nowadays, the representatives in many cases are multi-operatives of the groups and have lost their grass-root connections. It is also worth noting, here, that presence in the public sphere is also restricted. By way of illustration, some of the bodies do not hold their meetings publicly. While this model of user representation might be regarded as a governance tool that is organised for the users and is quite distant from their everyday lives, it can nevertheless have implications for certain aspects of media literacy. As the research in the above-mentioned project has shown the representation model often suffers from the fact that the users are not even aware that they are represented in these bodies. While this is partly due to the dynamics of these bodies and the representatives who are not able or willing to keep contact with those whom they are supposed to represent, this fact might also indicate a general lack of media literacy in terms of: a) awareness that these bodies shall represent different societal groups, b) knowledge about the objectives and procedures of these bodies, and c) interest and engagement in the issues that are discussed on these platforms. Thus it could be argued that this model of involving users or at least different civil society groups could be strengthened if the users were more literate in respect to the above mentioned aspects.

Communication platforms In some European countries communication platforms – offline as well as online – for discussions on different issues of media policies have been established. In some cases broadcasters provide such offers for discussion on programmes, whereas in others the regulatory authorities take the initiative to discuss current questions of media development with media users. The latter initiatives refer to both consumers' and citizens' interests and to questions of media users' protection.

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This type of user participation tends to encourage the articulation of user concerns in a direct way and as such might fulfil a central function of civil society control. A disadvantage might be that the initiators of these platforms only allow a rather low level of commitment on the side of the users. In terms of media literacy this could turn into an advantage, since the participation in these platforms does not require sophisticated knowledge or longer preparation.

Complaints procedures A widespread measure for protecting the media users' interests in Europe are the different kinds of complaints procedures existing in almost every European country. Among the institutions that provide the possibility to complain, are the media companies themselves, regulatory authorities, self-regulatory organs like e.g. press councils, and other professional associations overseeing the observance of ethical standards. A specific model is the Ombudsman system that is in place in Sweden. Here the Ombudsman is an independent advocate or moderator, who tries to achieve a clarification for the issue in question. In Sweden, most people know this venue for complaining quite well and it is well accepted.

From the civil society perspective this option of media users' participation reflects a high degree of sensitivity for the users' concerns. However, the cases often do not become public and thus remain on the level of individual interests. This circumstance might also explain why media companies often regard people that do complain as grousers who do not take into account that they are dealing with mass media, which cannot fulfil all individual needs. Nevertheless, as a basic right for media users, an institutionalised complaints procedure seems to be indispensable. And insofar as they are accomplished by rules, which secure that the cases become public and transparent, they can contribute to civil society discourse and control in media politics.

Another advantage might be that highly visible complaint buttons or advertising for hotlines can contribute to strengthen one relevant aspect of media literacy, i.e. the awareness of the fact that media users may expect that media companies as well as media politics have to be responsible and accountable to the public and that users have an option to express their complaint once they feel that there is a lack of responsibility.

Audience research As outlined in the previous section, from the perspective of the media companies, users' interests are taken into account by their market research. This means consumer interests are in the focus of research; individual programme preferences in a generalised form become guidelines for programming and advertising presentation. This kind of observation of users' interests can be found in every European country, but societal interests of citizens or the need for viewer protection are widely disregarded in this perspective. In exceptional cases the audience research of broadcasters include all three levels of users' interests outlined above – consumer and citizen interests as well as protection needs. For instance, the Finnish public service broadcaster YLE has conducted surveys, which include extensive parts on the viewers' attitudes towards public service functions, towards different programme offers like children's television, educational and minority programmes or questions on their perception of diversity issues

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in the programme offer of YLE. The participants were asked explicitly to refer not just to their individual consumer interests but to take into account their interests as citizens. Furthermore, these surveys fulfil a civil society function as they are published and may enter public discourse on public service performance. With regard to sensitivity for concerns of viewers, however, these surveys have just a limited effect, since standardised questionnaires do not provide enough space for individual perspectives.

Media users' associations Typical cases for civil society participation in the media sphere are media users' organisations, consumer organisations or citizens' initiatives dealing with media related issues. The general characteristics for civil society actors as outlined in this paper fully apply to them: They are *associations* which promote *non-profit aims* related to media development; they are open for citizens from a broad range of societal groups and build on a strong *sensitivity for the concerns* of the users; finally they use different means of *public communication* in order to articulate and promote their position in the public discourse.

According to a broad understanding of the term users' organisation, this includes any organisation, which pursues one of the following aims:

>representing users' interests and needs;
>supporting certain media qualities, e.g. diversity or educational content;
>fighting against problematic content (e.g. violence, advertising).

Furthermore, these organisations are independent from regulatory bodies and broadcasters themselves.

Across Europe several kinds of users' organisations could be found, although in a number of European countries there were no such organisations at all. Two remarks should be made on this phenomenon: First, the absence of users' organisations does not mean that users' participation is generally low in these countries; other features of the media system may ensure participation. Second, although users' organisations were found in the remaining countries investigated, in some cases their relevance with regard to their actual presence and efficacy in political debates was very low.

Some users' organisations, particularly in Northern Europe, built up substantial memberships and reach huge audiences with their publications, which provide tests on a wide range of consumer goods and services (see also Mitchell and Blumler, 1994: 233). In some cases these tests include media or television, e.g. with regard to consumer electronics or new technical systems like set-top boxes for digital television. Occasionally, these organisations also comment on actual issues in media politics.

In our research we identified the following aims and motives of users' organisations in Europe (Hasebrink, Herzog and Eilders, 2006):

>general representation of viewers' interests;
>protecting family/children/youth interests;
>defending pluralism and diversity;
>ensuring gender interests;
>safeguarding religious values.

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The media users' organisations identified in Europe show plenty of activities targeted at various groups of society. A general function that several organisations fulfil is critical *media monitoring*, to act as a television watchdog in general or with regard to specific issues like gender equality. In several organisations the monitoring is complemented by *research*. This includes either conducting various individual studies or providing a study service.

With regard to the aim of giving users a voice in media politics, several organisations do a lot of *lobbying* as well, as they represent the users in media councils and communicate their perspectives to the public via press releases and publications. Probably the most successful organisation in the field of political lobbying is the British Voice of the Listeners and Viewers Association (VLV)[2], as it maintains a high reputation and effective links with both government and broadcasters.

Several organisations are more oriented towards the media users as the target group of their activities; they provide, for example, *complaints services* by collecting complaints and forwarding them to the broadcasters. Different ways of communicating this service can be observed. Some offer hotlines with toll-free numbers and/or e-mail-addresses or the classical way via mail, where individuals who would like to complain can get (legal and practical) advice and help in formulating their complaints.

Hotlines, chat rooms and other means of communication are used as well for a general service to provide *information* to the users and a *discussion forum*. Most of the organisations run websites with information on complaints procedures, regulatory questions etc. and provide feedback options.

Another kind of service several organisations provide are *radio and television guides* online as well as offline. Some of these magazines give orientation concerning the quality of programmes. Some specifically focus on programmes for children and young people and rate/certify them. An interesting instrument to try to encourage quality programming is used by several organisations in Europe through *awards or prices* for 'best' or 'worst' programmes.

An important aspect of the organisations' activities is *networking* between different kinds of organisations as well as on the local, regional and national level. Some national viewers' organisations have a regional or even local basis as they are organised in local clubs. Through networking at least two advantages are gained, namely a very close connection to the citizens and a simple way of getting publicity. As European integration and globalisation proceed, international connections become important for viewers' organisations as well. That is also why the VLV initiated the European Alliance of Listener and Viewer Associations (EURALVA)[3], with ten members from ten European countries until now, which comments on European media policy and encourages public service broadcasting. As one outcome of the project presented here the European Association

[2] See www.vlv.org.uk/ (07.12.2012).
[3] See http://www.euralva.org (07.12.2012).

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for Viewers Interests (EAVI)[4] in Brussels has been founded. Its mission is "to work with European and other international institutions to contribute to the empowerment of citizens, so that they may fully participate in public life. More in general, its mission is to serve public interest in the fields of media with the aim to represent and advance the interests of European media users and citizens in general."[5] A core objective of EAVI as well as of many other users' associations is to enhance *media education and media literacy* and organise seminars or projects on this behalf. According to EAVI's definition "media literacy is the ability to access the media, to understand and to critically evaluate different aspects of the media and media contents and to create communications in a variety of contexts."[6] Based on the argument in this paper this definition should be enhanced by the ability to involve oneself in processes of media government.

CONCLUSION

This paper set out to discuss the role of audiences within media governance. As a first step a conceptual distinction between different user roles has been proposed. The argument is that it is not sufficient to refer to media users as consumers only as it is often pursued in political debates. Instead, media governance has to take into account that users also act as citizens who have certain normative and value-based expectations concerning media performance within society; at the same time they claim not to be personally offended by the media and might ask for concrete protective measure. How these roles are interrelated, to what extent they might contradict or complement each other, is widely unknown and needs innovative research instruments, which grasp all three aspects synchronously.

The second step referred to a systematic investigation of different forms of involvement of media users in processes of media governance. Starting from the concept of media users as civil society actors, the overview of different kinds of involvement of media users gives an indication of the existing number of ways that exist to support the users' interests linked with the three roles. Some approaches support complaints, reflecting that users might feel offended by certain kinds of media supply. Others provide information on high quality programmes and in this way deal with media consumers' interests. Citizens' interests are represented by users' organisations in boards and councils or via lobbying (the government). Many associations have a special focus on the protection of minors and organise monitoring as well as research services. Thus, in interpreting users' participation as civil society activity they build on a broader understanding of 'audience' and 'media users' than is prevalent in common audience research. The criteria for civil society activities are met by many of the initiatives. They serve as means to achieve a broad sensitivity for the concerns of the users – complaints services, seminars, workshops or online forums as well as other feedback options for viewers. They aim at the inclusion of all parts of society in the process of media governance. Furthermore, they promote deliberation, i.e. the public and transparent discourse on all issues of media development. To what

[4] See http://www.eavi.eu (07.12.2012).
[5] http://www.eavi.eu/joomla/about-us/mission (07.12.2012).
[6] http://ec.europa.eu/culture/media/media-literacy/index_en.htm (07.12.2012).

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extent these different procedural and structural means to strengthen the media users' involvement in media governance can become actually effective and which concrete organisational aspects contribute to their success is one important research field, which is getting increasing attention (e.g. Eberwein et al., 2011).

One prerequisite for a stronger user involvement in media governance is a bundle of abilities and competences that should be considered as relevant aspects of media literacy. Awareness of one's individual communicative needs, as well as of societal requirements regarding the communication system, and of the potential risks linked with certain media and communication services builds the basis for any kind of involvement in media governance. Other aspects are the knowledge of basic structures and rules of the media system, and abilities to participate in different forms of political engagement. Research on media literacy should include these aspects in order to provide a comprehensive conceptualisation of media literacy that helps to strengthen the users' role in media governance.

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ULOGA PUBLIKE U UPRAVLJANJU MEDIJIMA: ZAPOSTAVLJENA DIMENZIJA MEDIJSKE PISMENOSTI

Uwe Hasebrink

SAŽETAK *Poimanje medijske pismenosti često uključuje i dimenziju participacije medijskih korisnika u regulaciji medija ili, šire, u upravljanju medijima. Pritom pismenost ne znači samo to da medijski korisnici imaju mogućnost sudjelovanja u komunikaciji koja je povezana s medijima nego i da su uključeni u oblikovanje tehničkih, političkih i ekonomskih preduvjeta za komunikacijske procese. Ipak, čini se da je taj aspekt prilično zapostavljen kada je riječ o empirijskim istraživanjima o uzorcima i razinama medijske pismenosti. Stoga kada se govori o medijskim korisnicima kao dionicima u upravljanju medijima, to zvuči nepoznato i nekako čudno: medijske politike i medijska regulacija uglavnom su kreirane za medijske korisnike i njihove interese – ili ponekad čak i protiv njihovih interesa – ali gotovo ih nikada ne kreiraju korisnici sami. Ovaj članak predlaže konceptualno pojašnjenje potencijalnih uloga publike te ih tumači u odnosu na konkretne instrumente koji bi mogli pomoći ojačati taj aspekt medijske pismenosti, a time i ulogu publika u upravljanju medijima.*

KLJUČNE RIJEČI

UKLJUČENOST PUBLIKE, UPRAVLJANJE MEDIJIMA, MEDIJSKA PISMENOST, GRAĐANSTVO

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MEDIJSKA PISMENOST:

METODOLOŠKA PITANJA

MEDIA LITERACY:

METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES

EAVI STUDIES ON MEDIA LITERACY IN EUROPE

Paolo Celot

STRUČNI RAD / UDK 316.774:8(4), 316.77(4):303 / PRIMLJENO: 04.12.2012.

ABSTRACT *It is predicted that media, in all its forms, will grow between ten and one hundred times its current volume over the next decade. Therefore, over time the three basic literacy skills of reading, writing and arithmetic will no longer be sufficient. People are also increasingly required to develop advanced skills in critical thinking, in order to decode the messages delivered by media. This type of new literacy is called media literacy (ML). The article presents a brief description of the results of wide comparative studies covering all 27 European Union Member States, conducted by the author in consortium with other partners for the European Commission. The results served as a basis to draw up future scenarios and perspectives for media literacy in Europe, outline emerging trends, and propose international expert recommendations which indicate priorities to develop new, concrete initiatives. The European Association for Viewers' Interests (EAVI) studies are some of the most comprehensive across Europe to date in terms of their purpose and scope. They highlight that the ultimate focus of media literacy is the development of individual critical understanding and the acquisition of skills sufficient to participate in social and political life, fostering active citizenship and a full democracy.*

KEY WORDS

EAVI STUDIES, EUROPEAN UNION, MEDIA LITERACY AND METHODOLOGY

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This text draws from previous articles, speeches and talks by the author.

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The advent of a new media age has created a new environment which allows potential and extraordinary communication mechanisms and new forms of active participation throughout public life and democracy. However, in order to become fully involved in concrete activities and active citizenship, it is essential to acquire new knowledge.

Today, the three basic literacy skills of reading, writing and arithmetic are not enough. Citizens now are required to develop advanced skills in critical thinking in order to decode the messages delivered by media. A new type of literacy must be fostered – namely, media literacy.

STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE OF MEDIA LITERACY

It is predicted that media, in all its forms, will grow between ten and one hundred times its current volume over the next decade. Thus, in the current environment and in view of future innovation, it is no longer an advantage to be media literate; rather it is a debilitating disadvantage not to be. In many countries educational policies acknowledge this new requirement. In Europe, the European Union recognizes its strategic value.

Here follows a brief description of the results of a wide comparative study covering all 27 EU Member States conducted by the author in consortium with other partners for the European Commission. All relevant issues are taken into account: components, definitions, dimensions, objectives, programme, historical evolution and many more.

EAVI's studies also offer elements targeting a first comparative analysis among the Member States. They report on the EU framework legislation and the role played by international institutions. They are available on the website of the European Commission's Media Programme.[1] These studies lay out future scenarios and perspectives for media literacy in Europe, outline emerging trends and propose international expert recommendations which indicate the priorities to develop new, concrete initiatives.

ASSESSING MEDIA LITERACY LEVELS – OUTLINE OF THE STUDY FINDINGS

In 2009, EAVI coordinated a study on behalf of the European Commission DG Information Society, on *Assessing media literacy levels in Europe* (Celot and Tornero, 2009), providing a comprehensive view of the concept of media literacy. The objectives of the study were to provide an understanding of how media literacy levels should be assessed in Europe; to help the Commission carry out its obligation to report on media literacy levels in the 27 EU Member States; and to recommend the approach needed in order to implement concrete policies at European Level. The Study therefore sought to analyse, quantify, and thereby measure, the levels of media literacy across Europe. To do this, media literacy as a concept was broken down into its component parts, so that available

[1] http://ec.europa.eu/culture/media/media-literacy/index_en.htm (29.11.2012).

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data could be collated and used appropriately. EAVI also participated as a consortium partner in a previous *Study on the current trends and approaches to media literacy in Europe* coordinated by the Barcelona Autonoma University, again concerning the 27 EU Member States. A third, more technical study was coordinated by the Danish Technological Institute, together with EAVI, and providing criteria for testing and statistical validation. EAVI again participated, relying on the technical expertise of the other partners.

The 2009 EAVI Study is one of the most comprehensive studies across Europe to date in terms of its purpose; it is groundbreaking in its ambition and scope. Here follows a brief outline of the challenges, processes and findings of this study. Measuring the competencies necessary to interpret the flow, substance, value and consequence of media in all its forms was an ambitious undertaking because media literacy is a complex construction, expressing intrinsically many different ideas and streams of thought. As a function of geography alone, it was a question not only of 27 countries and 20 different languages, but also numerous different denotations that changed depending on their application.

The Consortium was therefore initially required to identify and agree upon a definitive and reliable framework for ML. This involved analysis of the full panoply of concepts and definitions of media literacy, as well as their evaluation and comparison, so as to arrive at a universally applicable and practical model. However, and perhaps unsurprisingly considering the multiplicity of approaches and definitions, a conclusive, universal interpretation proved unworkable – as has been the case for more than twenty years.

As a result, the Consortium instead sought to measure separately the individual properties that make up media literacy, thereby more appropriately addressing the discipline, not only at its broadest, but also through the plurality and detail of its component parts. It was then decided that the study should examine the connections between these properties, so as to translate them into indicators.

While some properties appeared to lend themselves better than others to measurement, others were immune to any mathematical reduction. As a result, a pure mathematical model appeared to be unsuitable for reliable analysis of media literacy. This is also because media literacy must be approached as a dynamic phenomenon, as a process of communicative interaction between different agents in a rapidly developing environment. On this basis, the Study identified two dimensions within media literacy: one flowing from an individual's ability to utilise the media; the other informed by contextual and environmental factors. These are identified in the Study as Individual Competences and Environmental Factors.

The first dimension, Individual Competencies, can be split into: (a) Use – an individual technical skill; (b) Critical Understanding competency – fluency in comprehension and interpretation and (c) Communicative – the ability to establish relationships through the media.

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The second dimension, Environmental Factors, is defined as a set of contextual factors that facilitate or hinder the development of the Individual competencies. It includes the following areas: (a) Media education, (b) Media Policy, (c) Media Availability, (d) Roles of the Media Industry and Civil society.

Within each field, indicators have been identified. Although the data is incomplete, because much of it remains unavailable, the properties identified have been processed at European level so as to generate results sufficient for drawing preliminary conclusions.

FURTHER CONCEPTUAL ASPECTS OF MEDIA LITERACY

While it is true that technology enriches the lives of citizens across Europe, the concept of media literacy needs to be considered as central and distinct from the almost exclusive emphasis previously given to technology. The ultimate focus of media literacy, in fact, is the development of individual critical understanding and citizen participation. Critical understanding should be identified as the key factor in the development of ML policies. This includes policies aimed at enhancing the capacity to understand media content and function, increasing knowledge about media context and enabling sound judgment in order to adopt appropriate user behaviour.

As regards, citizen engagement, it is now widely acknowledged that media play a vital role in promoting democratic values. There is a painfully ironic dichotomy between the wealth of media available and the informed use that citizens make of it. Therefore, it is imperative for citizens to become media literate, so that they may participate in every aspect of public life and in the democratic process. They must be equipped with the skills to utilise, and therefore to benefit from, media.

The models proposed by the studies are amenable to legitimate criticism as they take their point of departure from concepts that are in a constant state of flux. Critics however struggled either to reject the adopted method in its entirety or to identify an alternative approach better suited to the purpose.

OVERALL POLICY CONTEXT

Even if citizens must be equipped with the skills to use and benefit from the media, occasionally a strong policy commitment to promote media literacy is found to be lacking. It seems that the interests of certain Governments may not be compatible with the interests of their own citizens. It is important to reflect upon the real intentions of the respective Governments and upon what they do (or do not do) to promote media literacy activities.

If some governments and politicians act not in the interest of society, but solely in their own specific interests– or possibly those of the lobbies that funded their electoral

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campaigns – they simply aim to perpetuate their own power. Their actions translate into an abuse of power, for they did not receive mandate from their voters to carry out such actions. It is the author's conviction that in order to promote media literacy effectively, politicians and decision makers at large should be provided with the necessary, relevant information in order to promote public debate and awareness of media literacy through European, national and local information campaigns.

Furthermore, to foster a democratic culture and shared values, the role of civil society organisations and related media literacy initiatives should be sustained. It should facilitate a more effective participation in the public sphere and allow for the activities of representative citizens' institutions. Finally, it should encourage active involvement by the media industry – especially audiovisual media. This should include literacy enhancing initiatives, such as those already noted in the press. Special attention should be given to mass media – including traditional and digital, public and private platforms, content and processes. The training of media professionals should also be considered a priority. Mass media therefore have to assist the democratic process.

We have already recalled the central role played by media in our society. They occupy a large share of our daily lives. It is sufficient to mention our continuous use of tablets, video game consoles, mobile phones, internet, television and other traditional and contemporary types of media. These sources of information form the basis on which we shape our idea of the world and the political processes that governs it. There is no real democracy without citizen participation, and there can be no citizen participation without critical awareness. In this sense, to be capable of using media effectively furthers the exercise of people's fundamental rights.

Media literacy, therefore, is also represented by the acquisition of skills sufficient to participate in social and political life, which allow full citizenship. This is not only from the point of view of a single individual, but also from a collective public perspective. To gain awareness and understanding of the resources, process and systems in which media move, and to contribute to a real understanding of the issues which society faces.

Bearing in mind these new social interactions opened through the new media, the citizen can now play an active role in seeking to communicate and to improve his own conditions. Our culture is becoming, albeit not without contradictions, a culture of media participation (Jenkins, 2006). What has been discussed above underlines the importance of media literacy in this context: it plays a role in reinforcing the democratic processes essential to exercise freedom of expression and the right to information for all people. Furthermore, contributing to the creation of an open and dynamic cultural space, characterized by the active participation of citizens, constitutes one of the pre-requisites for the full and active exercise of citizenship.[2]

[2] "In this world of rapid technological change and globalization of information, media literacy forms a building block for freedom of expression and the right to information and is instrumental in building and sustaining democracy. Today media literacy is indeed one of the key pre-requisites for active and full citizenship and is one of the contexts in which intercultural dialogue can be promoted successfully." (Buckingham, 2003: 34)

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ISTRAŽIVANJA EAVI-A O MEDIJSKOJ PISMENOSTI U EUROPI

Paolo Celot

SAŽETAK *Predviđa se da će se količina svih oblika medijskog sadržaja tijekom idućih deset godina povećati između deset i stotinu puta. Zbog toga će tri temeljne osobine pismenosti – čitanje, pisanje i računanje – biti nedovoljne. Od ljudi se također sve više zahtijeva da razviju napredne vještine u kritičkom razmišljanju kako bi mogli dekodirati poruke koje šalju mediji. Taj novi tip pismenosti zove se medijska pismenost. Rad donosi sažet prikaz rezultata istraživanja koje ja autor, u suradnji s drugim partnerima na projektu, proveo u 27 država članica Europske unije. Rezultati omogućuju predviđanja o daljnjem razvoju i perspektivama medijske pismenosti u Europi i novim trendovima te nudi preporuke međunarodnih stručnjaka koji ističu prioritete kako bi se započelo s konkretnim i novim inicijativama. Istraživanja organizacije EAVI* (The European Association for Viewers' Interests) *jedna su od najiscrpnijih dosad u cijeloj Europi, kada se gleda njihova svrha i opseg. Ona naglašavaju kako je temeljno središte medijske pismenosti razvoj individualnog kritičkog razumijevanja te stjecanje vještina dostatnih za sudjelovanje u društvenom i političkom životu, što će omogućiti aktivno građanstvo i potpunu demokraciju.*

KLJUČNE RIJEČI

STUDIJE EAVI-A, EUROPSKA UNIJA, MEDIJSKA PISMENOST I METODE ISTRAŽIVANJA

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MEASURING MEDIA LITERACY IN A NATIONAL CONTEXT: CHALLENGES OF DEFINITION, METHOD AND IMPLEMENTATION

Monica E. Bulger

PREGLEDNI RAD / UDK 316.774:8, 316.774:37, 303.433.2 / PRIMLJENO: 17.12.2012.

ABSTRACT *General consensus among policymakers and academics is that media literacy is the ability to access, analyse, and evaluate media in multiple forms and communicate competently within these forms. Yet this seemingly straightforward definition presents methodological challenges in measurement, especially within a national context. Conceptually, approaches to measuring media literacy are often broadly inclusive, without necessarily considering how media literacy is enacted or identifying specific examples of media literate actors within daily contexts. Logistically, indicators are often defined in terms of existing data or data that can be easily collected, rather than choosing stronger measures identified through empirical research. This article examines the methodological challenges associated with measuring national levels of media literacy using the recent* Testing and Refining Criteria to Assess Media Literacy Levels in All EU Member States *as a case study. The article concludes by recommending more focused measures that account for practices, contexts, and shifting policy priorities.*

KEY WORDS

MEDIA LITERACY, MEDIA EDUCATION, CRITICAL THINKING, LITERACY RESEARCH METHODS

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INTRODUCTION

In 1970, when discussing low literacy rates among adults in the U.S., University of Chicago professor Helen M. Robinson argued:

Essentially the emphasis has been on ability to read for employment. Another aspect which has not created so much public concern is the gullibility of the masses *of citizens who believe political promises which are never kept; who believe rash claims for patent medicines, food products, and the like. One wonders if the* ability to read critically, and to reject unsound ideas *in print might be as important as minimal reading competence.* (Robinson, 1970: 77, emphasis added)

In the decades since Robinson issued her challenge, public stakeholder groups such as teachers, librarians, researchers, human rights advocates, policymakers, and members of industry have identified media literacy as a critical issue with the high stakes of developing and maintaining a citizenry that does not blindly accept media messages, but rather understands the context in which they are produced and questions elements such as bias, accuracy, and purpose. The increased availability of media through new technologies has additionally motivated research and policy in this area. However, media literacy research continues to face two critical challenges, one methodological and the other political.

General consensus among policymakers and academics is that *media literacy* is the ability to "access, analyse, and evaluate media" in multiple forms and "communicate competently" within these forms (O'Neill and Hagen, 2009; CEC, 2007a, 2007b; Livingstone, Van Couvering and Thumim, 2005). Critical approaches to media have been recognised as essential for an informed citizenry. Of particular importance when identifying areas for further training and education are understanding that media messages are constructed, have a purpose, may be affected by potential biases, and are subject to regulatory issues that potentially affect access (Martens, 2010; Ofcom, 2008).

What follows from this seemingly straightforward understanding of media literacy are contentious practicalities, in particular choices regarding what should be included and excluded from conceptual frameworks, how media literacy is enacted, and the context in which media literacy is developed and enacted (Catts and Lau, 2008; Jacquinot-Delaunay, 2008; Livingstone et al., 2005). This definitional ambiguity presents a challenge in terms of identifying measurable dimensions of media literacy. A majority of large-scale quantitative research therefore focuses on frequency of media use as a measurable dimension of media literacy (O'Neill and Hagen, 2009). However, if justifying the purpose of media literacy efforts as fostering a more critical populace, media use levels potentially represent only a surface measure of literate practice. While indisputably representing dimensions of media literacy, considered apart from behavioural practice such as evaluation and critical thinking, there is a risk in overinterpreting findings related to numbers of users or frequency of use.

In reviewing recent national directives and research, Brian O'Neill and Ingun Hagen (2009) caution that political pressure may lead to defining media literacy in terms of what is easily measurable, rather than addressing the complexities and challenges of

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literate practice. Given pressures to promote national media literacy, but limited by time and resource restrictions, policymakers often rely on available aggregate data, such as broadband subscriptions or mobile phone accounts as proxy measures for media literacy. This approach starts from available data and how it might be applied to measuring media literacy, rather than from a starting point of determining what measures would best represent the media literacy levels of a particular population. Possible justifications are that more time spent with media leads to more proficient use or, more circuitously, that broadband subscription or mobile phone ownership reflects a certain level of technical skill, which contributes to media literacy. While partially true, usage statistics provide an incomplete understanding of a country's media literacy profile.

The UK's Office of Communication (Ofcom) provides a counter-example in developing measures to study more advanced practices of media literacy, such as understanding and content creation. Ofcom surveyed UK adults nearly annually between 2006-2012. In addition to asking about frequency of media use, respondents were also asked about their evaluation practices, e.g., how they judge whether a site is trustworthy and how they approach news information. Other noteworthy surveys, such as the Oxford Internet Surveys (Dutton, Helsper, and Gerber, 2009; Dutton and Blank, 2011) asked respondents what types of information sources they trusted in different contexts (e.g., entertainment, news, health, education). These surveys provide preliminary models for moving past a limited focus on use and toward a deeper understanding of media literate practice.

In 2007, the European Parliament adopted the Audiovisual Media Services Directive, which among other media provisions, required media literacy levels for all Member States be reported by December 2011 (AVMS, Article 33, 2007). The European Commission awarded funds to the European Association for Viewers' Interest (EAVI) to first identify indicators of media literacy and in a second study to test and refine these indicators. For the second study, EAVI formed a consortium that included the Danish Technological Institute (DTI) and the Oxford Internet Institute (OII). This article examines methodological and political challenges associated with measuring national levels of media literacy using *Testing and Refining Criteria to Assess Media Literacy Levels in All EU Member States* (2011) as a case study.

CASE STUDY

The study *Testing and refining criteria to assess media literacy levels in all EU Member States* (2011) presents a useful case since it follows a format common in research projects funded by the European Commission and similarly large bodies in terms of organisation and expectations. Additionally, many of the methodological challenges encountered by project members are similar to those identified in other European work in media literacy, such as definitional ambiguity and measurement feasibility (Bazalgette, 2008; Livingstone, Van Couvering and Thumim, 2005). Pressure to satisfy various stakeholder groups and members of the Commission also played a role in determining the definition, conceptual framework, and recommendations (Hasebrink, Ólafsson and Štětka, 2009; Buckingham,

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2008). The mix of both methodological and political challenges makes this case broadly applicable to other large-scale efforts to measure media literacy.

The main objective of this study was to assess and recommend existing national-level measures that could fulfil the reporting obligation of the 2007 AVMS directive using indicators from the report submitted to the European Commission by the EAVI Consortium, titled *Study on Assessment Criteria for Media Literacy Levels* (Celot and Pérez Tornero, 2010). The report broadly addressed aspects of media literacy using theory, country-level indicators, some individual-level indicators, such as from *Eurostat* and *Eurobarometer* surveys, and a survey of media literacy experts. The framework drew from leading theory about media literacy as reported by Ralph Catts and Jesús Lau (2008), Sonia Livingstone, Elizabeth Van Couvering, and Nancy Thumim (2005), José Manuel Pérez Tornero (2004), and David Buckingham (2003). In total, the report recommended 58 indicators that included a range of measures and sources. Paolo Celot details the drivers behind the initial report in his article "EAVI Studies on Media Literacy in Europe" also in this special issue.

The scope of the study was to assess the theoretical and applied validity of the media literacy framework proposed in the 2010 report, and to provide the European Commission with a revised tool that assessed and ranked the countries in terms of their media literacy levels. The geographic scope of the study was the 27 EU Member States but also included three countries from the European Economic Area. The Commission required the Consortium to deliver a tool that measured media literacy levels across a range of ages, education levels, income levels, access levels, and geographic locations. Taking into consideration that Eurostat would likely be the major agency to statistically monitor the developments of media literacy levels in the EU, the study covered primarily the age groups between 16 and 74.

Building upon the extensive literature review and expert consultation conducted for the initial report, a thorough literature review of policy papers and academic literature was undertaken to identify definitions and methods of assessment of media literacy. Expert consultations further refined the list of indicators and methods of measurement. The initial report identified 58 indicators of media literacy. The present study assessed these indicators at conceptual and practical levels to determine precision, feasibility, comprehensiveness, and scope of the measures. Project members undertook the challenging task of narrowing the comprehensive list of indicators to a sub-set that was feasible to pursue given the potential country-level constraints of administering a large survey.

LITERATURE REVIEW OF DEFINITIONS AND METHODS

In the initial 2010 report, a range of perspectives and definitions were included in the framework. The challenge for the present study was to find a way to narrow these perspectives into a definition that could lead to measurable indicators of media literacy. Since media literacy is complex both as concept and practice, whatever definition

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or framework was used needed to be flexible and broad enough to account for this complexity (Catts and Lau, 2008; Hobbs, 2006). Project members therefore used the European Commission's (2006) definition[1] as a starting point and compared it with global and pan-European research by reviewing peer-reviewed academic publications, national surveys, international surveys, policy documents, and practitioner literature.

Consistencies across the studies emerged, with most adopting phrasing from the 1992 National Leadership Conference on Media Literacy (NLCML), to "access, analyse, evaluate, and produce both print and electronic media" (Aufderheide, 1993). The UK's Office of Communication (2008) added *contexts* to their definition: "the ability to access, understand, and create communications in a variety of contexts". Livingstone, Van Couvering and Thumim's (2005) report for Ofcom provided descriptions of specific behaviours occurring within the broader categories of access, evaluation, and communication. The European Commission definition further included that media literacy "should help citizens recognise how the media filter their perceptions…empower them with critical thinking and problem-solving skills to make them judicious producers of information" (European Commission, 2006). A comprehensive literature review by Hans Martens (2010) confirmed the consistency of these concepts in global media literacy definitions. Eight key studies were used as comparators with the initial 2010 report (see Table 1). Findings from the literature review validated the use of the European Commission's definition of media literacy in the initial report and this served as the operational definition in the present study.

In addition to identifying conceptual consistency, the project team studied research methods used in prior work, with a special focus on how critical thinking was quantified in large-scale surveys. We found that critical thinking was often conflated with problem-solving, rather than defined as a critical evaluation of media messages, the latter being more consistent with global descriptions. Around the same time, UNESCO, PISA, and Eurostat were developing promising survey measures for critical thinking. In terms of method, we found Ofcom (2008, 2010a, 2010b), Activewatch Romania (Fotiade and Popa, 2008) the Oxford Internet Survey (Dutton, Helsper and Gerber, 2009; Dutton and Blank, 2011) and EU Kids Online (Livingstone et al., 2011) most useful in providing measures for critical approaches to media. Instead of simply measuring attitude (e.g., do you think there are differences in the way news is portrayed on different channels?), these surveys presented brief scenarios that solicited responses about behaviour. While serving as strong examples of many dimensions of media literacy, these surveys especially served to develop our critical thinking measures.

[1] "Media Literacy may be defined as the ability to **access, analyse and evaluate** the power of images, sounds and messages which we are now being confronted with on a daily basis and are an important part of our contemporary culture, as well as **to communicate competently in media** available on a personal basis. Media literacy relates to all media, including television and film, radio and recorded music, print media, the Internet and other new digital communication technologies.
The aim of Media Literacy is to increase awareness of the many forms of media messages encountered in their everyday lives. It should help citizens to **recognise how the media filter their perceptions** and beliefs, shape popular culture and influence personal choices. It should empower them **with the critical thinking and creative problem-solving skills** to make them judicious consumers and **producers of information.** Media Education is part of the basic entitlement of every citizen, in every country in the world, to **freedom of expression and the right to information and it is instrumental in building and sustaining democracy.**" (Emphasis added in final report as part of analysis) http://collection.europarchive.org/dnb/20070702132253/ec.europa.eu/avpolicy/media_literacy/index_en.htm (05.12.2012).

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Table 1. **Review of existing literature evaluated conceptual consistency in existing work**

EAVI Media Literacy framework					
Environmental factors	Media availability				
	Media context	**EC**	**Ofcom**	**CML**	**NAMLE**
Personal competences	Use	Access	Access/Use	Access	Access
	Critical understanding	Analyze	Understand	Analyze and explore	Analyze
		Evaluate		Evaluate	Evaluate
Social competences	Communicate	Communicate	Create communications	Express or create	Communicate
	Citizen participation			Participate	

EAVI Media Literacy framework					
Environmental factors	Media availability				
	Media context	**ACME**	**PIAAC**	**Livingstone**	**Martens**
Personal competences	Use	Access	Acquire	Basic access and ownership	
				Navigate	
				Control	
				Regulate	
	Critical understanding	Analyze	Evaluate	Comprehend	Analyze
		Interpret		Critique	Evaluate
Social competences	Communicate	Create	Perform	Create	Produce
		Communicate	Communicate	Interact	
	Citizen participation				

Studies included: European Commission, 2006; Ofcom, 2008; Center for Media Literacy, Elizabeth Thoman and Tessa Jolls, 2008; National Association for Media Literacy Education, 2007; Action Coalition for Media Education, 2010; Programme for the International Assessment of Adult Competencies, 2009; Livingstone, Van Couvering, and Thumim, 2005; Martens, 2010.

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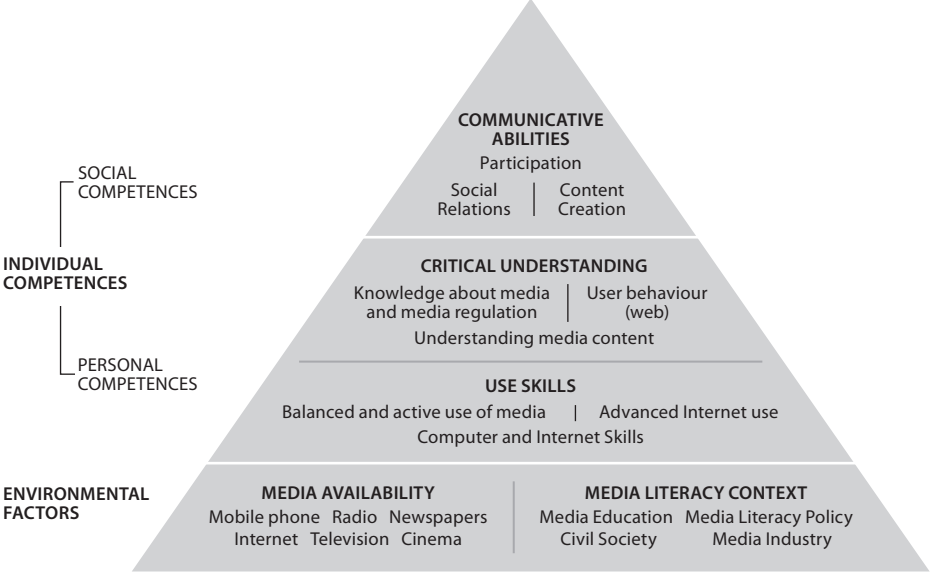
STATISTICAL VALIDATION OF INDICATORS

The media literacy framework of the initial report included 5 main categories organised under *Individual Competences* and *Environmental Factors*. These categories included: use skills (technical), critical understanding, communicative abilities, media literacy context, media availability. To account for the complexity of media literacy in practice, the initial framework included 19 sub-categories, with a total of 58 indicators (see Figure 1).



▲ *Figure 1.*
Initial media literacy framework
(Celot and Pérez Tornero, 2010)

Media literacy experts acknowledge that narrowing this complex concept into discrete measurable components is challenging (Buckingham, 2008; Livingstone, Van Couvering and Thumim, 2005) and accounting for demographic differences and the variety of contexts in which media literacy is enacted exceeds what can reasonably be accomplished in a single study. In the present study, we attempted to pair data with concepts to determine which indicators from the original framework could be feasibly measured.

Refining the list of indicators

Statistical validation involved three phases: (1) identify data associated with indicators listed in the initial report, (2) determine feasibility of measuring existing indicators, (3) identify gaps, redundancies, and make recommendations for additional indicators.

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To gain a broad picture of the data available for statistical validation, we first mapped each indicator to its source data. In cases where an indicator appeared in more than one category, yet drew upon the same dataset, we noted the duplication. This preliminary exercise resulted in identifying which indicators had data associated with them.

Evaluation Criteria – A large percentage of the 58 indicators were theoretical in nature and thus did not have data associated with them. For example, of the 17 indicators within the *Critical Understanding* category, 10 had no data associated with them, six drew from national data available only for Romania or the UK, and one indicator was based on data from the OECD, which excluded six EU countries. Over time, these indicators could draw from future datasets published by *Eurostat* and the *European Social Survey*, but for this phase of the statistical validation, data were unavailable.

We next considered comparability of the diverse datasets. For example, some of the indicators were based on data that was not comparable due to collection dates (1997-2004). For instance, data about television and radio coverage based on equipment counts from 1997 were excluded because the Consortium agreed the data were outdated. We attempted to achieve comparability in the measures by using data collected within a three-year time period and available for the majority of EU member states (no less than 23).

Next, we assessed the reliability and validity of each indicator. In some cases, individual-level indicators existed, such as Eurostat's 2007 and Eurobarometer's 2008 surveys of Internet and computer skills. We identified these datasets as most useful compared with the expert ratings and broader aggregate measures. This type of data formed the core of our set of media literacy measures. These include the indicators listed within the *use skills* and *media availability* categories.

For the *Media Literacy Context* measures, the initial framework attempted to address questions of media policy and media education by surveying national media literacy experts. While important to collect feedback from experts, cross-national statistical comparison of these qualitative ratings posed serious risks to validity. Data collection involved asking one or more experts in each given country to make judgmental ratings on a number of criteria within their respective nation. Responses of experts to these questions were assigned values and weighted to form an assessment of media literacy policy and education, which subsequently resulted in a rank ordering of countries. Statistically, this data potentially posed a fundamental risk to the validity of the index, which is the reliance on the judgment of individual country experts. The problem is that these are not comparable cross-nationally. For example, an expert in Britain might have different expectations and be more negative in his/her ratings than an expert in Netherlands. So the index measured the subjective biases of raters rather than the actual levels of media literacy. Additionally, the nature of the variables (dichotomous response) differed from other variables so did not lend themselves well to comparison. This data was therefore excluded from the statistical validation.

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This process highlights the challenges of moving from concept to measurement. The initial framework drew from literature review, European studies, European Commission directives, and expert input. It reflected a consensus model, with many components of media literacy accounted for, but potentially de-prioritising core components as identified by empirical research in favour of addressing expectations of various stakeholder groups (e.g., broadcast media, commerce, advocacy). In the present study, after pairing indicators with source data, we presented our preliminary findings to the Consortium, with recommendations to remove redundant indicators and consider a more focused framework.

ANALYSIS OF REMAINING INDICATORS

Drawing from existing datasets[2], we conducted correlational analysis to identify relationships among the indicators within the categories of *Use Skills*, *Communicative Ability* and *Media Availability*. As mentioned earlier, *Critical Understanding* and *Media Literacy* were necessarily excluded because of lack of existing data.

We next conducted a factor analysis of indicators within each of the three categories to identify similarities between the indicators and determine the appropriateness of grouping these measures. Full details of the statistical analysis can be found in the report *Testing and refining criteria to assess media literacy levels in all EU Member States* (2011), archived on the European Commission website[3].

CONNECTING AGGREGATE DATA TO INDIVIDUAL USE

Statistical analysis helped to illustrate the challenge in using pre-existing datasets. To perform a valid statistical analysis, we selected datasets that were comparable in data collection dates, coverage of EU countries, reliability and validity. At this stage, we did not have enough data to draw meaningful comparisons between, for example, number of televisions per household and attitudes toward truth in information presented in television programmes. Since a primary objective of this study was to identify available aggregate data that could be used to measure media literacy in EU Member States, we suggested a hybrid model of data collection.

Since individual-level data on media literacy was not yet widely collected or available for a majority of EU Member States at the time of our study, we used aggregate data as a surrogate for measuring individual competencies in the initial statistical validation. While the limitations of aggregate indicators are well known, we believed it was possible to provide some estimates on the basis of aggregate data that could be combined with individual level data and validated with selected survey data.

[2] Datasets included Eurobarometer (2008a and 2008b), Eurostat (2010), International Telecommunications Union Report (2010), Internet World Stats (2010), World Press Trends (2009).
[3] http://ec.europa.eu/culture/media/media-content/media-literacy/studies/final-report-ml-study-2011.pdf (05.12. 2012).

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For example, the initial report recommended newspaper circulation as a measure for the *Balanced and Active Use of Media* category. When considering newspaper subscriptions versus actual readership or, more importantly, how readers critically approach news articles, a hybrid model of collection could test individual use measures (such as whether a person read a newspaper that day or compared information between two newspapers) against country-level aggregate data (daily circulation). Since a concern about using existing country level data are their suitability in connection with media literacy, are newspaper circulation counts the best measure of media literacy? What this data does not tell us is how many people actually read the newspapers and whether these readers have a critical approach to the content. It is entirely possible that a single newspaper copy is read by three or more people, or none. When possible, for example, a measure such as "have you read a newspaper in the past 24 hours?" would provide more accurate data about actual use. Coupled with questions about awareness of funding of the publication, as well as its regulation, as suggested by Nicoleta Fotiade and Mihai Popa (2008) and Ofcom (2008), this measure would support the informed citizenry dimension of the initial framework. These types of questions could further measure respondents' ability to self-regulate their news and media consumption, as suggested by David Buckingham (2007) and Brian O'Neil and Ingun Hagen (2009). If a media index could be developed based on these critical approaches to news, it could potentially be compared against aggregate circulation data to determine relationships between the data and whether aggregate data can reflect individual critical use.

We acknowledged the risk of making incorrect assumptions about individuals based on aggregate data, such as newspaper circulation or broadband circulation alone. Such assumptions can promote an 'ecological fallacy' by overinterpreting aggregate data as a means to explain *how* individuals are using a resource, as well as *how often*, but most importantly, whether they are critically engaging, *understanding* the purpose of the media, potential *biases* affecting the messages, and *regulatory issues* affecting the media they access (Martens, 2010; Ofcom, 2008). Aggregate data provides data about a population, such as the proportion with access to media, but it is risky to draw inferences about any individual in the population on the basis of that aggregate. However, Bojana Lobe and Kjartan Ólafsson (2012) offer a counter-perspective, that comparing individual and country-level data additionally avoids an 'individualist fallacy' by considering country level factors that may affect individual responses. Just as drawing assumptions from aggregate data about individual media literacy levels poses risks in overinterpreting, Lobe and Ólafsson argue that forming assumptions based on individual data in isolation from country-level contexts is also risky. Thus, country-level and individual-level data can serve a complementary purpose when balanced within an analysis and have potential for providing a stronger picture of national media levels.

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SURVEY DEVELOPMENT

The next step in developing a measurement tool was to create a pilot survey that would serve two important functions: (1) test critical understanding questions and (2) determine whether aggregate information, such as education, income, broadband and mobile phone subscriptions could on some level indicate media literacy levels of a particular country. To achieve these goals, we developed a survey based on the literature review and statistical validation that would yield a media literacy index, an individual score for literate practice. We could then compare these scores with the aggregate data to create a national score for media literacy.

Informed by the literature review, expert consultation, and statistical validation, the project team first developed a list of the types of questions to be included in the survey. The five categories of the initial report served as a framework for the survey. We decided to reduce the number of use questions and focus more strongly on critical engagement questions (suggested as a modification to 'critical understanding') since this was an area with limited pre-existing data. The survey primarily drew from field-tested questions from Ofcom (2008), Activewatch (Fotiade and Popa, 2008), OxIS (Dutton, Helsper and Gerber, 2009; Dutton and Blank, 2011), EU Kids Online (Livingstone, Haddon, Görzig and Ólafsson, 2011) as well as Eurostat (2006, 2007) and Eurobarometer (2008a, 2008b). Acknowledging limitations of self-report data, the survey seemed the most promising means of understanding how country-level data related to individual-level responses.

Though the Consortium had conceptually agreed to reducing the number of indicators to better focus the framework, there was disagreement about what aspects of the initial framework should be included in the survey. Discourse during this time reflected the political pressures involved in developing a media literacy measurement tool for the European Commission (Hasebrink, Ólafsson and Štětka, 2009), with some members justifying inclusion of measures based on different stakeholder groups' anticipated expectations and others arguing based on empirical grounds. In the end, the survey underwent several revisions. The pilot survey was conducted online in seven Member States (Denmark, France, Hungary, Italy, Lithuania, Poland, and the United Kingdom) with a total of 7,051 participants plus an additional oversample was conducted offline through telephone survey of 252 participants. Unfortunately, in the implementation, a critical question about Internet use was re-worded in a confusing manner, resulting in 15% of respondents to the online survey responding "never" or "don't know" to questions about whether they had ever used the internet. Since the resulting data were potentially systematically biased in unknown ways, we could not test how this individual data related to country-level aggregate data. The final report drew from a few measures asked earlier in the survey, before the internet use question and reported media literacy levels based on a combination of aggregate and individual data.

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Even without the desired comparison between country-level and individual data, the process of consulting experts, engaging in an extensive literature review, analysing existing aggregate measures related to media literacy, and developing the survey, did yield interesting insights into potentials for future measures. Additionally, the study complemented ongoing studies of media literacy through project members' participation in discussions of national measures across Europe. Discussed in the next section are main findings and recommendations resulting from the study.

RESULTING RECOMMENDATIONS FOR CROSS-NATIONAL SURVEY MEASURES

The process of developing and administering our tool for measuring media literacy in EU member states informed recommendations for further development. A common challenge in measuring literacy generally and media literacy in particular is refining the scope of possible indicators. Since media literacy is part of everyday life and is associated with a variety of influences, contexts, and actions, surveys alone cannot provide a comprehensive assessment, but do provide interesting insights into individual's attitudes toward the media and perspectives on their use.

Pair questions about attitude or perception with action

Compared with data collection methods such as observation or recording actual behaviour, surveys are inherently limited to self-reporting. A majority of questions in the surveys we reviewed queried attitudes toward use or perceptions of use, without further measuring implications in terms of actions taken or inaction. The current tool advances these measures by pairing measures of attitude with resultant action.

For example, a question in the pilot survey asked, "Do you believe there are differences in the information presented on different TV channels?"

If users responded "yes," a follow-up question asked:

Q5. When you notice such differences, do you usually...
a) Disregard or ignore them.
b) Try to compare with information elsewhere (e.g., books, encyclopaedia, another TV channel, newspaper).
c) Ask friends or family members for their opinion.
d) Ask an expert or specialist.
e) Share concerns with a civic or social organisation.

Thus, the measure starts to assess the depth of response to the first question. The respondent who notices differences but ignores them may not be aware of options for seeking additional information to compare disparate information, or possibilities for reporting discrepancies.

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Another example question asked "How interested would you say you are in politics?" Responses ranged from "not all interested" to "very interested" on a 4-point scale. The follow-up question paired this interest with action:

Q7. In the past year, have you done any of the following? (Yes/No)
a) Contacted a politician or political party.
b) Donated money to a political organisation or group.
c) Sent an e-mail or message supporting a social or political cause.
d) Commented on a political or social issue in a blog post, on twitter or on a social networking site.

Responses to this question attempt to move beyond measuring political interest into determining levels of engagement.

A modular approach to measuring media literacy

Given the breadth of contexts and behaviours associated with media literacy, a simple 20-minute survey, no matter how well-designed[4], cannot provide the comprehensive measures necessary to inform policy and thus make recommendations for funding allocations in the areas of education and training or regulation in terms of access and availability.

Based on lessons learned from developing our pilot survey and on consultations with experts regarding the challenges of measuring media literacy, we recommended a modular approach. Attempting a comprehensive measure within a single survey is neither feasible, nor recommended. To achieve both breadth and depth, we recommended (1) a survey that focuses on core issues of media literacy that are regularly measured and (2) developing a rotating portion of the survey that focused on specific components of media literacy and could be flexible to adapt to new findings or priorities. For example, the modules could focus on media literacy as practiced in the workplace, home, or schools.

Figure 2 presents an overview of contexts and competencies associated with media literacy. Here, media literacy (middle rectangle) is an outcome of individual and national contexts. Individual contexts that affect media literacy include age (Livingstone and Helsper, 2006), income, education, gender, and location (Martens, 2010). National contexts that potentially affect an individual's demonstration of media literacy include culture and policy, as well as industry (O'Neill and Hagen, 2009). Media education provides awareness of media organisations' influence and control over broadcast messages and tools for interpreting these messages and determining the underlying values motivating the actions (Buckingham, 2003; Bazalgette, 1989).

[4] Additional note about survey design: The possibility of respondent fatigue (resulting from too many questions or questions that are complex or confusing to answer) further constrains survey design as does the need to keep the wording of questions straightforward enough to increase accuracy of responses.

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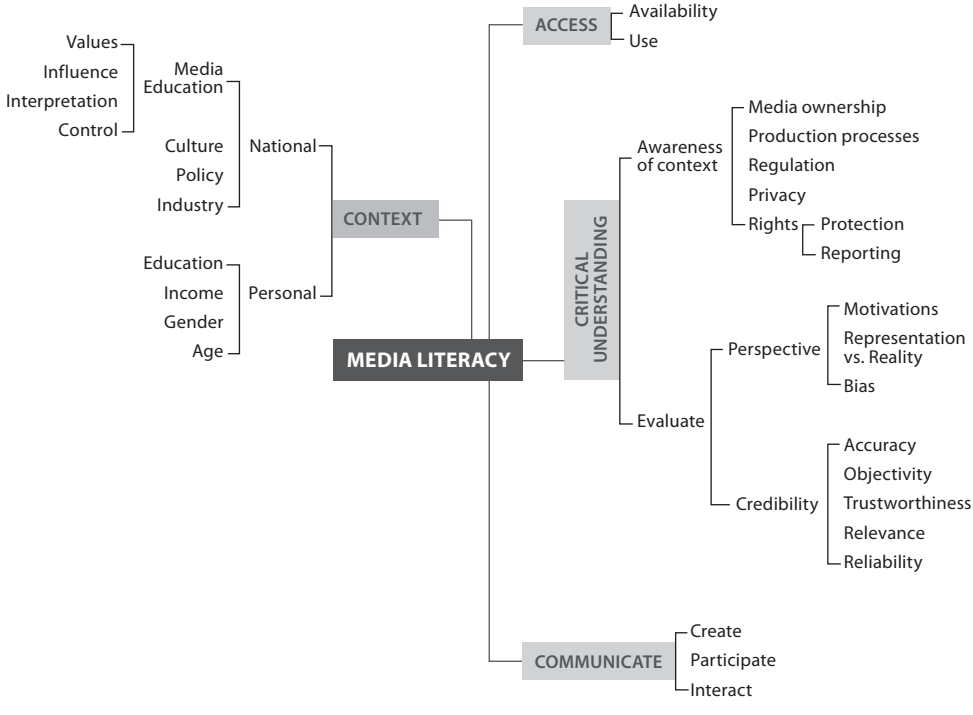

▲ *Figure 2.*
Overview of media literacy contexts and competencies

The competencies shown here reflect those identified in the initial report and supported by further review and expert consultation. In particular, the competencies correspond with the definition of media literacy developed by members of the Media Literacy Expert Group convened by the European Commission (2011).

Figure 3 shows the areas that were consistently identified as core areas of measurement in media literacy as supported by the literature review and expert consultation (in bold font). A majority of these elements represent a low response burden because they ask demographic information, for example, age and income in the case of personal context.

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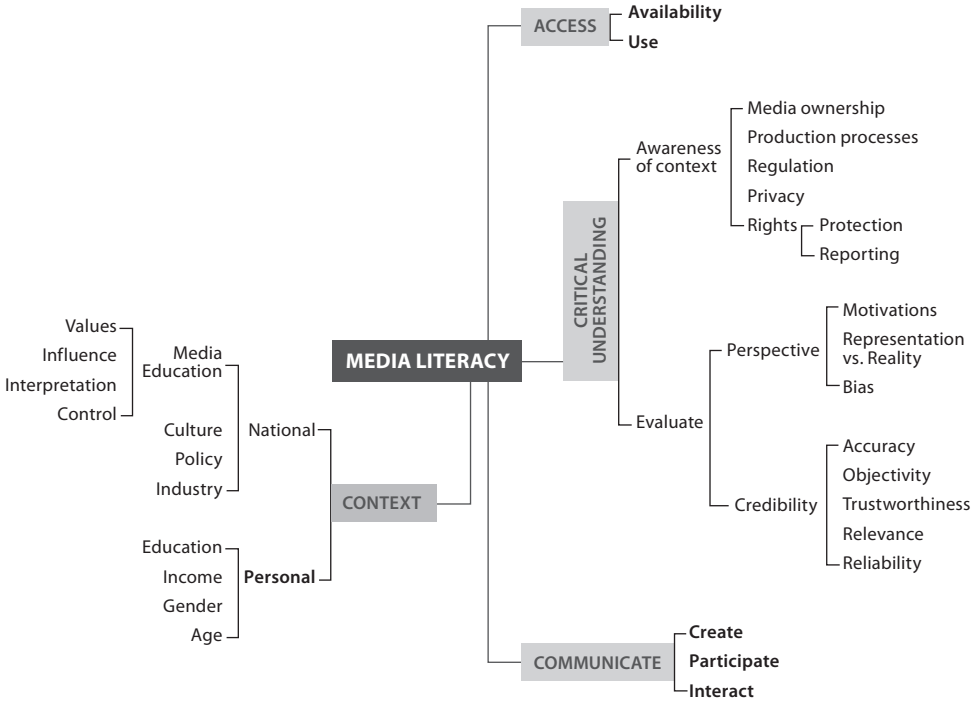

▲ *Figure 3.*
Core areas of measurement
(Personal demographics, Access, Communicate)

Figure 4 shows the areas recommended as rotating components of the survey (in bold font). These components measure critical understanding, requiring deeper thinking on the part of the respondent. For example, these questions address awareness of bias in the media, or an understanding that lifestyles or body images presented on television may not accurately reflect real life. More depth of information can be gained by focusing on different modules of the framework rather than attempting to measure all in a single survey.

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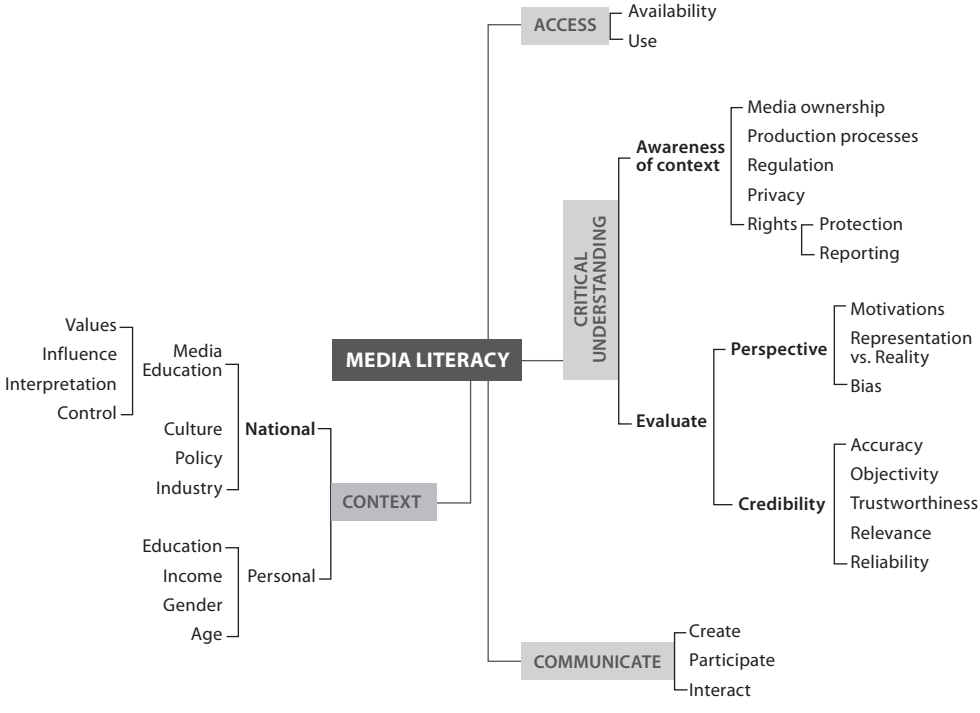

▲ *Figure 4.*
Rotating Components
(Critical Understanding, National Context)

Also illustrated by Figure 4 are a rotating component of questions related to the national context. Understanding the cultural, regulatory, economic, and educational context in which media literacy is developed and enacted is essential to further developments in policy and training. A rotating survey addressing context can allow for more in-depth exploration of the national context's resultant effects on media literacy.

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Recommended implementation

We recommended a 5-year period in which the rotating survey could take place in Member States to collect in-depth responses to questions related to critical understanding and awareness of the national media context, while also measuring annual changes in access, use, and participation. Collecting and analysing data on diverse aspects each year would gradually develop a concise list of indicators and identify core media literacy measures by the end of the 5th year. It would at the same time prompt targeted policy making on the specific annual topic. In the sixth year, Member States could start reporting along concise, key policy indicators. This period would drive different research opportunities each year in Europe on media literacy, would allow streamlined funding dedicated to media literacy, and would also help Member States to prepare the necessary platforms of cooperation with the different stakeholders and the media industry for data collection.

Outcomes

While fulfilling the reporting obligations of the AVMS directive, to date no Member States have used the tool. A commissioner in the DG Information Society and Media Unit was not certain why the tool had not been used. The European Commission was not aware of countries using their own indicators to measure media literacy levels, with the exception of the United Kingdom's Ofcom. Lack of use seemed to be related to media literacy not being a funding priority (2012).

CONCLUSIONS

Cross-national media literacy efforts seem to be as Robinson (1970) described literacy efforts 40 years ago: a general concern, generally addressed by governmental directives, 'impassioned addresses,' and limited piecemeal funding. Efforts lack a systematic approach that would identify specific problems and delegate responsibility for specific solutions. As Robinson (1970) warned: "These problems cannot be solved by a few over-burdened leaders in the field, nor by a few conscientious teachers, nor by a limited number of adequately trained researchers..." (Robinson, 1970: 77) yet, for the most part, this is precisely the approach evident in ongoing media literacy efforts (Bazalgette, 2008; Buckingham, 2008; Jacquinot-Delaunay, 2008; O'Neill and Hagen, 2009). Despite a multi-stakeholder approach advocated by Divina Frau-Meigs (2006) and Livingstone, Van Couvering and Thumim (2005), media literacy efforts continue to stagnate.

A consistent challenge in cross-national initiatives is that often stakeholders are grouped together in projects without a strategic plan for maximising expertise (Hasebrink, Ólafsson, and Štětka, 2009; Bazalgette, 2008). Involving diverse groups in European projects means that members bring unique and varied perspectives, potentially direct experience with stakeholder groups, or specialised practitioner knowledge. A potential drawback is a clash of expectations. Several media experts have addressed potential

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conflicts between the expectations of different stakeholder groups and how these may run counter to media literacy research and education programming (Bazalgette, 2008; Buckingham, 2008; Jacquinot-Delaunay, 2008; O'Neill and Hagen, 2009). Cary Bazalgette (2008) describes the risks in convincing policymakers and industry leaders to invest resources in promoting media literacy at the potential expense of well-designed research and curricula. Related to Bazalgette's concerns are assumptions held by the different groups about the aims and methods of their collaborators.

A further challenge for cross-national research and policy initiatives is uneven expertise in terms of quantitative and qualitative methods of research. Isis Hjorth (2009) provides interesting insights into these fundamental differences in approach. She quotes a member of the European Commission's Media Literacy Expert Group referring to "unevenness in membership of the group" (Hjorth, 2009). This member described the process of developing a definition of media literacy:

There are all kinds of unevennesses, disagreement… one unevenness is the membership of the group… there are academics like ourselves from different countries, there are media educators from outside the academic world…there are representatives from the industry, who in my view are not necessarily media literacy experts. I mean they might be experts in the production of newspapers or whatever that might be, but that doesn't mean they know very much about what we would consider to be media literacy. (Hjorth, 2009: 27)

This unevenness in expertise can potentially lead to differences in expectations and disagreements regarding quality metrics, data collection, and potential bias when developing frameworks or analysing and reporting findings. These differences in expectations and assumptions are a challenge inherent in working across specialisations, cultures, perspectives, and experiences.

Given the conceptual complexity of media literacy, initiatives face challenges on several levels, in particular methodological and political. This case study provides an example of attempts to pair theory with data and further pair national-level aggregate data with individual data. It highlights methodological challenges and attempts to overcome them while also addressing political challenges facing media literacy initiatives. Despite its troubles, (as described in Livingstone and Wang, 2013), the UK's Ofcom provided a strong example of both a strong media literacy measurement tool and effective stakeholder involvement. Ofcom consistently involved stakeholders and media literacy experts in discussions of their findings and future plans, creating a space for active dialogue. International efforts such as UNESCO's media literacy programme and EU Kids Online, among others, additionally provide examples of strong measurement tools resulting from a network of experts. As resources for the study of media literacy continue to diminish, a promising direction would be for these efforts to join up and pool their data and collected expertise.

How can the tool developed in the case study contribute to future joining up of media literacy research efforts? The tool drew upon existing field-tested questions as part of a

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larger framework developed in consultation with media literacy experts. The framework is consistent with UNESCO's structuring of media literacy in terms of individual and environmental contexts and with most European studies of media literacy. It may suffer from being too inclusive. By including so many indicators in the framework, identifying what truly defines media literate practice is potentially difficult; however, since literate practice varies with context and purpose, the tool provides flexibility in measuring different aspects of practice. The main contribution of this tool is the modular framework, which could provide a means of measurement for different countries or organisations that accommodates shifting priorities and concerns.

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MJERENJE MEDIJSKE PISMENOSTI U NACIONALNOM KONTEKSTU: IZAZOVI DEFINIRANJA, METODA I PRIMJENE

Monica E. Bulger

SAŽETAK *Političari i znanstvenici dijele mišljenje da je medijska pismenost sposobnost pristupanja, analize i vrednovanja medija u različitim formama te kompetentna komunikacija unutar tih formi. Ipak, ta definicija koja se čini preciznom predstavlja metodološke izazove u mjerenju, posebno unutar nacionalnog konteksta. Na razini teorije pristupi mjerenju medijske pismenosti često uključuju mnoge aspekte i elemente, bez nužnog razmatranja kako je medijska pismenost usvojena ili identificiranja konkretnih primjera medijski pismenih aktera u svakodnevnim kontekstima. U praksi su pokazatelji često definirani postojećim podacima ili podacima koji se mogu lako prikupiti, a ne odabirom jačih mjera koje su identificirane kroz empirijsko istraživanje. Ovaj članak istražuje metodološke izazove povezane s mjerenjem medijske pismenosti na nacionalnoj razini koristeći kao studiju slučaja nedavno objavljeno "Ispitivanje i ponovno definiranje kriterija za procjenu razine medijske pismenosti u svim zemljama članicama EU". Na kraju se predlažu preciznije mjere koje se odnose na praksu, kontekste i promjenu političkih prioriteta.*

KLJUČNE RIJEČI

MEDIJSKA PISMENOST, OBRAZOVANJE ZA MEDIJE, KRITIČKO MIŠLJENJE, METODE ISTRAŽIVANJA PISMENOSTI

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MEDIJSKA PISMENOST:

OBRAZOVNA PITANJA

MEDIA LITERACY:

EDUCATIONAL ISSUES

ARGUING FOR A CONTEXTUAL APPROACH TO EUROPEAN MEDIA EDUCATION RESEARCH

Hans Martens

PREGLEDNI RAD / UDK 316.774:37(4), 791.43:37.036(4), 316.774:8(4) / PRIMLJENO: 05.07.2012.

ABSTRACT *In this article, we focus on how various historical, contextual, and idiosyncratic factors shape the aims and methods of current European media educational practice. We start by briefly situating the history of European media education research and policymaking. We then discuss in more detail three important strands of media literacy initiatives within the Flemish Community (Belgium). While each of these diverging types of media education partly mirrors broader trends in European media research and policymaking, their aims and instructional methods also reveal the specificity of the Flemish media literacy context. In our discussion, we draw upon these findings to pinpoint a number of key determinants which may help to better understand similarities and differences within the European Union.*

KEY WORDS

MEDIA EDUCATION, MEDIA LITERACY, FILM EDUCATION, YOUTH MEDIA PRODUCTION, ONLINE RISKS AND OPPORTUNITIES

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The importance of media education has long been recognised at the international level, from the 1982 UNESCO Grünwald Declaration to the 2007 Paris agenda[1]. During the last decade the European Commission, European Council and the European Parliament also initiated a number of consultations, studies, resolutions, directives, recommendations, and a communication which have given media literacy and media education a more established place on the European policy agenda.

The increased attention in media literacy and media education at the European level is also felt in policies and educational practices in individual Member States. However, as previous research has shown, there are many contextual differences in the general approach to media literacy and in the kinds of learning environments media educators deem most fruitful to attain particular learning outcomes (Martens, 2010; Kubey, 1998, 2003; Buckingham, 2003). In this article, we focus on how various historical, contextual, and idiosyncratic factors shape the aims and methods of media educational practice. We start by briefly situating the history of European media education research and policymaking. Subsequently, we discuss in more detail three important strands of media literacy initiatives within the Flemish Community (Belgium). In particular, we will show (a) how current Flemish media education frameworks are, as in several other European countries, still largely reminiscent of a long tradition of film education, (b) how the increased availability of cheap and easy to use audiovisual production technologies has stimulated media organisations to integrate multimedia production activities in their work, and (c) how more recent media literacy initiatives have shifted their focus from audiovisual media to risks and opportunities in an online environment. While each of these types of media educational practices partly mirrors broader trends in European media research and policymaking, their aims and methods also reveal the specificity of the Flemish media literacy context. In our discussion, we draw upon these findings to pinpoint a number of key determinants which may help to better understand similarities and differences within the European Union.

BRIEF HISTORY OF EUROPEAN MEDIA EDUCATION RESEARCH

European media education has a long history both inside and outside academia, most notably in the UK. For instance, in the 1930s-1950s, key organisations such as the Society for Education in Film and Television (SEFT) and the British Film Institute (BFI) Education Department began operating across a wide spectrum of activities connecting film and children. In those days, *film appreciation* was used as a loose expression to describe a variety of educational practices ranging from training children's tastes to more advanced study of the style and structure of a particular film (Bolas, 2009).

Some point out that *film education* was, in its earliest manifestation,

[1] See Carlsson et al., 2008.

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education against the media; its function to encourage pupils to develop discrimination, fine judgment, and taste by grasping the basic differences between the timeless values of authentic 'high' culture (in which teachers were themselves initiated) and the debased, anti-cultural values of largely commercial mass media (Masterman, 1997: 20-21).

In any case, developments in film theory have long played a decisive role in the media education movement. For instance, in the 1950s, the emergence in France of a corpus of serious critical writing around the journal *Cahiers du Cinema* convinced a generation of teachers to see value in the work of particular film directors who could be seen as genuine authors. In this way, discrimination became something to be exercised not against but within the media.[2] In the late 1960s and 1970s, at a time when the mass audience for cinema was declining, film education was gradually reframed as *screen education* to include television, and later as *media education* in the 1980s and the 1990s to include the whole spectrum of print, audiovisual, and online media (Bolas, 2009; Kubey, 1997; Masterman, 1997).

The historical development of media education is often synthesised as a gradual move beyond cultural, moral, and political defensiveness, whereby popular culture was slowly recognised as valid and worthy of consideration in the primary and secondary school curriculum. What grew out of long-standing concerns about negative effects of mass media on children and adolescents evolved into a less protective approach that aims to develop young people's conceptual understanding of, and participation in contemporary media culture (Buckingham, 1986, 1996, 1998a, 2003; Masterman, 1997). In this view, media education is now no longer seen as a 'solution' to 'problems' caused by the media, because of their (so-called) lack of cultural value, or because these media (allegedly) convey hidden ideologies and/or promote undesirable behaviour. Rather, media educators should design media analysis or media production activities which focus on a number of 'key concepts' or 'key aspects' – such as production, language, representation, and audience – in order to help young people make decisions on their own behalf, without ignoring the importance of their enjoyment and pleasure in the media (Bazalgette, 1992; Buckingham, 1990, 1998a, 2003; Buckingham and Sefton-Green, 1994; Burn and Durran, 2007; Masterman, 1980, 1985).

In line with on-going developments in an increasingly digitalised environment, scholars more recently started to redefine the purpose of media education. To be sure, the comprehensive set of conceptual skills which enable individuals to understand how reality is inevitably constructed or represented by media through the interaction of a production process, a media message, and an audience has not lost much of their initial relevance (Buckingham, 2007a, 2007b; Potter, 2004, 2009; Hobbs, 2011). However, these conceptual understandings were typically included in a broader set of media literacy skills and competences which should enable individuals *to access, analyse, evaluate, and create* the full variety of offline and online media messages (Livingstone, 2004, 2008; Livingstone et al., 2004; Livingstone et al., 2005). For instance, while barriers in *access* now pose relatively few problems for print and audiovisual media (at least in developed countries), the digital divide is (still) a much debated research and policy topic (DiMaggio et al., 2004;

[2] See also Hall and Whannel, 1969.

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Norris, 2001). In addition, it can be argued that the proliferation and commercialisation of digital media channels "puts universal participation in a shared culture and the provision of free-to-all public service content back on the agenda" (Livingstone, 2004: 5-6). As far as *analysis* and *evaluation* are concerned, internet researchers have additionally emphasised the importance of skills that are operational (ability to read and write texts, view, listen to, and make audiovisual programs, operate computers and programs), informational (skills to search, select, and process information), and strategic (the capacities to use these sources as the means for specific goals and for the general goal for improving one's position in society) (van Deursen and van Dijk, 2010a, 2010b; Van Dijk, 2005, 2006; van Dijk and Hacker, 2003). These online skills not only relate to different levels of digital inclusion, they also mediate the relationship between demographic variables and people's experience of online risks and opportunities (Livingstone and Helpser, 2007, 2010). Finally, although media users have long been receivers rather than senders of audiovisual media messages, technological developments have made content *creation* in a participatory culture easier than ever. Nonetheless, there is good evidence that what people do online is far less creative than often suggested (Buckingham, 2010; Jenkins, 2006; Jenkins et al., 2009; Livingstone and Helsper, 2010).

EUROPEAN POLICYMAKING

At first sight, the current state of European policymaking strongly resonates with this comprehensive approach to media education. To give one obvious example, the European Commission currently defines media literacy as

the competence to access the media, to understand and to have a critical approach towards different aspects of media contents, and to create communications in a variety of contexts. Media literacy relates to all media, including television and film, radio and recorded music, print media, the internet, and all other digital communication technologies.[3]

However, a more detailed review of recent European media literacy and media education initiatives reveals a much more eclectic and issue-driven path of development. Within this context, media literacy and media education are not so much framed as useful in their own terms, but rather as important elements in broader policy attempts to deal with a (sheer endless) range of media-related challenges in an information society.

AN ECLECTIC STARTING POINT

In the early 2000s, the European Commission became increasingly involved in media literacy issues. For example, it launched a series of workshops on media literacy and media education with participants from a wide range of European Member States.[4] In parallel with this, from 2002 till 2005, it financed about thirty media educational projects

[3] http://ec.europa.eu/culture/media/literacy/index_en.htm (08.12.2012).
[4] http://ec.europa.eu/culture/media/literacy (08.12.2012).

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within the framework of the European eLearning programme.[5] Both initiatives served to stimulate the exchange of knowledge and experiences amongst media educators from European Union member states. By the end of 2003, the European Commission more formally expressed its growing interest in (young) people's media-related knowledge and skills. In a communication (COM(2003) 784) about the future of the European regulatory audiovisual policy, the Commission argued that "the changing media landscape, resulting from new technologies and media innovation makes it necessary to teach children (and their parents) to use the media effectively. To know where to find information and how to interpret it nowadays represents an essential skill" (COM(2003) 784: 22).

From 2005 on, a number of recommendations, resolutions, and directives from the European Parliament and the European Council continued along diverging lines. For instance, in 2005, the European Parliament and the Council (2005/865/CE in OJ L 323, 09.12.2005) recommended Member States to improve preservation and exploitation of the European film heritage and to remove obstacles for the development and full competitiveness of the European film industry by, amongst other things, fostering and promoting film studies and media literacy in education at all levels. In 2006, the European Parliament asked the Council and the Commission to develop and implement media literacy programs in order to promote active and aware citizenship in Europe (OJ C 193E, 17.08.2006). That same year, within the context of the transition from analogue to digital broadcasting (OJ C 296E, 06.12.2006), the European Parliament urged the Member States, in the aim to avoid new forms of exclusion, and in particular the digital divide, to ensure that efforts would be made to educate the public about digital technologies and about the possibilities to take advantage of the benefits of the information society. At the same time, it asked the European Commission to produce a communication on media literacy. Again in 2006, in order to encourage the take-up of technological developments the European Parliament and the Council recommended Member States to promote

action to enable minors to make responsible use of audiovisual and on-line information services, notably by improving the level of awareness among parents, teachers and trainers of the potential of the new services and of the means whereby they may be made safe for minors, in particular through media literacy or media education programs and, for instance, by continuous training within school education (2006/952/EC in OJ L 378, 27.12.2006: 74).

Finally, late 2007 in Directive 2007/65/EC the European Parliament and the Council of the European Union asked the European Commission to submit a report on the levels of media literacy in all Member States no later than December 2011, and every three years thereafter (OJ L 332, 18.12.2007, later codified in Directive 2010/13/EU the Audiovisual Media Services Directive, OJ L 95, 15.04.2010).

STREAMLINING THE EU STRATEGY

As should be clear at this point, European Union policymaking on media literacy and media education has from the start been rather eclectic, covering a wide range of issues

[5] http://ec.europa.eu/education/archive/elearning (08.12.2012).

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ranging from eLearning, film heritage, and the competitiveness of the European film industry, to active citizenship in a European information society, the digital divide, and minors' ability to make responsible use of audiovisual and online information services.

While each of these issues is still relevant today, the European Commission eventually sought to prioritise (and streamline) some of its activities. In a 2007 communication (COM(2007) 833), the European Commission set out the contours of a European approach to media literacy in the digital environment. Much more in line with the academic literature, media literacy was now defined as "the ability to access the media, to understand and to critically evaluate different aspects of the media and media contents and to create communication in a variety of contexts" (COM(2007) 833: 3). In addition, it is argued that a European approach to media literacy should relate to all media. Thus, the various levels of media literacy not only include "feeling comfortable with all existing media from newspapers to virtual communities", but also "better exploiting the potential of media for entertainment, access to culture, intercultural dialogue, learning and daily-life applications", "having a critical approach to media as regards both quality and accuracy of content", and "using media creatively, as the evolution of media technologies and the increasing presence of the Internet as a distribution channel allow an ever growing number of Europeans to create and disseminate images, information and content" (COM(2007) 833: 3).[6]

Arguably, this framework is still quite vague. Nonetheless, in its media literacy communication, the European Commission also assembled (most of) these media literacy levels into two diverging types of best practices. On the one hand, media literacy education is explicitly framed as an effective means to provide better awareness and knowledge about European film heritage, especially to young European audiences, and to increase interest in these and more recent European films. Within this context, media literacy initiatives should promote the acquisition of audiovisual media production and creativity skills, and help European citizens understand the importance of copyright, which in turn should further strengthen the quality and the competitiveness of the European audiovisual industry.[7] On the other hand, media literacy is proposed as an important tool to increase inclusion and awareness in a rapidly evolving information society. Here, media literacy education should empower (young) audiences to critically assess (online) commercial content and make informed decisions. At the same time, it should ensure that the information society benefits (such as the efficient use of search engines, internet radio, multimedia digital libraries, and so forth) can be enjoyed by everyone, especially by people who are already disadvantaged economically or physically.[8]

[6] See also the Council conclusions on a European approach to media literacy in a digital environment (OJ C 140, 06.06.2008) and the opinion of the Committee of the Regions (OJ C 325, 19.12.2008).

[7] Again see the recommendation of the European Parliament and the Council on film heritage and the competitiveness of related industrial activities (OJ L 323, 09.12.2005), the MEDIA 2007 programme (OJ L 327, 24.11.2006), as well as a more recent report (to be finished in December 2012) launched by the European Commission which should identify and analyse the existing situation concerning film literacy in Europe http://ec.europa.eu/culture/media/literacy/studies).

[8] Again see the Television without Frontiers directive (OJ C 193 E, 17.08.2006), the resolution on the transition from analogue to digital broadcasting (OJ C 296 E, 6.12.2006), the recommendation on the protection of minors and human dignity (OJ L 378, 27.12.2006), and the Audiovisual Media Services Directive (OJ L 95, 15.04.2010), but also the Safer Internet (COM(2006) 663) and the Safer Internet Plus Program (COM(2009) 64).

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This twofold approach was again affirmed in the most recent Commission recommendation (C(2009) 6464) which mainly focused on how media literacy in a digital environment may contribute to both a competitive audiovisual industry and an inclusive knowledge society. Here, the Commission on one hand recommends that Member States enhance their efforts to improve awareness of national and European audiovisual heritage through national awareness-raising campaigns aimed at citizens. On the other hand, trainings, information days, and the distribution of information packs should ensure an increased awareness of online opportunities and risks in today's information society, especially amongst children, adolescents, parents, teachers, media professionals, and the elderly (see also European Parliament resolution 2010/C 45 E/02 on media literacy in a digital world (OJ C 45E, 23.02.2010) and the Council conclusions OJ C 301/09 on media literacy in the digital environment (OJ C 301, 11.12.2009).

TEACHING AND LEARNING ABOUT MEDIA IN THE FLEMISH COMMUNITY

Trends in European media education research and European Union policymaking are certainly useful to understand the state of media education across European countries and regions. However, how media education looks in practice is also largely determined by contextual and idiosyncratic factors which are likely to be different amongst different European Member States. To substantiate this point, we will describe in more detail three dominant strands of Flemish media literacy practice. While each of them partly resembles broader trends at the European level, these cases also illustrate how the appropriation of European policymaking is conditional on the specificity of the national or regional context.

Film Education

Within the Flemish Community, a large number of non-profit initiatives aim to make art house films accessible to young people. In terms of instructional methods, they provide opportunities for schools to attend a variety of film screenings. They also develop pedagogical film dossiers on film content and film style which can easily be used in a classroom context. In the main, these non-profit organisations are subsidised by the Flemish Government as audiovisual arts or arts educational organisation under the Arts Decree[9] or as youth work organisation under the Decree on conducting a Flemish policy on youth and children's rights[10].

To give one notable example, *Lessen in het Donker (Lessons in the Dark)* compiles a yearly list of non-mainstream films which are considered relevant (by the organisation's programming team) for discussion in a classroom context, for both reasons of content and style. As indicated by the programme coordinator, "our main purpose is to make children familiar with various aspects of the medium film, and to introduce them to a type of film that is somewhat distinct from their everyday media consumption patterns" (Tine Van

[9] See Belgian Official Journal - BS 06.07.2004: 54065 and BS 14.08.2008: 43407.
[10] See Belgian Official Journal - BS 26.09.2008: 50149 and BS 17.01.2011: 3043.

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Dycke, personal communication, May 8, 2007). To organise its film education activities, *Lessen in het Donker* has build up a network of over 50 local film exhibitors (varying from commercial and art house cinemas, to cultural, arts and community centres). This enables schools all over the Flemish Community to attend a film screening nearby. In collaboration with akin organisations such as *Jekino Educatie (Jekino Education)* and *Open Doek Filmfestiva (Open Curtain Film Festival),* an educational dossier is prepared for each of these films. Teachers who wish to participate in the programme are expected to use this material to briefly introduce the film to the pupils beforehand, and to discuss a variety of issues of both content and style afterwards. Every year, about 80,000 pupils from Flemish primary (age 6 to 12) and secondary education (age 12 to 18) participate in a *Lesson in the Dark* film activity[11]. According to a Flemish policy report, 66% of schools participate in this (or a similar) type of film educational activity two or three times a year (Goegebuer, 2004).

From a historical point of view, the existence of Flemish (and Belgian) film education has long been informed by concerns about (alleged) negative effects of mass media in general and Hollywood cinema in particular, because of a perceived lack of aesthetic value or the depiction of violent or sexual content. For instance, in 1947, the Belgian *Katholieke Filmaktie (Open Curtain Film Festival)* founded CEDOC, the *Centrale Dienst voor Onderwijs- en Cultuurfilm (Central Service of Educational and Cultural Film)*. Together with the *Katholiek Filmcentrum (Catholic Film Centre)*, the *Katholieke Filmkeuring (Catholic Film Censorship Board)*, the *Documentatiecentrum voor de Cinematografische Pers (Documentation Center for the Cinematographic Press)* and the *Katholieke Filmliga (Catholic Film League)*, this film educational service was part of a much broader struggle of the Catholic Church against the 'moral decline' in 'bad' cinema (Biltereyst, 2007). In these early days, motion pictures were mainly perceived as symbolising the excrescences of modern society. Therefore, CEDOC invested heavily in developing alternative film programmes, providing schools with up-to-date projection material, organising workshops for teachers and courses for pupils, and publishing film educational brochures, articles, and books, which could all help "to prevent the passive and uncritical subordination to film viewing" (CEDOC, 1956: 61). Moreover, it was thought to be "irrefutable that children and adults who are not warned, and who lack the ability to make an informed judgment, will imitate the habits of their heroes on the silver screen. Their unprotected soul will often be not capable to discriminate between true and false, between good and bad, which tend to mix up in motion pictures" (CEDOC, 1955).

As we have suggested, European media education gradually moved beyond this type of cultural or moral defensiveness, and teaching about media became less a matter of resistance against popular culture (Buckingham, 1996, 1998a, 2003). However, in the Flemish Community at least, the notion that young people should be introduced to a film culture which differs from their everyday exposure to commercial Hollywood blockbusters has lost very little of its initial relevance (Bergala, 2006; Martens, 2009). Of course, over all these years, the early moral panics about film have largely faded away. As noted by the *Lessen in het Donker* programme coordinator, "it is not our aim to warn pupils

[11] In total, roughly 800,000 children and adolescents are officially registered in Flemish primary and secondary education. Thus, *Lesson in the Donker* reaches approximately 10% of the total student population.

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about the negative effects of motion pictures. We just consider film as a medium which is omnipresent in young peoples' everyday life. Therefore, they should learn to better understand its different facets."[12] Yet still, as suggested by the head of education at *Open Doek Filmfestival*, "for us, it is important to introduce pupils to a different type of films than the mainstream Hollywood cinema they typically know from television or from going to the movie theatre."[13] Or, to quote a former media educator at *Jekino Educatie*, "in many ways, the films we programme are American blockbuster's counterpart. In principle, we have no problem with the entertaining value of commercial films. However, we consider it useful to provide pupils with opportunities to get to know other films which have more difficulties to reach a large audience. Because most pupils are not used to see this type of films, it is also important to give them some background information, and to teach them about the different components of audiovisual language."[14]

In other words Flemish media education, mirroring European policy, is still partly conceived as a tool to increase young people's awareness of participation in a (European) film culture which largely differs from their everyday media experiences. This not only indicates that the Flemish Community partly differs from European countries and regions with a more developed tradition in media education. It also points to the continuing importance of contextual specificities. In particular, Flemish media educational activities have yet to find a strong foothold in the formal school curriculum. Therefore, the field is largely dominated by audiovisual arts or arts educational organisations which tend to have other priorities than teaching about the many facets of the full range of mass media. In particular, the legitimacy (and financial resources) for these kinds of organisations largely depends on the assumption that it is indeed useful to increase these pupils' enthusiasm for *another* type of (less commercial) cinema or audiovisual culture. Therefore, it seems rather unlikely that these initiatives will broaden their scope to include all kinds of popular culture.

Youth Media Production

While arts educational approaches to media education remain relatively important in the Flemish Community, the increasing availability of cheap multimedia technologies has gradually made it possible to complement traditional film analytical programmes with youth media production activities. This education strategy is well documented in the European media education literature; its aim typically is to design more practical audiovisual exercises which stimulate pupils to think in conceptual terms about the many decisions which have to be taken when using a particular media language to produce a media messages for a particular target audience (Hart, 2001; Buckingham, 2003; Buckingham and Sefton-Green, 1994).

One exemplary Flemish initiative with a media production component is *INgeBEELD* (*In pictures*), which was launched by *CANON Cultuurcel*, the cultural unit of the Flemish Department of Education. Within this four-part project, developed in collaboration

[12] Tine Van Dycke, personal communication, May 8, 2007.
[13] Greet Stevens, personal communication, April 23, 2007.
[14] Nele Gulinck, personal communication, May 2007.

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with several audiovisual arts, arts educational, and youth work organisations, *CANON* aimed to develop a programme on audiovisual training that was integrated horizontally (across curriculum) and vertically (from kindergarten to teacher training). *INgeBEELD 1* is an introductory media educational tool box for preschoolers and children in the first degree of primary education (age 4 to 8), the result of a close collaboration with *Jekino Educatie*. The package consists of a DVD with five short films and a booklet with audiovisual exercises and teaching tips. The main purpose is to actively introduce young children to the basic components of audiovisual language in a playful manner. These learning goals are explicitly tied to the expressive arts learning objectives (the so-called 'muzische vorming') in kindergarten and primary education[15]. In *INgeBEELD 2* several other social-cultural organisations joined *CANON Cultuurcel* and *Jekino* to develop a teaching module which is an in-depth study of the five basic components of audiovisual language: the shot, lighting, editing, sound, and graphic design. In the first phase (for children age 6 to 10), pupils actively experiment with each of these components separately in short audiovisual exercises. In the second phase (for children and adolescents age 10 to 14), these components are brought together in more elaborate audiovisual production activities[16]. *INgeBEELD 3* is an online module for pupils age 12 to 18. It offers a broad perspective on audiovisual channels and messages, focusing on, among other things, graphic design, sound and special effects, chat programs, VJing, video, photography, new media arts, and so forth. The website is structured around four modules (shopping centre, image chat, an image of the world, and mix and trix) and an Emergence Game. Each of the online assignments is linked to developmental objectives and attainment targets across the curriculum[17]. Lastly, *INgeBEELD 4* is an online learning environment for students in teachers training and for teachers. It includes both text and audiovisual materials and consists of four interlinked worlds: the world of neighbourhood TV, the world of inspiration, the world of perception, and the world of learning. The platform also showcases prior media trajectories in neighbourhoods and schools so that it can be used as a source of inspiration[18].

To some extent, this approach can again be linked to recent European policy discourse. As we have seen, media literacy initiatives are thought to be particularly suitable to promote the acquisition of audiovisual media production and creativity skills. Yet, while this viewpoint is indeed partly reflected in Flemish media educational practice, here again, the rationale behind the *INgeBEELD* project is more easily explained by contextual dynamics at the community level. Like most film education organisations, *INgeBEELD* and other similar initiatives tend to frame their aim and methods within broader frameworks of audiovisual arts, arts education, or youth work. Therefore, it is not surprising that these activities typically focus on the components of audiovisual language, rather than on various other relevant facets, such as the economy of mass media production or the individual and social determinants of mass media audiences. Within this context, the importance of forging creative expression as distinct from everyday experiences of the media is continuously emphasised. In other words, similar to the film analytical programmes,

[15] See http://www.platformrondmediawijsheid.be/ingebeeld1/.
[16] See http://www.platformrondmediawijsheid.be/ingebeeld2/
[17] See www.ingebeeld3.be.
[18] See www.ingebeeld.be (16.12.2012).

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media production strategies are seldom used to stimulate a more reflective usage of popular media messages. Rather, they serve to familiarise children and adolescents with *other* kinds of audiovisual culture.

Online Risks and Opportunities

In line with more general developments in European media education research and policymaking, recent Flemish policy documents reveal that current media literacy debates tend to focus on digital inclusion and safer internet issues. It is important to note that Flemish policy makers and practitioners have been rather late to pick up on this trend. Moreover, it is not yet clear if this recent enthusiasm will eventually translate into long-term policy engagements. Nonetheless, here again, we are able to identify some tendencies which reveal the complex interplay between a top-down European policy agenda and a bottom-up response driven by national and regional customs.

From a Flemish point of view, the dominant approach to *digital* media education is best illustrated by a recent policy note jointly published by the Flemish Minister of Media and Poverty Reduction and the Flemish Minster of Education, Youth, and Equal Opportunities (Lieten and Smet, 2012)[19]. As might be expected, in this particular context, media education comes primarily in a framework on online risks and opportunities. In particular, three key objectives are put forward. First of all, the document emphasises that our society is gradually evolving into "an information society in which handling technology and digital media is a basic competence. In addition, digital media offer a variety of opportunities to participate in society: from getting to know a varied and accessible media offer to the possibility to add (creative) content. Being able to autonomously function thus becomes a fundamental requirement to participate in society" (Lieten and Smet, 2012: 27). Secondly, an important aim of the Flemish media literacy policy is "to create an inclusive digital society. Equal opportunities for all citizens in an information society is an absolute priority. Because it is obvious that the increasing omnipresence and impact of technology and media not only brings along opportunities, but also risks. And third, the Flemish media literacy policy needs to create a safe online environment. "Nowadays, dealing with privacy issues is one of the main challenges, because technology makes it possible to make available private issues on a large scale on social network sites and databases. Cyber bullying is also a problem which requires engagement from all parties involved. New media channels bring along a number of requirements and questions relating to author's rights because they make it possible to easily download music, video, and e-books. Finally, parents are concerned about their children's video game use or have difficulties finding correct information" (Lieten and Smet, 2012: 28).

In Flanders, the organisation which perhaps most clearly subscribes to these objectives is *Child Focus*, the Belgian foundation for missing and sexually exploited children. With its *Clicksafe.be* services, it operates as the Belgian Safer Internet Centre

[19] See also Minister Lieten's 2009 policy note on Media (Parl. St. Vl. Parl., 2009-2010, nr. 209/1), the Flemish policy plan for Seniors (Parl. St. Vl. Parl. 2010-2011, nr. 686/1), the Flemish action plan on Poverty (Parl. St. Vl. Parl. 2009-2010, nr. 637/1), and the progress report of the Flemish action plan on Poverty (Parl. St. Vl. Parl. 2010-2011, nr. 1110/1) and Minister Smet's 2009 policy note Education (Parl. St. Vl. Parl. 2009-2010, nr. 202/1: 21) and on Youth (Parl. St. Vl. Parl. 2009-2010, nr. 203/1: 23).

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within the European Insafe/INHOPE network, which is funded under the framework of the European Commission's Safer Inter Programme.[20] All across Europe, these Safer Internet Centres have the responsibility to promote safe, responsible use of the internet and mobile devices to children, young people and their families and to identify and remove illegal content online. On one hand, this again illustrates how European policy makers are eager to streamline the media education field. On the other hand, each of these national Safer Internet Centres has to operate with diverging national and regional context, with different types of partners at their disposal. For instance, to achieve its goal to reach Flemish children and adolescents, *Child Focus* not only directly targets teachers in schools, but also closely collaborates with a number of youth work organisations which have a more established tradition in working with young people on (online) media. In parallel with this, *Child Focus* also participated in the development of the safe online environment launched by *Ketnet*, the Flemish public broadcast channel for children. Needless to say, the specific context in which these particular media literacy partnerships unfold, heavily shape the nature of Flemish media education as a whole. That is, while formal education may be in a good position to develop pupils' media-related knowledge skills, and attitudes, Flemish media literacy players such as *Child Focus* or *Ketnet* are more likely to focus on more basic awareness raising or on setting up an informal learning environment where children and adolescents can safely experiment which new media and social networks. In other words, as argued before, the aims and methods of media education are highly conditional on its particular context.

DISCUSSION

Throughout most of this article, we have described in much detail the current state of media education in the Flemish Community. Based on these findings, it becomes possible to pinpoint a number of key determinants which not only affect the state of European media education as a whole, but also how Member States give differential meaning to its core aims and methods.

First of all, as elsewhere in the world, European media education has closely followed historical media trends. As we have shown, its roots were closely associated with the early success of American narrative film as a global mass medium. However, during the last decades, cheap multimedia technologies increased possibilities to complement media analysis strategies with youth media production activities. More recently, the steep rise of internet and mobile access forced media educators to further reconsider their initial aims and methods. Furthermore, what originally started as a moral crusade readily turned into a less protectionist movement which focused on the various facets of all kinds of offline and online media. In this way, European media education can partly be distinguished from its North American counterpart, with its more defensive intentions to safeguard children and adolescents from potential negative effects of undue exposure to audiovisual media messages. To some extent, this relates to particular characteristics of the European media system, with its strong public broadcast tradition. Put somewhat differently, within the

[20] See www.saferinternet.eu (16.12.2012).

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hyper-commercial US media environment, there is perhaps more reason for panics about morals (Kubey, 1998, 2003). In any case, the relative importance of public institutions in the European public sphere is also felt in the wide range of non-profit and social-cultural organisations which are – each in their own way – involved in helping individuals to develop a more nuanced understanding of various facets of the media. To be sure, in a global media environment, the distinction between American and European media culture has become somewhat problematic. Yet still, even then, these types of historical and structural tendencies are likely to be of continuing importance.

Secondly, while trends in European research and policy agendas enable us to come up with a number of key characteristics of European media education as a whole, we have also identified a number of contextual specificities at the Flemish Community level which point to the many potential sources of variation within the European Union. At the most basic level, the relationship between European media education research and European policymaking seems somewhat problematic. For instance, we started by identifying a comprehensive set of media literacy skills which should help individuals to access, analyse, evaluate, and create the full variety of offline and online media messages. In contrast with this, European media literacy policies seemed much more eclectic and issue-driven, whereby media literacy and media education are seen as a means to raise awareness about the European film heritage on the one hand, and about safe and effective internet use on the other. It is probably fair to say that European countries with a more developed tradition in media education are more likely to fall on the former side of the education vs. awareness raising continuum. Most notably, in the UK, media education has found a strong foothold in secondary (and primary) schools with specialist examined courses in Media Studies and media education as an established dimension of mother language teaching (subject: English). Given its educational institutionalisation, questions about why media should be taught have become somewhat superfluous. Rather, media educators focus on more pressing pedagogical concerns, for instance about the horizontal or vertical integration of different aspects of media education across the curriculum.[21] Something similar holds for the Nordic countries, which not only play a leading role in the digital switchover, but are also on the forefront of media education developments.[22] By contrast, in the Flemish Community, a majority of teachers still point to the lack of financial means, the limited time in the teaching package, and the need for clear guidelines in the curriculum on how to teach about media and technology. In other words, Flemish media education has yet to make the transition from awareness-raising activities to more in-depth forms of media literacy education (Goegebuer, 2004, Bamford, 2007, Steyaert, Van Gompel, and Samyn, 2009). Furthermore, even within the structural limitations of Flemish media education, it is important to point to the variability in aims and methods depending on the particular frameworks under which specific media educational activities are funded. In particular, we have identified three divergent strands of Flemish media education practice. As we have seen, each of them embody different research and policy agendas, which in turn entails diverging expectations in terms of cognitive, attitudinal, and behavioural learning outcomes.

[21] See Buckingham, 2003; Burn and Durran, 2007.
[22] See Kotilainen and Arnolds-Grandlund, 2010, Livingstone et al. 2011.

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Thirdly, it is important to add that European media education in general, and Flemish media education in particular, have a rather choppy history. While we have traced the roots of media education far back in the previous century, its prominence on European policy agendas is a relatively recent phenomenon. On the positive side, this implies that the media education movement is still in a flexible phase, where aims and methods can easily be tailored to emerging challenges in a rapidly evolving digital environment. However, the obvious downside is that this puts recent media education initiatives in a relatively precarious position, because their near future is highly dependent on a limited number of political decisions. Needless to say, this makes it difficult (if not impossible) to develop a long term vision on how to prepare children and adolescents to be active citizens. Again, the Flemish Community is a good case in point. Until fairly recently, media literacy was fully absent from Flemish policy discourse and, at best was one of many ways to analyse the work of various social-cultural organisations that integrate media messages in their everyday activities. In a relatively short span of time, however, this has substantially changed. As we have suggested, this was partly due to a recent decision from the current Flemish government to put media literacy more clearly at the forefront of media-related policies. Yet still, given the limited amount of structural support, it is mostly through the (often idiosyncratic) commitments and activities of a (limited) number of non-governmental stakeholders that the Flemish media educational landscape will gradually have to unfold.

Regardless of the importance of these contingent elements, we have sought to disentangle a number of historical and contextual factors which may help to better understand these often unpredictable patterns. In our view, the European media education field is in need of much more detailed empirical descriptions. Clearly, policy research provides a good starting point to get a better grip of the various types of media education practice. Therefore, it would be useful to supplement our empirical work with similar research projects in other European countries and regions. In addition, there is an obvious need to replete this interpretive work with representative surveys which more systematically record expectations and experiences from media educational organisations, teachers, and parents. Finally, attempts to describe these aims and methods would ideally be complemented with research programmes which analyse and evaluate the learning outcomes associated with various types of media education. Only then it becomes possible to develop a nuanced view on the real-life importance of the so-called European media education movement.

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KONTEKSTUALNI PRISTUP ISTRAŽIVANJIMA O MEDIJSKOM OBRAZOVANJU U EUROPI

Hans Martens

SAŽETAK *U ovom radu autor je fokusiran na to kako različiti povijesni, kontekstualni i idiosinkrastički faktori oblikuju ciljeve i metode sadašnje europske prakse u medijskom obrazovanju. Na početku je ukratko izložena povijest istraživanja medijskog obrazovanja u Europi te stvaranje politike obrazovanja. Potom se detaljnije raspravlja o trima različitim pristupima medijskoj pismenosti u flamanskoj zajednici (Belgija). Svaki od tih pristupa u medijskom obrazovanju djelomice odražava šire trendove u europskim medijskim istraživanjima te u kreiranju politika. Zadani ciljevi i obrazovne metode u flamanskoj zajednici također otkrivaju specifičnosti njihova medijskog opismenjavanja. Autor na kraju povezuje nalaze o medijskom obrazovanju kako bi istaknuo ključne odrednice koje mogu pomoći pri boljem razumijevanju sličnosti i razlika unutar Europske unije.*

KLJUČNE RIJEČI

MEDIJSKO OBRAZOVANJE, MEDIJSKA PISMENOST, FILMSKO OBRAZOVANJE, MLADI I MEDIJSKA PRODUKCIJA, *ONLINE* RIZICI I MOGUĆNOSTI

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DIGITAL SKILLS IN PERSPECTIVE: A CRITICAL REFLECTION ON RESEARCH AND POLICY

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IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / UDK 316.774:8, 004:37 / PRIMLJENO: 09.08.2012.

ABSTRACT *In this article we will reflect on the evolving focus of research on digital skills over the past 15 years and discuss the outcomes of this research and their implications for policy. Policy issues regarding digital skills have shifted over time. The present focus on media literacy ties digital skills to the broader theme of citizenship and calls for a wide agenda to improve skills, knowledge of media systems and attitudes towards the media. It reaches into policy domains such as education, work and social participation. We will also reflect on the question as to just how far research is able to feed these policy discussions. The argument is organized in four sections, following more or less chronologically the stages of research on digital skills. We begin with the largely descriptive research on digital skills in the context of the digital divide. The second and third sections follow the theoretical turn in the research agenda with a focus on the causes and consequences of differences in digital skills. In the fourth section we discuss a more recent development, where digital skills are included in a broader research agenda of media literacy.*

KEY WORDS

DIGITAL SKILLS, POLICY, MEDIA LITERACY, RESEARCH AGENDA

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The rise of the Internet opened up new opportunities for media use and led to calls for new skills to fully benefit from those opportunities. These digital skills became part of the research agenda in the context of studies on social inequality (digital divide) and the diffusion of innovations. Later research focussed on digital skills as a mediating factor between Internet use and its positive and negative outcomes. Questions were raised as to whether more skills would expand the personal, social or educational benefits on the one hand and curtail the negative consequences associated with Internet use on the other hand. With the growth of online information, the ongoing convergence of media and the rise of computers in schools the study of digital skills became part of a wider research agenda, that of media literacy. In this article we will give a historical account and a critical reflection of the research on digital skills and conclude with placing the issue of digital skills in the European perspective of media literacy.

The context of research on digital skills inspired specific questions, highlighting some aspects and neglecting others. This research focus was linked with certain policy concerns and in turn had implications for the further development of policy. Research on the digital divide, for example, started with questions on the control of basic skills. How to make sure people are not excluded from life in an information society? Research on both the educational impact and on skills as a part of media literacy stresses the importance of information skills. Which information skills need to be taught at school and how can school work benefit from media literate students?

In this article we will reflect on the evolving focus of research on digital skills over the past 15 years and discuss the outcomes of this research and their implications for policy. Policy issues concerning digital skills have shifted over time. In the late 1990s, mostly inspired by American studies such as the National Telecommunication and Information Administration's *Falling through the Net* (NTIA,1999), European policy makers expressed concerns about a lasting digital divide. Digital skills became part of a wider e-inclusion agenda. Over time we witnessed a further proliferation of policy issues connected to an ongoing specification of skills types and far-reaching discussions on the implications of mastering digital skills. The present focus on media literacy ties digital skills to the broader theme of citizenship and calls for a wide agenda of improving skills, knowledge of media systems and attitudes towards the media. It reaches into policy domains such as education, work and social participation. We will also reflect on the question as to just how far research is able to feed these policy discussions.

The argument is organized in four sections following more or less chronologically the stages of research on digital skills. We begin with the largely descriptive research on digital skills in the context of the digital divide. The second and third sections follow the theoretical turn in the research agenda with a focus on the causes and consequences of differences in digital skills. In the fourth section we discuss a more recent development where digital skills are included in the broader research agenda of media literacy.

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DESCRIBING INEQUALITIES IN DIGITAL SKILLS

Some 15 years ago the OECD (1997) recognized that the skills to handle information and communication technologies (ICT) were becoming a key attribute for life in an information society. These digital skills were seen as crucial for communication and processing information. OECD referred to these skills as 'informacy', distinguishing them from both literacy (the ability to use information from books, newspapers and magazines) and numeracy (the ability to handle quantitative information). These skills were seen as the tools to increase the potential to use computers for a variety of applications.

Concerns about digital skills were initially framed within the debate about the digital divide. In 1995 this concept of 'digital divide' was launched into our vocabulary by journalists Jonathan Webber and Amy Harmon of the LA Times (Gunkel, 2003: 501). It became more widely known when Al Gore started using it in May 1996. The initial thinking on the digital divide focused on the differences across households and citizens in terms of having (home) access to the Internet. In many countries the diffusion of Internet access was measured. Some noteworthy initiatives include the Eurobarometer Internet surveys[1] and the North American '*Falling through the net'* series (NTIA, 1998, 1999).

The debate about the digital divide was soon extended to include inequalities in digital skills. A gap was perceived between those who could effectively use new information and communication tools and those who could not. Eszter Hargittai (2002) referred to varying levels of digital skills as a 'second-level digital divide'. With growing penetration rates she considered the digital divide to be less about having or not having access to the Internet, but rather on the degree of Internet skills required to participate in society. She identified at least seven significant socio-demographic factors for both access and skills along which differences could be described. These included income, educational level, gender, age, employment status, ethnicity and type of household (e.g. single-parent).

The concept of the digital divide has often been criticized for its simplistic binary representation (Gunkel, 2003), in other words, with regard to skills, that either one is able to effectively use ICTs or not. In the place of this binary form is a complex continuum with some people capable of little, others with extensive skills and many in between.

Other critiques was directed towards the static nature of the divide, as if it were impossible to cross. Focussing on the dynamics of inequalities delivers a more realistic picture: a non-user today can be a user tomorrow. This picture emerges when the inequality of technological access and digital skills is set within the framework of the diffusion of innovations. During this diffusion process an increasing number of people come to possess the technology and master its use. This diffusion generally follows a S-curve with a relatively slow beginning, followed by an acceleration and finally a slowing down at the end, as market saturation occurs (Rogers, 1995). The S-curve not only informs us about

[1] See for example: Eurobarometer 56.0 Information and Communication Technologies, Financial Services, and Cultural Activities, ZA3625 doi:10.4232/1.10944, and Eurobarometer 58.0 Services of General Interest, New Technologies, ICT, Health, Environment, and Public Safety, ZA3692 doi:10.4232/1.10952 (19.12.2012).

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the degree of diffusion of a product or an idea in society, but it also provides information about the moment product or idea is adopted by one individual compared to another. Dividing the curve into five stages provides a typology of adopter types: innovators, early adopters, early majority, late majority and laggards (Rogers, 1995). Technology-minded people are often among the first to adopt a new technology, while others prefer to wait. Early adopters have more experience and capabilities in handling new media compared to late adopters. The late majority and especially the laggards are relatively late with their decision to adopt the innovation (Rogers, 1995; De Haan, 2003).

The dynamics of the digital divide placed shifting emphasis on socio-demographic factors. In the early stages the digital divide was strongly related to gender, with men having more digital skills than women. Shortly after women caught up with men gender was no longer regarded as a strong indicator for access to technology. Levels of access to new media as well as the skills to operate these technologies turned out to be more strongly related to age and educational level. At the early stages of the diffusion curve, gender and income particularly distinguished between users and non-users. Later on the curve the relative weight of educational level and especially age became more important (De Haan, 2010).

As digital skills seem to influence who participates fully in an information society and who does not, most Western countries have launched public and private initiatives to raise the level of digital skills among the population. Not substantiated by academic research and possibly influenced by the simplistic binary conception of the digital divide, the popular belief at the time was that an increase in digital skills would not come naturally but required educational reform and training courses.

Schools have traditionally played a key role in imparting skills such as language and arithmetical ability. Around the year 2000 schools were also seen as the primary location where new generations would learn digital skills. Besides introducing PCs and Internet connections into schools, training teachers to use computers and raising the level of IT support at schools, many schools started providing special courses for students to improve their digital skills. However, the influence of schools on acquiring digital skills has proved to be very limited (De Haan and Huysmans, 2002). This finding also concurs with statements by pupils themselves that they learned most from experimenting themselves. Differences in digital skills between teenagers reflected the home setting in which they grew up. Both the equipment in the household and the characteristics of the parents influenced the level of digital skills. The presence of a PC in the household where a teenager grew up proved to be a strong indicator. Furthermore, teenagers with access to the Internet at home and a PC in their own room turned out to possess more digital skills than those without these facilities in their home situation. In line with the diffusion of innovation theory, teenagers who have had more years of experience in using a PC turned out to be more digitally skilled. The characteristics of the parents - their average education level, the PC experience they have acquired at work and the presence of a father in the household – had no direct influence on the digital skills of their children. They did however help to explain the degree to which households possess a technological infrastructure

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that is evidently so important for young people (De Haan and Huysmans, 2002). These characteristics overshadowed the efforts made by schools and teachers to increase the digital skills of their pupils. To make matters worse for the educational system, no clear indications were found for a compensation effect: the use of computers at school did not help children lacking computer facilities at home to catch up with their fellow students who live in more ICT privileged homes. Digital skills turned out to be gained largely at home by learning through experimentation.

Outside the educational context the spread of technological innovations has made demands on the skills of people at work in particular and on citizens in general. The rise of the PC and the Internet also generated a demand for increased computer skills. Many courses and other opportunities for on-the-job training were offered at the workplace, and employers and employees assumed joint responsibility to enable the latter group to develop and utilize digital skills.

Around the turn of the century training courses were also offered for people not in school or at work. Such courses bloomed and included both public free initiatives as well as private market initiatives. At the European level a curriculum was developed for navigating the 'electronic highway': the European Computer Driving Licence (www.ecdl.com). Clearly there was a high demand for these initiatives for courses were organised even in the backrooms of local pubs. Older persons in particular were looking for alternative learning pathways, when they decided to take the new highway. Notwithstanding the uncertainty among this group with regard to the new technological opportunities Eurostat (2006) concluded that self-study via learning-by-doing was the most important learning strategy to obtain basic computer or Internet skills, followed by help from the social network. Informal assistance came from colleagues, relatives and friends, although the often acclaimed help from children and/or grandchildren did not turn out to be very successful (Duimel, 2007).

Discussing inequalities in digital skills within the framework of the digital divide highlighted the need for a new type of skills seemingly unrelated to previous types. This stimulated the isolated examination of digital skills, neglecting the broader context of media literacy. Policy efforts were mainly concentrated on bridging the gap, which often led to a technology push in schools and public facilities. In a somewhat instrumental focus on basic skills, courses were set up but proved to be more helpful to the elderly and low educated people than to high school students. Furthermore these efforts were detached from other measures and tools, and were only later integrated in a wider e-inclusion agenda.

EXPLAINING DIFFERENCES IN DIGITAL SKILLS

The first phase of digital divide research was mainly descriptive. It focused on recording the presence or absence of information and communication technology (ICT) and on determining whether gaps in access and digital skills were closing or widening. Although

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it connected a set of socio-economic characteristics to the distribution of access or skills, it failed to take the causes of these inequalities into account (De Haan, 2004; Van Dijk and Hacker, 2002). At best multivariate analysis was applied in order to establish which of the characteristics was most important (Robinson et al., 2003), or it proposed more sophisticated methodological tools to measure the closure or widening of the digital divide (Martin, 2003). Given the rising importance of digital skills in knowledge societies the question into the causes of the skills disadvantage was unavoidable.

In the second phase various social science disciplines were called upon to explain differences in access and skills: the *uses and gratification theory* from communication science, the *model of media attendance* from social psychology and *resource theory* from sociology.

The *uses and gratification theory* accounts for differences in people's motivation for media usage and access (Katz et al., 1973). Based on a specification of needs, this theory aims to explain differential patterns of media exposure resulting in intended and unintended gratifications and other consequences at the personal level. This theory emphasizes the active role of the user, and more so over time since the central question has shifted from 'what do media do to people?' to 'what do active audience members do with the media?' (Ruggiero, 2000). As the focus of this theory is more on usage than on skills we will not discuss it in more detail.

Based on Albert Bandura's (1986) social cognitive theory the social psychologists Robert LaRose and Matthew Eastin (2004) presented the *model of media attendance*. This model assumes that behavior is largely determined by expected outcomes and these expectations are in turn formed by a person's own experience (enactive learning) or by observing the behavior of others (observational learning). Prior media consumption, habit strength, self-efficacy and self-regulation play a central role in this theory.

Lastly, the *resource theory* was introduced to explain differences in access, skills and usage (De Haan and Rijken, 2002). This theory assumes that differences in skills can be explained by differences in constraints between individuals. People are constrained in their possession of various kinds of resources: material, cognitive, social and time resources. This distinction draws on the work of the sociologists Pierre Bourdieu (1984) and James Coleman (1990). In short, material resources refer to the technological equipment at hand or the income to buy these assets. Cognitive resources are the mental competences or available knowledge to acquire digital skills. Social resources refer to the social network of a person and the help that can be mobilized through this network. For some topics, time resources are added to the explanatory model, meaning the amount of (free) time available. The general assumption is that more resourceful people will acquire digital skills earlier than people with fewer resources (cf. Rogers, 1995). Social resources may partly explain differences in digital skills between age groups and educational groups and fully explain differences between people who do household work and those who are in paid employment (De Haan and Rijken, 2002). Material resources also matter. Disposable

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income is a barrier to the acquisition of digital skills especially for the economically inactive. Having access to computer facilities in several locations also influences the level of digital skills. Multiple access (at home, at school, at work) is associated with more skills. Ethnic minorities in particular seem to benefit from multiple access. A lack of cognitive resources proves to be a hindrance for both the low-educated and for ethnic minorities (De Haan, 2010).

Resource theory has highlighted that differences in skills is not related solely to differences in infrastructure; social embedding and cognitive capacity also matter. Those with more literacy skills also have more informacy skills. These insights have opened the door for more integrated policy.

ASSESSING CONSEQUENCES OF DIFFERENCES IN DIGITAL SKILLS

The early studies on the digital divide neglected to investigate the consequences of inequality in access. This rapidly changed when alarming messages hit the headlines like 'the Internet makes you lonely'. This news message resulted from a publication by American psychologists called the Internet paradox (Kraut et al., 1998). How could a social technology like the Internet result in a decrease in social involvement? It turned out that at the moment of investigation there were too few people online for wider social contacts and the innovators who were online might not have been the people with the highest social talents. A few years later the situation had changed and Robert Kraut et al. (2002) revised their conclusions.

In Europe the social implications of Internet use became part of the e-Inclusion strategy of the Lisbon agenda. A landmark was the Riga Ministerial Declaration[2] on 'ICT for an inclusive society' signed on 11 June 2006 by 34 European countries which promoted a broad definition of e-Inclusion:

eInclusion means both inclusive ICT and the use of ICT to achieve wider inclusion objectives. It focuses on participation of all individuals and communities in all aspects of the information society. eInclusion policy, therefore, aims at reducing gaps in ICT usage and promoting the use of ICT to overcome exclusion, and improve economic performance, employment opportunities, quality of life, social participation and cohesion.

The Riga Declaration set concrete targets for European states, to be achieved by 2010 in four priority areas, including promotion of digital literacy.

The e-Inclusion objectives have a strong focus on economic benefits. As labour markets are transforming and the new economy calls for a different skill base (information literacy rather than physical strength), the focus in research is directed to the influence of digital skills on labour market participation and on productivity. In this context digital skills are often referred to as e-skills, with particular stress on those skills needed to be

[2] http://ec.europa.eu/information_society/events/ict_riga_2006/doc/declaration_riga.pdf (09.09.2012).

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productive in the labour market. The complexity of these skills ranges from basic skills to high technical competence and is often linked to the level and sector of work.

A broad research agenda has focused on the influence of digital skills in a changing labour market. Two competing views are relevant here. According to the upgrading perspective, the new economy is associated with growth in information intensive sectors. Typically, these involve more knowledge workers and the demand for higher educated people with more digital skills and literacy. These skills significantly differ between the employed and the unemployed, with the former being more digitally skilled (Van Damme et al., 2005). On the other hand the downgrading perspective emphasises the deskilling of labour (Steijn and Tijdens, 2007) with machines taking over a lot of thinking (e.g. the need for supermarket cashiers to learn prices by heart being replaced with scanners), and large groups of workers doing manual work (e.g. digging up streets to install cable infrastructure). Given these divergent trends on the labour market the consequences of lacking sufficient digital skills can be quite serious for lower educated people and for the unemployed, in that this affects their opportunities for active labour market participation or for moving ahead in their profession (Van Ingen et al., 2007). Learning to work with computers may lead to a large improvement in productivity, which for a large part will return to the employees in the form of higher wages (Weda et al., 2008). This learning process may also spare people from ending up in low skilled, routine driven jobs.

New technology not only plays a role in economic participation, it also affects all spheres of life. Digitisation is changing, amongst others, the way we use media (Jenkins, 2006), the way we shape our social lives (Wellman et al., 2001), the way we use public information (Van Deursen and Van Dijk, 2009), the way we learn (Tapscott, 1998), and Nicholas Carr (2010) even claims that it is changing the way we think, read and remember. In all these fields promoting digital skills can result in empowerment and bring disadvantaged groups into an information society.

From the standpoint of e-Inclusion special attention has been paid to those who are lagging behind in the diffusion process. The elderly, low educated people, unemployed and ethnic minorities have been slow to adopt new technology and acquire sufficient digital skills. It is critical to assess the effects of the skills-biased technological change on the position of less-educated people and people currently out of work. For older people, social involvement is important and Internet use can enhance their feeling of 'belonging.' For members of ethnic minorities it seems that more digital skills and better (social) integration go hand-in-hand (Van Ingen et al., 2007).

The focus on consequences highlighted the need for a broad research agenda with digital skills in a pivotal position. The impact of ICT runs mainly though variations in use closely tied to differences in skills. Showing the consequences gave new inspiration to policy targeting the improvement of skills.

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PLACING DIGITAL SKILLS IN A BROADER CONTEXT

In the context of the discussion on the digital divide, the skills to handle information and communication technologies have often been referred to as basic skills. Examples include competences such as knowing how to start a word processor, attach files to an e-mail, click with a mouse or copy a file to a floppy disk. Of course when computers were introduced to the work place more advanced skills were soon needed, as the discussion of the complexity of skills in previous section illustrates. Young people apparently had little trouble mastering the basics and were somewhat misleadingly called 'digital natives' (Prensky, 2001). Their ability to handle online information was not to be overestimated, however, and their skills were no guarantee that they would stay out of trouble in the risky environment that the Internet can be (Livingstone et al., 2012). It was soon realized that there were more aspects to digital skills than basic competences. There are many types of skills. They exist on a continuum rather than taking the form of a simple binary opposition (being skilled or not), and the value of these skills varies depending on the social circumstance (Gunkel, 2003: 506).

An early approach to clarify the concept of digital skills was made by Jan Steyaert (2000) who categorized these skills in three groups: instrumental skills, structural skills and strategic skills. He referred to basic skills as *instrumental skills*, knowing how to deal with the technology as such, in other words keyboard knowledge (there is a dimension of complexity to these skills). A second cluster of skills he called *structural skills* which refer to the (new) structure in which information is contained, for instance the skill to make use of hypertext (jumping via keywords to other information sources) or looking for dynamic information (via discussion sites, rather than via static information on websites). The use of search engines and especially the capacity to search, find and evaluate information also fall within this category. Thirdly, the term *strategic skills* includes the basic readiness to search proactively for information, the attitude of taking decisions based on available information and the continuous scanning of the environment for information that is relevant to work or personal life. This classification was further developed by Alexander van Deursen and Jan van Dijk (2011) who subdivided the structural skills into formal Internet skills (skills of navigation and orientation) and information Internet skills (skills to fulfil their information needs). An important contribution of their work is the quantitative measurement of these types of skills based on performance tests of around 100 people. In the Netherlands, the level of operational and formal Internet skills was found to be quite high, while Van Deursen and Van Dijk (2011) concluded that the level of information and strategic Internet skills was 'questionable'.

By distinguishing between different types of skills they were also able to show that some groups perform better on basic skills while other groups stand out with more advanced skills. In general, highly educated people turned out to be more skilled than low educated people, while young people excel mainly in basic and formal skills with their information skills leaving room for improvement. This latter finding corroborates messages from teachers who complain that young people's capacity to adequately handle information

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is quite poor. The Joint Information Systems Committee (2008: 12) concluded that young people have a poor understanding of their information needs, find it difficult to develop effective search strategies and spent little time on evaluating information, either for relevance, accuracy or authority. Having access does not guarantee the comprehension of content. Young people thus show considerable *hands-on* experience which should not be confused with *heads-on* interpretation.

The difference in competencies illustrates the relevance of treating skills as a multifaceted concept. Given this complexity it is no surprise that different names have been presented for various forms of literacy: digital literacy, information literacy and visual literacy. Some aspects of literacy are also relevant for using media other than digital. Steyaert (2000) already noted that the issue of information skills is not restricted to digital media, thereby blurring the difference between informacy and literacy. The recent convergence of media platforms also makes it less relevant to distinguish skills for separate media. For integrating various kinds of skills useful for different platforms the concept of media literacy seemed more appropriate. Sonia Livingstone (2003) defined media literacy as the ability to access, analyse, evaluate and create messages across a variety of contexts. This four-component model has the advantage of applying equally well to print, broadcasting and the internet. Many other definitions have been given; most of them are not restricted to skills but refer to a combination of skills, knowledge and attitude (e.g. Livingstone, 2009).

There is growing consensus on the relevance of improving media literacy, however it is not yet clear what aspects of media literacy should first be developed and how. Being digitally literate thus not only refers to being able to understand digital information, but also to using digital information in a critical way and for one's own good, as well as being able and willing to participate in a digitalized society. Many different organizations are involved in activities that aim to achieve the goal of increasing media literacy. The educational system is often considered to be a primary actor for teaching more advanced skills. However, most curricula are tightly packed and it is hard to find sufficient room for a concept as broad as media literacy. In the labour market the search for the most suited policies to enhance e-skills also continues. The same holds for the best approaches to include all citizens by improving their digital skills or even broadening their media literacy.

CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

Fifteen years of research on digital skills shows a history of growing complexity and increasing relevance for policy. Research has abandoned a simplistic binary conception of these skills and embraced approaches that treat differences in skills as a multifaceted spectrum. These approaches distinguish different types of skills and allow for variations on each dimension. There is continuing discussion on which types of skills should be distinguished and there are serious problems with the measurement of digital skills. Although performance tests are the most reliable method for a valid measurement,

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they require extensive tools and large time investment by the respondents. From a cost perspective this research needs to be restricted to small-scale experiments. However, investigating distributions in skills among a population and establishing the consequences of differences in skills require large-scale population research. This kind of research has to rely on self-reports (Sonck et al., 2012). These reports are obviously subject to over- and/or under-estimation. Validation of a set of questions for a survey to measure digital skills is still needed (see Van Deursen and Van Dijk, 2010 or Hargittai, 2005). The problems of classification and measurement, for obvious reasons, even increase when digital skills became part of a wider media literacy agenda.

A broader focus on the causes and consequences of digital skills enables us to move beyond techno-deterministic views on the impact of technology. The availability and characteristics of technology are not the only factors that influence who is acquiring what kind of skills and with what consequences. The acquisition of skills is embedded within a wider set of both online and offline factors. Modelling how these factors are related to each other is an ongoing task for research. In order to grasp the consequences of differences in skills it is important to distinguish between direct and indirect effects. Whether it concerns economic performance, employment opportunities, quality of life or social participation, all aspects of life will be directly influenced by digital skills as well as by other factors independent of skills, while some factors exert their influence via skills. This approach will result in a more balanced view on the impact of digital skills.

As the initial research on digital skills was tied up with a simplistic view of the digital divide it comes as no surprise that it coincided with equally elementary policy interventions. In the early years of internet penetration, governments supported a technology push. Policy was directed towards more computers and Internet connections in homes, schools, public facilities and workplaces, followed by training courses in basic digital skills. The broader contextualization of digital skills within a framework of media literacy contributes to questions on who should learn what and where. There is no hard standard on what a single individual should be able to do with media. This is dependent on needs, contexts and desired outcomes. The primary responsibility for acquiring digital skills lies with individuals themselves. However for improving individual and collective outcomes supportive policy can raise the skill level in information societies.

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DIGITALNE VJEŠTINE: KRITIČKO RAZMATRANJE ISTRAŽIVANJA I POLITIKA

Jos de Haan :: Nathalie Sonck

SAŽETAK *U ovom radu autori prikazuju istraživanja o digitalnim vještinama, rezultate tih istraživanja te primjenu rezultata istraživanja u stvaranju politike u posljednjih petnaest godina. Tijekom vremena promijenile su se teme rasprava o digitalnim vještinama. Sadašnja povezanost s medijskom pismenošću veže digitalne vještine sa širim temama koje se tiču građanstva te poziva na proširenu istraživačku agendu koja uključuje unapređenje vještina, znanja o medijskim sustavima i stavove prema medijima. To utječe i na politike koje se tiču obrazovanja, rada i socijalnog uključivanja. Autori razmatraju i do kojega stupnja istraživanja mogu pomoći u raspravama o tim politikama. Rasprava je organizirana u četiri dijela, pri čemu se prati kronologija razvitka istraživanja digitalnih vještina. Autori prvo prikazuju deskriptivno istraživanje digitalnih vještina u kontekstu digitalne podjele. Drugi i treći dio slijede teoretski zaokret u istraživačkoj agendi s fokusom na uzroke i posljedice razlika u posjedovanju digitalnih vještina. U četvrtom dijelu autori raspravljaju o suvremenom razvoju, odnosno o uključivanju digitalnih vještina u šire područje istraživačke agende o medijskoj pismenosti.*

KLJUČNE RIJEČI

DIGITALNE VJEŠTINE, POLITIKA, MEDIJSKA PISMENOST, ISTRAŽIVAČKA AGENDA

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CRITICAL INSIGHTS IN MEDIA LITERACY RESEARCH IN SPAIN: EDUCATIONAL AND POLITICAL CHALLENGES

Carmen Marta-Lazo :: María del Mar Grandío Pérez

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ABSTRACT *This article proposes a critical perspective on the tradition of media literacy research in Spain in order to examine how Spanish scholars are facing challenges on public policy, and more specifically school curricula, regarding media education. Research in media literacy in Spain (known as* educomunicación *in Spanish) has moved forward through the interest of scholars and other groups, such as journalists and school teachers, who have raised awareness on the need to develop a critical and creative media learning system. This article will review a) the European and Hispanic heritages on media literacy in Spain, b) main current research groups and projects focusing on media education and c) academic policy on digital competence in formal learning. Lastly, this article will suggest some recommendations on education and policy that will help gain more support among academia, media and citizens within the European and Latin American context.*

KEY WORDS

MEDIA LITERACY, *EDUCOMUNICACIÓN*, MULTI-COMPETENCES MODEL, DIGITAL LITERACY, SPAIN

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This article proposes a critical perspective on the tradition of media literacy research in Spain in order to examine how Spanish scholars are facing the challenges media education policy, in particular on development of school curricula. Research in media literacy (known as *educomunicación* in Spanish) has moved forward through the interest of scholars and other groups, such as media practitioners and school teachers, who have raised awareness on the need to develop a critical and creative media learning system.

This article will first review the background and development of media literacy research in Spain. From a theoretical point of view, the Spanish tradition in media literacy has been influenced by its cultural and linguistic proximity with Latin American countries, where media literacy enters into the framework of community development studies and uses parameters of visual literacy and linguistics. To a lesser extent, media literacy research in Spain has also adopted the theoretical approaches of some European researchers, such as those involved in cultural and reception studies.

Secondly, the educational model has changed in recent years, moving towards the promotion of participatory culture and civic media literacy. Current Spanish school curricula integrate information and digital skills at all levels. While it takes into account the views of the European regulatory framework, the role of media literacy promotion is limited to achievement of the general objectives for each educational level. The school curricula do not contain specific courses focusing on this topic of growing importance. The implementation of media literacy has largely depended on the capacity and willingness of individual teachers. In fact, it has often been the case that the pressure to complete the mandatory school curricula discourages many teachers from devoting class time to media literacy content. Regardless of the political party in power, there has not been sufficient support from the public administration to make this subject compulsory within the school curricula. Although educational policies have focused on diffusing the use of technological platforms such as the press, video or computers as educational resources, there has been no development of a media education based on a multi-competences model.

This article will pay special attention to the results of a recent study conducted across all regions of Spain on the level of audiovisual and digital literacy (Ferrés et al, 2011). The analysis indicates the areas with greater deficiency (e.g., ability to perceive aesthetic, ideology and values conveyed by media), and pinpoints technology as one of the most used tool. Finally, this article will draw upon some education and policy recommendations to help gain more support among academia, media and citizens in the European and Latin American context.

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BACKGROUND OF MEDIA LITERACY RESEARCH IN SPAIN: THE EUROPEAN AND HISPANIC HERITAGES

Research on media education started in the mid-1980s, when communications had already been established for several years as an independent field of study. The term *media literacy,* used and promoted by UNESCO, covered all the processes related to the development of communications with educational purposes and vice versa. As described in *Media Education* published by UNESCO, this discipline includes

all ways of studying, learning and teaching at all levels (...) and in all circumstances, the history, creativity, use and evaluation of media as practical and technical arts, as well as the place occupied by media in society, their social impact, the implication of media communication, participation, modification of the mode of perception they bring about, the role of creative work and access to media. (Morsy, 1984: 8)

The Declaration[1], adopted by the 1982 International Symposium on Media Education in Grunwald (Germany), already highlighted the strong convergence and synergy between the fields of communication and education, concluding that post modernity requires the union between the two disciplines. It underlined that media should serve as instruments for the citizen's active participation in society, and that public policies should be put in place to promote critical understanding among citizens of the communication phenomena. Thus, the Declaration on Media Education called for media education that promoted the growth of users' critical awareness and advocated that educational programs should include content analysis of media messages as well as creative expression and active participation. The approach integrating the two fields of *educomunicación* (education and communication) originated from the fact that both areas propose replace the paradigm of 'transmission' with that of 'mediation'. It is not just 'passing a message, information, or content', but also thinking of the appropriation of knowledge and the way interpretations are modified by receivers' relations with the environment. Essentially, this change of paradigm implies a shift from the notion of 'transceiver' to 'orchestra'. In this new framework, educational communication and the constructed knowledge are primarily regarded as a product derived from the receivers' interactions within their environment, especially their peers but also all other components of the educational environment and the media context. In this sense, rather than being mere co-receptors, citizens are 'active builders' who actively participate in the creation of the message by curbing meanings and providing feedback, using as a filter all the 'pre-existing conceptions' collected from their environment, media, Internet, and social networks.

In a study sponsored by the European Commission (Pérez Tornero, 2008: 23-24)[2], European experts propose to base media literacy strategies on three pillars:

1. Media education as a teaching tool to acquire new skills;
2. Strengthening of capacities for media creation and production;
3. Increasing citizen participation through civic involvement with media and society.

[1] http://www.unesco.org/education/pdf/MEDIA_E.PDF (04.12.2012).
[2] http://ec.europa.eu/culture/media/media-content/media-literacy/studies/study.pdf (04.12.2012).

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As explained by Manuel Area Moreira, Begoña Gros and Miguel Ángel Marzal (2008: 49), there are three approaches to the use of Information and Communication Technology (ICT*)* in regards to civic development:

1. Understanding the meaning of being an 'informed citizen;
2. Developing communication and research skills;
3. Developing participatory skills based on responsible actions.

All these approaches are elaborations of previous research conducted in the final quarter of the twentieth century in Europe, (Area Moreira, 2004: 65-67). This research used a variety of analysis frameworks such as (i) capacitation on technical dimensions of the media, or (ii) socio-ideological analysis of media messages.

This model of media education (*educomunicación*), based on the concept of an active, social and creative citizenship, has been developed in different Latin American countries through CIESPAL (International Center for Higher Studies in Journalism for Latin America) in Ecuador, the ILCE (Latin American Institute for Educational Communication) in Mexico, CENECA (Center for Research on Cultural and Artistic Expressions) in Chile, ESCAP (Service Center of the Popular Action) in Venezuela, ILPEC (Latin American Institute for Education and Communication) in Costa Rica or the Project LCC (Critical Reading Communications) in Brazil. There have also been outstanding personal contributions in some Latin American countries, such as Chile (Fuenzalida and Hermosilla, 1991), Mexico (Charles and Orozco, 1990), Colombia (Martin-Barbero, 1987), Peru (Quiroz, 1992), Argentina (Prieto, 1994) and Uruguay (Kaplun, 1998).

Each of the mentioned variants may be related to the 'endogenous' educational model as proposed by Paulo Freire (1976), since they all emphasise the educational process and focus on the individual, who through media literacy achieves a critical interpretation and transforms the world. From a media education perspective, José Martinez de Toda (1999) proposes a multidimensional model that describes the different stages of citizen development ("literate, aware, active, and social critic") until they become fully 'creative subjects'. In this approach, subjects ultimately turn into producers of content, which can be easily related to the concept of 'prosumer' as coined by Alvin Toffler in his book "The Third Wave" (1980). According to Toffler consumers in the post-industrial era should have control over the time and content of their media consumptions, and private companies would grant the ability to design and produce customized products.

Methodologically, some researchers have attempted to apply qualitative research methods to their works on active audience, including in-depth interviews and focus groups. We can find various studies in Europe that are framed by the cultural studies approach of as elaborated by the Centre for Cultural Studies at the University of Birmingham in the mid 1970s. The studies under this approach consider social practices as the context of citizen relationship with the media, which could be easily connected to the so-called 'mediation' by Latin authors (Martin-Barbero, 1987; Orozco, 1996a). Other authors who influenced the studies on *educomunicación* in Spain include Stuart Hall (1980), David

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Morley (1986), Klaus Bruhn Jensen (1988), Sonia Livingstone (1990) or Dorothy Hobson (1990). As qualitative studies are rooted in theory of reception in Latin America, we should also include contribution from studies by Mario Kaplún (1998), Jesús Martin-Barbero (1987), Néstor Canclini (1990), Valerio Fuenzalida and María Elena Hermosilla (1991), Len Masterman (1994), Guillermo Orozco (1996) and Ismar De Oliveira (2000). Guillermo Orozco (1996a, 1996b), one of the most remarkable scholars on media education in the Spanish and Latin American context, highlights the importance of qualitative research in order to understand the different social mediations that influence the audiences at a macro level (politics, economics, ideology, culture …) and a micro level (human interactions: family, work, neighbours, etc...).

Significant qualitative research has been carried out in Spain relating to active reception and education. Among those efforts we can find a multi-authored work entitled "TV, Curriculum and Family" (Aparici and Garcia Matilla, 1995), which discusses all actors of the learning process (individual subjects, family, education system and television media). This study uses qualitative methods of analysis such as focus-groups formed by children, parents and teachers. Other significant studies on active reception using qualitative research methods include those conducted by José Antonio Younis (1988), Marisa García de Cortazar et al. (1998), Agustín García Matilla, Javier Callejo and Alejandra Walzer (2004), Amelia Álvarez, Miguel Del Río y Pablo Del Río (2003), Carmen Marta- Lazo (2005), Yolanda Montero (2006) and María del Mar Grandío (2009), among others.

MAIN PROJECTS, RESEARCH GROUPS, SCIENTIFIC FORUMS AND EXPERIENCES FOCUSING ON MEDIA EDUCATION IN SPAIN

The trajectory of projects related to media education in Spain has not been as fruitful or wide as in other countries and, therefore, the consolidation of this area has been weak and slow.

The first actions came from education programs of the regional governments and media. As part of those efforts, a number of projects such as *Prensa Escuela*, *Atenea*, *Alhambra*, *Mercurio*, *Zahara XXI* or *Atlántida* were created. In most cases, those programs were limited to using press, video, new technology, television, and Internet as sources of information, without considering them as a source to develop further, for instance as critical or creative thinking. Parallel to the education policies focused on a technological approach, there have been joint initiatives among journalists and teachers to support media literacy, whose practical actions to raise awareness of the need for a critical and creative media learning system can be understood as one of the most productive and positive response of the civic society on media education in Spain. To mention just a few, these initiatives include in Catalonia, *Mitjans* (an initiative focusing its actions, including media literacy issues, on the publication of newsletters and organizing workshops on Communication and Education), or *Comunicar* (a group that conducts training activities, including curriculum guidelines or conferences and seminars). There are also other well-known initiatives such as *Spectus*, *Teleduca*, *HEKO Kolektiboa* or *Entrelínies*. However, it

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should be pointed out that the above joint initiatives among journalists and teachers have hardly reached any citizens over the past years because they target teachers and students of primary and secondary schools but not other sectors of the society.

At the university level, there are no significant actions to educate students on media literacy. The only courses or seminars found are related to Communication and Pedagogy studies, so these actions do not reach students in other fields. Nonetheless, the role of media literacy research is noteworthy. The first doctoral thesis on media literacy dates from the late 1970s and early 1980s, and research groups in Spain (Garcia-Matilla, 2006: 289-292) are currently generating research projects on media education from a Communications perspective, funded by public administrations at a regional and national level. Among them we find (i) in Barcelona a team led by Joan Ferrés at Pompeu Fabra University, and others with Lorenzo Vilches and José Manuel Pérez Tornero, at the Autonomous University of Barcelona; (ii) at the University Complutense of Madrid, Mariano Cebrian Herreros, Francisco García García and Antonio Sanchez Bravo; (iii) at the University of Valladolid (Segovia campus), Agustín García Matilla. In the Canary Islands, José Antonio Hernández Younis, and (iv) at the University of Seville, Francisco Sierra Caballero. In the field of Education, it is worth highlighting the work undertaken at (i) the University of Huelva, with José Ignacio Aguaded as principal researcher of the Group *Comunicar*, (ii) in Seville, Malaga and Granada, the groups led respectively by Julio Cabero Almenara, Manuel Cebrian de la Serna and José Antonio Ortega Carrillo, all focused on the area of educational technology, (iii) in the Canary Islands, the team of Manuel Area Moreira and, (iv) at the University of Valladolid (Segovia campus), with Alfonso Gutierrez as lead researcher.

In addition, it is worth mentioning the efforts undertaken at the Spanish Open University UNED. The team, led by Roberto Aparici and Sara Osuna and the *Centros de Profesores* (CEPS) organization, offers multiple courses and workshops aimed at increasing teachers' capabilities on media and digital technologies. As for monographic scientific forums specifically on *Educomunicación*, we should highlight (i) the International Congress of Pedagogy of the Image, which began in the early 1990s; one of the first congresses was held in A Coruña, and it has run several editions so far, (ii) all three editions of the International Congress on Education and the Media, organized at the University of Valladolid (Segovia campus), for the first time in 1997, as well as (iii) the various conferences organized by the *Comunicar* Group ("Lights in the Audiovisual Maze" in 2003, "Television Quality" in 2005, "Educating the Look" in 2007). In 2011, two forums were created with the purpose of bringing together the best examples of European and Latin American Media Literacy or *Educomunicación*: (i) the First International Conference on Communication and Education, organized at the Autonomous University of Barcelona, and (ii) the First Congress on Digital Education, held at the Segovia campus of the University of Valladolid.

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ACADEMIC POLICY RELATED TO DIGITAL COMPETENCE IN FORMAL LEARNING

Spanish education policies take media and new technologies education into account, yet implementation in the classrooms has been insufficient. In most cases, media education is based on mere instrumental training in technological applications, without being the object of study (Gutiérrez, 1997: 95).

As far as legislation on the education system is concerned, the Education Law 2/2006 included the concept of "basic competences" of the school curriculum which should lead to a more precise definition of the education and training students should receive (preamble LOE, 2006: 17162)[3]. Among the eight competences been set in the curriculum of primary education (Royal Decree 1513/2006, 7 December) and Secondary Education (Royal Decree 1631/2006, 29 December), one is the so-called "Information processing and digital competency", which is regulated in the two Royal Decrees as follows: This competence consists of having the skills to search, find, process and communicate information, and to transform it into knowledge. It incorporates various skills, ranging from access to information up to its communication in various formats once processed, including the use of information and communication technologies as an essential element to be informed, learn and communicate.

In relation to the curriculum for primary education (Royal Decree 1630/2006, 29 December), the law establishes that it is the school system's responsibility to promote, among other things, early initiation experiences in information technology and communications (Article 5, section 3). This requires, as in the law, initiation in the use of technological tools such as computer, camera or audio and video players, such as communication elements, approaching audiovisual productions such as movies, cartoons and video games, critical approach of its contents and its aesthetics, progressive distinction between reality and visual representation and taking gradual awareness of the need to moderate use of audiovisual media and information technology and communication. Regarding Secondary Education (Royal Decree 1631/2006), the law stipulates that school curricula should include the promotion of basic skills in the use of sources of information. It notes, however, that media competence should be included in all subjects and courses. At the University Level (Royal Decree 1393/2007: 44046), the law agrees that education will ensure, among other basic skills, that students should have the ability to gather and interpret relevant data (usually within their field of study) to make judgments that include reflection on relevant social, scientific or ethical and convey information, ideas, problems and solutions to both specialists and non-specialists.

To sum up, it can be said that relevant legislation on the Spanish education system does cover the acquisition of digital competences. However, the current framework does

[3] (Preamble LOE, 206: 25) in translation of the law, available on http://planipolis.iiep.unesco.org/upload/Spain/Spain_LOE_eng.pdf (12/12/2012).

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not regard as mandatory the implementation of a course on media literacy, as it has been recommended by the European Parliament. As explained above, the current educational framework in Spain regards media education as a subsidiary, transversal subject that plays a supporting role in the achievement of the core contents of the school curriculum.

AUDIOVISUAL COMPETENCE AND DIGITAL CITIZENSHIP: A PIONEERING RESEARCH

Defining the concept, dimensions and indicators of audiovisual and digital competence is not an easy task, considering how fast technological changes affect the dynamic relationship between media, ICT and citizens. Precisely, the Consell de l'Audiovisual de Catalunya (CAC) has funded a pioneering research in Spain, led by Joan Prats Ferrés from the University Pompeu Fabra (2006) to define audiovisual competences. Based on an input from 45 experts in Ibero-America, the proposals were discussed in a scientific seminar involving 14 Spanish scholars. The team elaborated a final document defining "media competence" within the EU framework of the *Education and Training 2010* and directly related to the concept of "digital competence" used by the Council of Europe.

According to this document, the two criteria for media literacy levels are: (i) the interaction between emotion and rationality (citizens should be able to rationalize the emotions that are involved in media receptions), and (ii) interaction between critical reading and creative expression (citizens should be able to make a critical analysis of media products consumed and to produce media messages) (Ferrés, 2006: 11). The six dimensions covered by media competence are: language, technology, media programming and production, ideology and values, media reception, and aesthetics. Joan Ferrés and Alejandro Piscitelli (2012: 75-82) have recently revised the indicators contained in each of these dimensions.

In order to shed light on the measurement of media literacy, the Consell de l'Audiovisual de Catalunya (CAC) and the University Pompeu Fabra launched a new project, once again led by Joan Ferrés i Prats, between 2007 and 2010. This research analyzed the media competence of Spanish citizens through several indicators. It provided quantitative results from 6624 surveys among the 17 Spanish regions (Ferrés et al, 2011). The results confirmed the low level of media competence among Spanish citizens in general. Indeed, only 4.6% of the people who took the survey could be considered literate in this area. The dimension where Spanish citizens ranked highest was 'technology' and the issues where they ranked lowest were aesthetic, and ideology values. Given the links between media literacy and the levels of governability of a country, this investigation recommends the implementation of media education into the curricula at all levels of formal education.

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CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS ON EDUCATION AND POLICY

Despite the fact that media literacy has become an area of great interest for Spanish policy-makers, teachers and scholars there is still much work ahead in order to increase current media literacy levels among Spanish citizens. For that to happen, the following are some recommendations that will help gain more support among academia, media and citizens within the European and Latin American context:

1) Inclusion of the course on Media Education (*Educación Mediática*) in the mandatory school curriculum. It is necessary to integrate the teaching of media literacy into the school curricula at all levels of formal education, as was first called for by the European Parliament in 2009. To date, Spanish education policies have been quite lax in including media education in school curricula and it has been reduced to a transversal competence rather than a subject by itself. Furthermore, the initiatives implemented have had a large focus on the instrumental side of media literacy, devoting most of the efforts to teaching the management of systems and use of technical equipment. There has been insufficient critical understanding of communication and citizenship participation in the media, as described by UNESCO in 1982 and in the Grunwald Declaration.

2) Establishing a multidimensional education. The school curricula should integrate a media education course in which students are required to develop all dimensions of digital competition. The six dimensions introduced by Ferrés (Ferrés et al., 2011) could serve as a baseline for creating a multidimensional framework: language, technology, programming and production processes, ideology and values, audience reception, and aesthetics. At a first stage, experts should agree on the basic contents needed to have the most impact on multimedia competence and make the students multimedia and multiliteracy competent. Once defined, those goals should be incorporated into the school curriculum. Given the widespread use of Internet and social networks, this course should address civic media literacy.

3) Promoting media education among adults, and especially the elderly. Media educations should not just focus on youth and children. Media literacy policies must also address adults even if no specific institution exists that can easily reach them all (as easily as schools attended by all children) (Livingstone, 2011). Research suggests that adult development of media literacy depends less on age or prior knowledge than on the existence of a powerful motivation (Livingstone et al., 2013). Some extraordinary experiences at Spanish universities challenge the belief that the eldest segments of the population are reluctant to use new technology. As success stories have shown, elderly people can be as competent as youth in handling technology to communicate with their children or with people of their own age.

4) Supporting the role of *Educommunicators*. Isolated experiences of teachers involved with media education have always been found, but these individual efforts must be scaled-up and underpinned by a solid public policy framework. In Spain,

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many professionals and teachers do not have sufficient training in media education, so post-graduate education must be promoted, as well as workshops and other training initiatives, to create a well-trained professional body in the field. Attention should also be given to other stakeholders in the education system, such as parents. For example, the number of parents associations should be increased, and those already existing should be encouraged to organize talks and workshops on media literacy.

5) Establishing an independent State agency to regulate media content with enforcement capacities. In Spain, there is no agency at the State level with a mandate to regulate and monitor media content, specially the protection of childhood. The experience of the Audiovisual Councils in Spain is so far reduced to some regions like Andalusia, Navarra and Catalonia. An even among the existing ones, only the Audiovisual Council of Catalonia meets on a regular basis. Although their activities and research have been enriching and there have been attempts to create an Audiovisual State Council, this project has fallen through due to partisan conflicts.

6) Creating educational programs and encouraging quality content on media. Media should promote public service integrating educational spaces on TV, specially at the stations affiliated to a public broadcasting system, such as Televisión Española (TVE). To date, commercial channels have shown a marginal commitment to innovative cultural, high quality content.

7) Supporting further research in order to consolidate knowledge and share best practices with other countries, specially, in South America and Europe. Since research on the media literacy field has been marginal in recent years, it is necessary to support the development of a methodological framework to assess media literacy in Spain, as well as to monitor the efficiency of new public policies arriving in that area. This framework would preferably be aligned with other efforts undertaken in other partner countries, especially European, in order to facilitate cross-comparisons and knowledge sharing initiatives.

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KRITIČKI POGLED NA ISTRAŽIVANJA MEDIJSKE PISMENOSTI U ŠPANJOLSKOJ: OBRAZOVNI I POLITIČKI IZAZOVI

Carmen Marta-Lazo :: María del Mar Grandío Pérez

SAŽETAK *Članak donosi kritički pogled na tradiciju istraživanja medijske pismenosti u Španjolskoj s ciljem da se ispita kako se španjolski znanstvenici suočavaju s izazovima u javnim politikama, osobito pak s izazovima u školskom kurikulumu koji se tiče medijske pismenosti. Istraživanje medijske pismenosti (šp.* educomunicación*) u Španjolskoj je opstalo zbog interesa znanstvenika, ali i drugih društvenih grupa, poput novinara ili školskih učitelja, koji su podigli razinu osviještenosti javnosti o potrebi razvijanja kritičkog i kreativnog načina učenja o medijima. Ovaj će članak dati pregled europskog i latinskoameričkog naslijeđa medijske pismenosti u Španjolskoj, glavnih postojećih istraživačkih grupa i projekata koji se temelje na obrazovanju za medije te akademskih politika koje se odnose na digitalne kompetencije u formalnom obrazovanju. Konačno, ovaj će članak dati preporuke za obrazovanje i politike koje će potaknuti stvaranje veće suradnje između znanstvenika, medija i građana u europskom i latinskoameričkom kontekstu.*

KLJUČNE RIJEČI

MEDIJSKA PISMENOST, *EDUCOMUNICACIÓN*, MODEL VIŠESTRUKIH KOMPETENCIJA, DIGITALNA PISMENOST, ŠPANJOLSKA

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CURATION PEDAGOGY FOR MEDIA STUDIES: (FURTHER) TOWARDS THE INEXPERT

Ben Andrews :: Julian McDougall

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / UDK 37.013.82, 004.81:159.953.5, 316.774:8 / PRIMLJENO: 29.06.2012.

ABSTRACT *An educational 'model' for participatory learning and media literacy in the contemporary context of digitally mediated lifeworlds is emerging (Jenkins, 2010; Gauntlett, 2011; Fraser and Wardle, 2011). The critical problem, we argue, for its 'adequacy' is the privilege granted to curriculum content and skills over pedagogy. Elsewhere, we offered a 'pedagogy of the inexpert' as such a model for text-conscious disciplines such as, but not restricted to, Media Studies. This strategy removes 'the media' from our gaze and looks awry to develop new ways of working with students – to 'show and tell' textual agency and more reflexive deconstruction of what it is to read and make media, and to 'be' in mediation. In this article, we develop this approach further towards a model of 'curation'. Understood in this way, students 'show' media literacy in new spaces – not by recourse to skills, competences or analytical unmasking of the properties of a (contained) text, but by exhibiting, by curating a moment in time of textual meaning-making and meaning-taking, but with a mindfulness – a critical acceptance of such an attempt to hold and curate the flow of meaning as an artifice.*

KEY WORDS

CURATION, MEDIA LITERACY, PEDAGOGY, RANCIERE

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A PEDAGOGY OF CURATION

New digital media have not *in themselves* caused a temporal shift. Rather, they have allowed educators to more clearly understand a problem (of restricting textual agency in the classroom to producer / audience and teacher / student) and work towards a solution – a more reflexive engagement with mediation in 'flow'. We arrive, then, at a 'knowing compromise' for dealing with media as fluid and flowing in the age of 'realised' participation. This constitutes our 'adequate model'. John Potter has offered a theory of curation as an active literacy practice, providing "alignment between theories of media production, learner agency, voice and identity in a new formation around the concepts of curatorship, representation and exhibition" (2012: 11). Here we propose a pedagogy of curation for Media Studies.

This article offers an application of this curation pedagogy to three events – *L.A Noire*, *A Separation* and the *Occupy movement*. In conceptualizing the 'teaching' of these events and their fluid 'reception' in a field of media learning defined by engagement and participation, we will explore, for Media Studies today, the productive intersection between the curatorial and the educational with attention to its potential for a more embodied media literacy.

MEDIA STUDIES (1.5)

The degree to which 'Web 2.0' has enabled 'Media 2.0' and quite how liberating this might be have been the subject of much debate in our field as these three statements, all in response to Will Merrin's initial (online) intervention and the subsequent exchange of views, serve to illustrate:

I would agree that it is necessary to keep pace with our students' media experiences and their changing orientations towards media. Nevertheless, we also need to beware of assuming that those experiences are all the same (the 'digital generation' argument) and keeping up with our students does not mean we should automatically import the latest technological gimmicks into the classroom, let alone start pimping up our Facebook profiles in some hopeless desire to be 'down with the kids'. (Buckingham, 2010: 26)

Technological determinism' is a charge which is often levelled at people who are merely seeking to discuss ways in which technology *could* be used. It's laughable, sometimes – and quite intolerable – how an argument which merely dares to suggest a positive rather than negative application of social media is instantly branded as 'technological determinism'. You could say it's part of an academic sickness, that to be seen as 'cool' and 'critical' you can only subscribe to the most negative diagnoses of everything (Gauntlett, in McDougall, 2011:115).

As academics, we are bad at accepting partial victories, but at the moment, participatory culture is a partial victory in so far as a significant number of people (although we don't agree on how to count them) have made a transition in their communicative power over the last decade through hard won battles to broaden participation (Jenkins, in Berger and McDougall, 2011: 25).

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Henry Jenkins' 'transmedia education' (2010) offers a framework which is increasingly reflected in media education practice – at least in higher education – with students working across media forms to produce – and analyse – work which Jenkins defines as 'spreadable', 'immersive', 'mapped' and 'performative' (among other descriptors). We see the move to 'transmedia' as a helpful shift away from 'the media' – a starting point for a more radical return to textual fields as being about just 'life', without subject / object distinctions.

David Buckingham (2010) is more pessimistic about the capabilities of media education to realise the ambitions of 'critical media literacy'. Three 'wrong turns' are identified in his critique. Firstly, the shift to 'digital literacy' in the policy rhetoric and educational discourse dilutes criticality in the privileging of a competence model. Secondly, the 'Media Studies 2.0' intervention (Merrin, 2008 and Gauntlett, 2011) is derided as patronising and naïve 'techno-euphoria'. Thirdly, a renewed interest of media educators in a 'multimodal media literacy lens' (Instrell, 2011) is viewed as an unhelpful over-extension of linguistics into social theory. These three moves, Buckingham argues combine to undermine the potential of media literacy to develop critical thinking. In this dystopian narrative, technology, 'modes' and 'brave new world' claims for democracy are uncritically heralded and our educational response to them little more than a set of ill-defined new 'skills'. We argue, though, that the positions taken by Buckingham (and Laughey, 2011) with his call for a 'Back to Basics' return to Media Studies 1.0) on the one hand and David Gauntlett and Will Merrin on the other have been unhelpfully polarised in the debate – and it's 'retelling' and that another 'in between' space (or even a 'third way') is available to us if we bear witness to it (Berger and McDougall, 2012).

LIFE

Media Studies starts from the observation that media now permeate almost every moment of our existence. There is almost nothing that we do that escapes mediation. (Press and Williams, 2010: 194). Media Studies can only be framed by this precept, the study of everyday life. In which case the 'fault lines' between the subject and Cultural Studies are difficult to mark out. Teaching Media Studies after the media means looking awry from 'The Media' as a 'Big Other' which is separate to people and life and thus objectifiable, exclusive, alienating – just as the schooled construction of 'Literature' is discursively configured as different to everyday literacy practices. If everyday life is mediated and textual, then our subject is the study of (Textualised) Lives. We do not posit that broadband internet and social media have brought about any kind of paradigm shift or temporal 'rupture'. Rather, we argue that digital online media simply allows us to see more clearly (Kendall and McDougall, 2012) the mediation of everyday life and the complexity of being media literate in the world with others, to the extent that we are forced to ask more searching questions about the 'adequacy' of our pedagogy – new digital media are, then, a catalyst for a more reflexive media pedagogy. In its most simple terms, our 'pedagogy of the inexpert' is a handing over of power, of mastery, towards a more negotiated pedagogy where students and teachers exchange and negotiate

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degrees of cultural capital – gamer student – experts working with teachers to theorise their gaming cultures, both surrendering some power in the construction of new kinds of 'knowledge' about game events and transmedia participations. This new model will embed the process of meaning making – as opposed to 'the media' (or its various forms of 'content') as central to critical media literacy. Our objective is to locate our practice 'in between' Buckingham's rejection of the 'Media 2.0' thesis and the apolitical discourse of its more 'emancipatory' claims, mindful that "the internet's influence is filtered through the structures and processes of society" (Curran, Freedman and Fenton, 2012: 179).

The difference in our model is clear and simple – we are concerned not merely with the content of the media curriculum or the status of our students as more or less 'native' in digital culture but rather with pedagogy, oddly neglected in the debate hitherto. Accepting that 'mediation' is a big part of social life, but sceptical about any radical potential in teaching 'The Media' as a 'Big Other' (Zizek, 1999) – akin to 'Literature' – we view media pedagogy *after the media* as a "redistributional public intervention" (Curran, Freedman and Fenton, 2012: 183).

TEACHING IN THE END TIMES

We start out here from the end –point of *After the Media* (Bennett, Kendall and McDougall, 2011) where a series of questions for text conscious 'culture literacy' were posed, for media pedagogy in the twenty-first century. These questions sought to move student from 'text' to 'event', to a rethinking of 'spaces and places for consuming and producing textual meaning' (*ibid*. 231). Just as 'Media 2.0' requires us to reimagine the idea of audience in relation to that of 'producer', so the pedagogy of the inexpert demands an equivalent reimagining of 'student' and 'teacher' – we find ourselves 'in between lots of spaces' (*ibid*. 239).

A contemporary 'reboot' of Media Studies through auto-ethnographic practice can be achieved by drawing on Jacques Rancière to conceptualise what such practice might look like in the digital realm. Where *After the Media* offered critique, here we provide application to three events. *A Separation* (Farhadi, 2011) narrates and frames both its subject-positions and its public and private spaces, *L.A. Noire* is understood as an (authorless) literary event and then we turn to a (perhaps) more disparate event in the form of the Occupy movement. Through these applications, we offer Media Studies new opportunities to re-ask long-standing questions of its objects (and events) of study; seeking to work with notions of 'curating' and 'inexpertise' and making use of the work of Rancière to transgress the unhelpful and outmoded boundaries we've hitherto constructed in education between 'art', 'media' 'text' and 'politics'. Rancière's notion of 'lost adequation' – the gap between the self-reflective practices of aesthetic discourse – whereby 'representation' is assessed on its own terms, away from 'doing' – constructing an empty space 'in between' creating and reception (2007: 95) is a pertinent conception for the 'traverse' Media Studies has found itself trapped in. When applied to 'new' media (relatively speaking) such as videogames, we can see a space opening up for a 're-adequation':

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The inner logic of the form is such that it invites people to play and in so doing opens up a form of experience that is resistant to, but not oppositional, in relation to the dominant societal logic ... in the way that they play with dissemblance and defy audience / player expectations, video games exceed mediatized entertainment in the direction of form. (Kirkpatrick, 2011: 44, 93)

Our argument is not that videogames are somehow 'different' in this way. Rather, we see this 'readequation' towards analysis of meaning making as helpful for the study of all mediated experience. New digital media forms do not disrupt this paradox any more than web 2.0 'ends' the media. Rather, 'Media 2.0' enables such a 'readequation' of the always-already embodied meaning making, obscured by both aesthetic discourse and 'the media'.

CURATION (1)

Rancière's eponymous essay in the collection *The Emancipated Spectator* (2011) raises useful insights into both questions of pedagogy, referring as he does to his earlier work *The Ignorant Schoolmaster* (1991) and into notions of the relation between particular cultural products, however expanded or 'after' that might be, and its audience. *After the Media* described the 'classic' Media Studies categories as, following Jacques Derrida (1967), *under erasure*, in that they are unstable but still held to be useful established discourses. Going further, we now raise the question of what an expanded 'post-critique' would look like - do auto-ethnographic artefacts exemplify and foster adequate engagement and critical media literacy? Should we foster pedagogy and assessment that allow for students to be aware of codes of signification and how they work but then play with or deconstruct those very codes by inscribing themselves into the assessment? How might students' auto-ethnographic artefacts play with or scramble 'regimes of representation'?

'After the Media' was a deliberate attempt to "foreground... the social practice aspects of reading", (Bennett, Kendall and McDougall, 2011: 225) rather than fetishizing 'the text' and to draw on "contingent playfulness that characterises the life-world experiences of young people' in which 'the text is deeply embedded in the practices of social and cultural life" (*ibid*. 226), proposing a pedagogy that can "invert...the dynamics of traditional investigative endeavour of text-conscious subjects from a concentration on text to a focus on audience" (*ibid*. 232). Any assessment forthcoming from this proposed pedagogy would be different from either textual analysis or mere 'production', concerned rather with being "process rather than content oriented" (*ibid*. 232).

So we are concerned here with capturing such a process. Kristin Ross (2007) discusses the status of an artwork in a commodity market rather than a unique crafted artefact in an educational setting:

In the art world especially, a prevalent post-Situationist context has led to a form of morose but pleasurable political resignation in the face of the all-consuming nature of the commodity and the market, a market that saturates, conditions, and determines the production and reception of artworks. In a related development, the tenacious remnants of Baudrillard's thinking can be found lurking throughout the discourse of art criticism, proclaiming the bankruptcy of art in a world where everything has devolved into image. (Ross, 2007: 2)

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Ross's insights are two-fold, circumscribing a familiar stalemate or dead-end of both cultural production and cultural theory. From one corner, a familiar plight of 'Oh, no, everything I do is appropriated', of the market absorbing opposition into style for its own hegemonic ends; from the other, the harassing voice of theory confirming the futility of cultural production because of a march of the spectacle striding over any meaning. It is this attempted avoidance of self-referential *mise en abyme* that auto-ethnographic artefacts address, inscribing the reception and reinterpretation of cultural exchange – mediation – on the everyday and the personal. Students' media work will not present *critique* of 'the media' but semi-autonomous re-inscriptions, aspects of their production and existence. At the same time, they locate (or reframe) media 'in context' – their 'conditions of possibility' (Foucault, 1972: 46).

If we are to see the production of artefacts without the event of their presentation, the dialogues, and without the personal stories, as offering a traditional *critique* of media, the objects are in danger of duplicating their seductive power. Given this, their essential 'amateurness' or 'inexpertise' may then in fact be their strength, remaining unduplicatable by what they are critiquing – showing a 'knowing' meta-awareness of representation without claiming to do so from outside the process.

If the inexpert status of auto-ethnographic artefacts as alternative forms of assessment is their strength rather than their offering a rational negation that can be exposed to co-option by media representation, then, in play with genre or conventions of representation, such 'curiosities' add an element of 'uncanny' into anything that looks more 'commodified'.

Media learning is here constructed in (dialogic) events – conversations around assemblages – a process that is able to talk us, teachers and students, out of the two corners Ross outlines above, the flattening into image and the political resignation in the face of the market. These, 'assemblage-events' offer the opportunity to present textualised lives, embracing disorientation and loss of mastery towards a 'frivolity' that "undoes and is undone" (MacLure, 2006: 6).

Pleaching

Now, turning to Rancière's notion of the "emancipated spectator" (2011) we will explore the possibility that the assemblage event in digital form might explore and re-present how media, in their expanded state, 'work' and how a student might 'curate' their response to texts. Assemblage-events, as we have called them, are processes. Our notion of the assemblage event, drawing on conceptions of dialogues around auto-ethnographic artefacts that employ metaphor and analogy, is best described as 'pleaching'. To pleach is to interweave, making or renewing (such as a hedge, or arbor) in so doing. Rancière describes how in the modernist theatre, both staging and performance "intend to teach their spectators ways of ceasing to be spectators and becoming agents of collective practice" (2011: 7-8) that offer insights into how we might theorise a pedagogy in which students can 'curate' their textualised lives:

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Theatre is presented as a medium striving for its own abolition ... this self-vanishing mediation is not something unknown to us. It is the very logic of the pedagogical relationship: the role assigned to the schoolmaster in that relationship is to abolish the distance ... to replace ignorance by knowledge. (Rancière, 2011: 8)

The facilitation of students to emancipation, following Rancière's argument, requires that the teacher "must always be one step ahead" (*ibid*.), in other words re-distancing knowledge because the student:

...is the one who does not know what she does not know or how to know it ... he is the one who knows how to make it an object of knowledge at what point ... knowledge that cannot simply be ordered in accordance with the ascent from the simplest to the most complex (*ibid*. 8-9).

Radical media pedagogy, the 'adequate model' required for this journal, cannot maintain 'stupefying distance' that can 'only be bridged by an expert' (*ibid*. 10) "the ignorant schoolmaster is named thus ... because he has uncoupled his mastery from his knowledge ... he does not teach his knowledge, but orders them to venture into the forest of things and signs" (*ibid*. 11, emphasis in the original). Following this, our notion of a 'curatorial' understanding helps us move towards an understanding of how self-crafting or curating an event from student's textualised lives will be a conscious act of 'indiscipline' – a 'not-knowing' or opening interpretation to an ellipses or that which it might not be yet. Less interpreting a text with theory, or presenting work for 'validation' than thinking the object itself as a method or as a theory. We do Media Studies, then, by wilfully ignoring the rules and discourses of Media Studies, itself the problem, to disrupt the logic of the 'stultifying pedagogue' who is insisting we speak a common (active) language about (contained and 'knowable') texts.

CURATION (2)

In order to exemplify our pedagogy of curation, we offer three 'exhibits' to model our new modes of practice in different contexts – a more 'traditional' Media Studies example (a film), an emerging but still neglected field (game studies) and a less obviously 'textual' event in the form of a 'movement'. In each case, we provide a strategy for facilitating 'curatorial self-presentation' – towards a more embodied media literacy. For each example, we firstly apply the 'end-point' questions from *After the Media* to the event in question, secondly present the teaching of such curation as the work of the 'ignorant schoolmaster' – to extend our strategy for inexpert pedagogy – and thirdly describe the implications for students' work – understood now as 'assemblage events' in relation to the constraints of contemporary 'Subject Media' – the institutionalised form of Media Studies.

Exhibit A: *A separation*

He doesn't even know you are his son
But I know he's my father

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A Separation is a film of many 'not-knowings'. Phillip Kemp notes that the film "pays us the compliment of letting us make up our own minds" (2011: 77). In that sense, apart from the opening scene shot from the point of view of the divorce judge, the handheld camera "roams about freely, framing and reframing tight groupings of people in confined spaces, shifting perspectives just as the balance of argument shifts between them. No one viewpoint is privileged" (*ibid*.). In other words, both the camera work and the narrative 'builds in' and thus curates ellipses. If this film was to be 'explained' by recourse to 'narrative conventions' it would share similarities with Film-Noir's conventions, the audience must be open to 'not-knowing' for most of the film, just as it shares with the cinematographic conventions of noir camera shots; actors are filmed though doors, window frames, blinds, courtrooms; and even an immediate quasi-documentary style.

Yet the film is doubly indisciplined, especially in its politics. It does not play with genre by referencing convention as postmodern cinema might nor is it overtly 'political' in the sense that a modernist film might be. The film's only overtly political moment is when Simin is asked why she does not want raise her daughter in Iran, she relies 'Because of the conditions.' The judge then replies, 'What conditions?' To which she does not reply, leaving another impasse of not-knowing. Godfrey Cheshire (2012) accounts for the film's opened inexpert politics when he describes this scene:

If Farhadi were to skewer Iranian officialdom, he might have started here. However, his intent, it seems clear from the context, is neither to make nor avoid a political statement, but rather to show how such situations play out in Iran. Dissent (Cheshire, 2012: 78)

The phrase 'play out' seems a perfect description of the film's indiscipline, its politics expanded beyond conventional notions of political cinema, just as 'neither to make nor avoid' seems another useful way of describing how the film might be thought of opening out boundaries or curating possible interpretations.

Its status as a film in national and international cinemas is further indisciplined, we, again, do not know if its commercial and critical success emerges from the conditions of possibility validated by both 'stultifying logic' of the schoolmaster, by Western art-house schedulers and by Iran's authoritarian regime. To paraphrase Rancière, how does a film come to be considered philosophical or political? This not-knowing opens the film's status and more importantly, its interpretation out to something that might help us move from seeing the film as text waiting for an explanation, to exploring a much more active notion of openness in the way it organises its own spaces, in the way characters open and connect to each other, in the way the text and characters might 'curate'. This could then offer insights into newer more emancipated pedagogic literacies. Posing the critical questions from *After the Media*, we emancipate or open the discussion from how audiences might experience the text away from expert discourses that discuss narrative conventions, camera work, its genre, its status in international symbolic, cultural and commodity exchange – the traditional concerns of 'Subject Media' (McDougall, 2004) – towards a curation of how *A Separation* – in our textualised lives – can tell the different stories of an event (arising from Nader's father's Alzheimer's), around competing versions of 'the truth'.

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If we can and should only be inexpertly open to the 'not-knowing', then what better tentative image than that of Simin's headscarf: worn in doors even in female company yet within the representational regime of cinema, of Iranian cinema under an authoritarian regime, so presumably not taken off. As Western spectators, we cannot know.

So although an activity following from students viewing *A Separation* might be more difficult to 'curate' due to its status as more traditional exhibit, we propose asking students to script or film a series of 'outtakes'. Fictional and de-centred scenes students envisage were discarded from the film act as pleaches that re-inscribe the text with their responses to it, as if opening or emancipating the film to making further meaning(s) that other audiences and themselves might make. The pleached film then becomes presented as part of an auto-ethnographic assemblage, like a digital version of a 'Cabinet of Curiosities'. Students are not required to 'explain' the new film but instead present the 'outtakes' as accounting for the event for their peers. Less *A Separation Redux,* more the event opened and emancipated.

Exhibit B: *L.A. Noire*

Videogame play is, above all, an act of performance and as such has always been an awkward exclusive category for the conceptual 'vertical discourse' (Bernstein, 1996) of Media Studies and, in particular, 'audience'. Gamers, in our previous research (Kendall and McDougall, 2009) have demonstrated an explicit and 'knowing' meta-awareness of how to play against, with or despite game narrative, a playful, enacted and emobodied criticality that resonates with the (postmodern) 'pick and mix' reader of texts – dialogic reading practices that offer possibilities for 'being' that are difficult to pin down as 'reception'. Such 'parology' (Lyotard and Thebaud, 1985) – new moves in the game that disrupt orthodox analyses of 'effects' and of reading itself – provide compelling evidence that there is no singular 'way of being' in a game event. This has obvious implications for the 'key concept' of audience in media education.

In taking *L.A. Noire* as our second exhibit we are forced to confront it's dissemination as an event which strives to be a text – in other words, here is a game designed and marketed as 'literary'. Understood in this way, we might view this game as being the 'easiest' to study within the frames of reference of conventional Media Studies – the game has a clear set of genre conventions, intertextuality is thickly layered, there is discernible 'representation' of gender, place, time. We might credibly think of *L.A. Noire* as (authorless) literature (Berger and McDougall, 2012). And yet, in the act of playing, the 'audience' must always-already disrupt any such arrangements.

A reading of this event derived from literary / filmic analysis will recognise *L A Noire's* appropriation of conventions from American film noir texts of the 1940s and 1950s, as well as later texts such as *Alphaville* (Godard, 1965) and *L.A. Confidential* (Hanson, 1997). The novels of Elmore Leonard and James Ellroy also contribute to this 'sphere' of influence. Unlike these novels and films, of course, *L.A. Noire* is an author / auteur-less digital event which is pre-designed but 'written', in narrative terms, only when read (played). The intention to 'digitally transform' the 'hard-boiled detective novel' might call us to further

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examine the relationship of exchange that exists between linear and digital texts – another 'in between', another trace of 'Media 1.5'. But more interesting, for our project, is an exploration of how gamer-students and Media teachers might work with *L.A. Noire* to reconfigure dynamics of expertise, begin a remediation of the curriculum and respond to the digital transformation of what we think it means to 'read' in order to think differently about the function of texts and the nature of textual 'authority' in the digital age. Put simply, surely there is no better contemporary example of the 'ignorant schoolmaster' than the teacher working with the gamer-student on an academic deconstruction of a (digitally transformed) 'book' they are unlikely to read (or even be able to). Only be conceiving of the game experience as event, we argue, can we be free of such constricting discourses of expertise. In Slavoj Zizek's words (to which we'll turn), the dispersed event gives us the 'red ink'.

The player / reader embodies Cole Phelps, performing as a detective, investigating and making judgments about corruption. As we can discern from this student / gamer / blogger, the status of the 'audience' for this event is complex:

Sticking to the standard that is set by a game which carries film noir characteristics, the main protagonist is a flawed justice-seeking detective. The interesting twist however is that we, the players, watch his rise, fall and eventual redemption. We see him love and we see this reciprocated, but equally we see him despised, as his 'bad behaviour' is uncovered. Phelps is an interesting character to play, especially as through the facial mapping technology we play as a digitised actor rather than an avatar. (Dunning, 'Digital Transformations' blog post: Berger and McDougall, 2012)

Curating, the emphasis is on resisting any notion that *L.A. Noire* is an unusual event, with identified (and exceptional) 'twists' in its generic and formal properties – (authorless) literature, a 'novel' which is read through gameplay, but rather to understand it as revealing various 'in between' states that have always-already existed in media reception and exchange but have been obscured by analysis of apparently 'contained' texts.

I suppose in terms of looking at it as a text or otherwise looking at it as what you might call different types of text reader relations and I compare that to say 'a book' and does the author control the meaning of the book, audience reaction and it's not too dissimilar in terms of interrogating who controls the game and arguably on the surface at least it's the gamer that controls the game but then you're in a fictional world of which are set by somebody else so I don't know if it's that dissimilar to looking at any other texts. (Teacher, Digital Transformations interview: Berger and McDougall, 2012)

Well it's a little bit different with games in the sense that in one sense I was trying to rush through and get the story and find out the story so I didn't do any of the side visions as I was trying to get through the story but to cover everything and find all the un-lockable stuff you could be spending hours and hours on it so it is different in that sense because I know that you can read into a novel and if you read it front to back you can teach about it but with the game you can play it but to unlock everything to think you're going to be teaching about it I think that would take a lot longer. (Student, Digital Transformations interview: Berger and McDougall, 2012)

Researching the potential for *L.A. Noire* to be 'taught' as an authorless novel, interview data yielded from participating students and teachers offered differing views on the

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question of the 'inexpert' – whether the teacher must acquire 'mastery' of the game. However, responses to questions about the 'status' of *L.A. Noire* as a novel were more consensual – moving away from the simple affirmative to a shared dismantling of the premise of the question – a shared understanding of 'indiscipline', we might suggest. Media students curating this event would, then, find parodic meaning-making in the act of returning the complex event, despite itself, to the status of a straightforward hard-boiled novel, responding to Rockstar Games act of textual recoding – the '*Collected Stories*' (Rockstar, 2011) by producing an intertextual range of artefacts that, in each case, undermine the complexity of inter-event signification. A short 'Noir' story based on the game, a 'cheat's guide' or walkthrough for reading / watching *Double Indemnity*, and then a machinima film derived from a 'non-narrative' or 'ludic' game which transposes the gameplay into it's other – a genre vignette out of *Mario*. Such a 'redistributional public intervention' *does* critical media literacy – turning the language games of media in on themselves, but from within their modes of representation, reproducing – through curation - the always-already excessive nature of transmediation. In simpler terms, parody becomes the 'order of things' – every act of curation is an exhibition of the conflict between form, aesthetics and analysis – the self-regarding language game of 'critique' is made dynamic by this deliberate inversion of category – novel, film game, genre. By undermining – through parodic amplification – the notion that it matters whether a game is 'like a novel', deconstruction becomes an energy – a 'cheat's guide' for *Double Indemnity* is more than mere provocation – the critical questions asked by *After the Media* are laid bare – what is reading, what is play, what is it to 'cheat', might reading 'Literature' be a game with rules? Is York Notes a walk-through?

Exhibit C: Occupy

Occupy is certainly a (dispersed) event and as such, a greater departure from orthodox ways of seeing 'text' than our other exhibits. However, the 'turn' we offer – from analysis and / or practice to 'curation' is arguably best made by situating such a 'movement' as a template for making sense of the concept hitherto known as 'reception'. Zizek, addressing the occupiers in Zuccotti Park (Blumenkrantz et al., 2011) spoke of the lack of a discourse through which to exercise freedom:

We have all the freedoms we want. But what we are missing is red ink: the language to articulate our non-freedom. The way we are taught to speak about freedom – war on terror and so on – falsifies freedom. And this is what you are doing here. You are giving us all red ink. (Zizek, in Blumenkranz et al., 2011: 68)

How, then, can media students doing work with Occupy be part of this project to create red ink? The connection is this – for Occupy to galvanise, the event mobilised a new way of thinking about space – *Occupy Everything*. Curation pedagogy is in keeping. Textual dispersion – in the form of event assemblage, *physically* and spatially textual – is political. Joining the Occupy Research Collective (http://occupyresearchcollective.wordpress.com/) and contributing – through the dissemination of 'live' transmedia work – enables students to read / research the event from the inside of participation, again to 'curate', rather than to 'know'. Of course, we are working here in the realm of the ideal – the reimagining of pedagogic space. This is not possible to articulate in the idioms of

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the language games of benchmark statements, quality assurance and the unit-measure discourse of accreditation – where a quantitative value or equivalence is attached to media work – the number of webpages that equate to an essay of particular volume, the accountability of and for an individual contribution to group production. Instead, we are working with what John Baldacchino (2012) calls 'exit pedagogy'. This 'third way' conception resonates with our sense of being in between media and audience, teacher and student – a rich open space for new practices. Neither 'vocational' nor 'academic' neither obsessed with 'critique' or technological determinist notions of a paradigm shift, neither a return to the power of 'the media' or a claim that the media have ceased to be – instead a deliberate ignorance of the idea that there can be a knowable media outside of us. For Baldacchino, 'exit pedagogy':

... does not affirm a symmetrical dualism between conservative and progressive liberal and critical pedagogy. An exit pedagogy moves by ways of slippage that seek the continuous referral of such symmetries by simply setting them aside. Its forms of reason are satire and comedy. (Baldacchino, 2012: 192)

Operating within the Occupy research collective – at once inside (activist) and outside (student, critic), the boundaries between these modes – and between subject / object, doing and reading, being and 'knowing', media, text, event, student, teacher – all cease to matter as we look awry. The curation of an assemblage – always-already temporary and artificial – of the moving Occupy event, through direct participation *in* it and simultaneous mediation *of* it – is thus an act of (frivolous) multiplicity.

CONCLUSIONS: EMBODIED, ENGAGED, CRITICAL

How, then, does our model of curation develop 'inexpert' pedagogy for Media Studies and provide an 'adequate model' for media literacy education in 2012 (a stated theme for this journal)? Curating the mediation of everyday life in the form of assemblage-events does not posit a temporal shift, claiming that 'the media' has ceased to be. Rather, this strategy is akin to the postmodern – a way of thinking (and teaching) that resists recourse to the idea of 'the media' as external to mediated/ing agents in social practice. As our students are such agents, this will have profound implications for our educational work with them and hence for a model for media literacy.

The preservation of an unhelpful set of precepts for media education has, we have observed, hindered and obstructed critical media learning in the same way as the idea of 'literature' has imposed alienating reading practices in schools (Kendall and McDougall, 2011). Despite ourselves, media educators have undermined the legitimation of studying popular culture by starting out from the wrong place and clinging to our 'Big Other' in the form of 'the media' – the object for our 'critical' gaze. The technological developments of the first part of this century are merely a catalyst for us seeing more clearly the problematic 'fault lines' between media / audience, student / teacher, expert / apprentice. A departure from the colonising effects of English education and aspects of the Social Sciences and a strategic engagement with elements of art pedagogy that create spaces for 'indiscipline'

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and emancipation. Such a move allows the deliberate further erosion of boundaries between categories – media and us, media and life, media and art, form and concept, text and event. Understood in this way, media education is renewed as an incomplete project, requiring (urgently) the removal of 'the media' from its field of reference in order for antidote in the form of a more politicised pedagogy from which students can better come to be reflexively media literate with and in their textual lives.

To conclude, we offer three strategic priorities for our community of practice. Firstly, we must turn our gaze from both the 'objects' of study and 'tools' that shape our discipline and look instead at the social practice of media learning as the design process – the 'work'. Second, we must see the paradox in dismantling the concepts formally known as 'the media' and 'the audience' whilst leaving the categories of 'teacher' and 'student' intact and it is for this reason that we turn to Rancière's 'ignorant schoolmaster' to expand and refine our 'inexpert' pedagogy. Thirdly, we must bear witness to contemporary textuality as primarily a mode of curation and attend to this in our work. In this article we have exhibited this approach by suggesting how students might engage with assemblage-events rather than texts, textuality rather than 'production' and participation rather than critique, interventions towards a more situated and embodied 'model' for media literacy.

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PEDAGOGIJA 'OČUVANJA' ZA MEDIJSKE STUDIJE: KORAK DALJE PREMA NESTRUČNOM

Ben Andrews :: Julian McDougall

SAŽETAK *U suvremenom kontekstu digitalno posredovanih svjetova* (lifeworlds) *u nastajanju je obrazovni 'model' za participativno učenje i medijsku pismenost (Jenkins, 2010; Gauntlett, 2011; Fraser i Wardle, 2011). Autori ovoga rada smatraju da je glavni problem koji utječe na njegovu 'opravdanost' taj što su nastavni sadržaji i vještine privilegirani u odnosu na pedagogiju. Autori su već prije ponudili 'pedagogiju nestručnih' kao model za discipline koje su usmjerene na tekst, kao što su primjerice medijske studije (no model nije ograničen samo na medijske studije). Takva strategija izmiče 'medije' iz našeg fokusa i gleda iz drugog kuta kako da razvije nove načine rada sa studentima – da 'pokaže i objasni' posredovanje tekstom i dekonstruira što to znači čitati i stvarati medije, i što znači 'biti' u medijskom posredovanju. U ovom članku autori dalje razvijaju taj pristup prema modelu 'očuvanja'* (curation). *Shvaćeno na taj način, studenti 'pokazuju' medijsku pismenost u novim prostorima – ne tako da pribjegavaju vještinama, kompetencijama ili analitičkom raskrinkavanju svojstava teksta, nego da pokazuju, da očuvaju trenutak stvaranja tekstualnog značenja i preuzimanja značenja, ali kritičkim prihvaćanjem nastojanja da se održi i očuva protok značenja kao svojevrsne vještine.*

KLJUČNE RIJEČI

MEDIJSKA PISMENOST, PEDAGOGIJA, OČUVANJE *(CURATION),* RANCIERE

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PRIKAZI I ANOTACIJE

BOOK REVIEWS

Peter Lunt and Sonia Livingstone

MEDIA REGULATION: GOVERNANCE AND THE INTEREST OF CITIZENS AND CONSUMERS

Sage, London, 2012, 232 pp
ISBN 9780857025708 (paperback)
ISBN 9780857025692 (hardcover)

The topic of this book is the birth and the activities of the Office of Communications (Ofcom), created in the UK by the Communication Act. However, the book tackles much broader issues concerning the ways in which states and national media systems react to globalization, to increasing complex service markets, and to changes in welfare systems. It becomes clear that the very concept of media regulation, in which a consultation between public bodies is expected, belongs to a broader political vision, which considers important to co ordinate police and to make citizens and consumers participating to change. What do citizens need from media and how can it be guaranteed? Who ensures that converging communications technologies serve the public interest? Do we know what the public needs or wants? Can national governments still regulate media in a global network society?

These are some of the opening questions in Peter Lunt's and Sonia Livingstone's volume. The topic appears very specific and narrow. It proposes to cover the creation of the Office of Communications by the Blair Government through the Communication Act, as well as the governing actions exercised by Ofcom. However, the book tackles much broader issues, because it concerns the ways in which states and national media systems react to globalization, to increasing complex service markets, and to changes in welfare systems.

The volume is divided into two main sections. The first four chapters regard the establishment, role and action of Ofcom, as a new means of controlling the market of communication and defending citizens and consumers' rights.

The Chapter One – "Media and Communication Regulation in the Public Interest" – reviews the changing context that governance and regulation are facing in these new scenarios, and the Chapter Two - "Regulation in the Public Interest" – examines current regulation theories, which form the strategies regulatory agencies take and adopt.

The debate concerning citizens and consumers' interests is tackled in the Chapter Three – "Ofcom's Core Purposes: A discursive Struggle", – while the Chapter Four – "Ofcom as a Regulatory Agency" – regards the role of regulation in the public sphere.

The second part of the book presents four case studies, which exemplify the role played by Ofcom in the construction of new mixed media in the UK: a new dimension of public service ("Ofcom's review of Public Service Television"), media literacy in the agenda of a Regulatory Agency ("Media Literacy"), child protection, a specific regulation about junk food advertising in relation to childhood obesity ("Advertising regulation and childhood Obesity") and the ground-breaking work on the community radio sector, in which Ofcom worked closely with civil society bodies and promoted innovation in the media system ("Community Radio").

The authors conclude by highlighting a turning point in 2009, when the Conservatives and Liberal Democrats took power in the UK. This event has also affected Ofcom, which was at the top of the list for reform by the new Premier, David Cameron. As the New Labour had promoted regulation in the media, the new Government seemed determined to reduce its impact and importance. It becomes clear that the very concept of media regulation, in

which a consultation between public bodies is expected, belongs to a broader political vision: on one hand the power to coordinate police and to make citizens and consumers participating to change can be crucial in the Labour vision, on the other hand a vision like Cameron's neo-Thatcherism can deny the public usefulness of this kind of activity.
Beyond these considerations, authors' judgment of Ofcom is: on one side, Ofcom has done much to provide opportunities and evidence that can serve as a basis for enhancing diverse forms of participation in the public debate, but on the other side, its role as an institution acting in the public sphere with the ability to improve policy making in the public interest has been more controversial.

Fausto Colombo

Lana Ciboci, Igor Kanižaj and Danijel Labaš (eds)

DJECA MEDIJA: OD MARGINALIZACIJE DO SENZACIJE
(Children of the Media: From Marginalization to Sensation)
Matica hrvatska, Zagreb, 2011, 215 pp
ISBN 978-953-150-950-3

The book Children of the media: From Marginalisation to Sensation is a collection of papers, published by Matica hrvatska under the auspices of the Croatian Office of the Ombudsperson for Children. In the book's foreword, the ombudswoman for children, Mila Jelavić, discusses how media reveals harmful phenomena to children and how media is capable of violating children's rights.
The first paper by Igor Kanižaj and Lana Ciboci, "How violence entered our homes through media: Impact, effects and consequences of media violence on children and youth," discusses the definition of violent media content and different media theories on violence. The consequences and effects of exposure to such content are dependent on the child's personality and the characteristics of the violent content. In order to minimize the impact of media violence, the authors emphasize the importance of educating all responsible actors, especially parents.
Daniel Labaš, author of the paper "Children in the Internet world: the detainees of the virtual world," wonders if the "digital" generation is indeed ready to deal with the challenges of the new media. Considering the phenomenon of cyber bullying, pedophile traps, the impossibility of protecting children's privacy, dependence on new media and its disguised commercial logic, prevention becomes the best solution. The author emphasizes the important role of pedagogy and proposes different pedagogical approaches and attitudes.
"Protecting the rights of children in the media: from the practice of the Office of the Ombudsman for Children" is the third paper, written by Maja Flego, which describes the actions of the Office in case of violations of children's rights. Media still contribute to violations: the right to privacy and dignity is not always respected, children are exposed to harmful media content, exploited in advertising and political campaigns, while there is a lack of positive and pro-social content for and about children. The role of media is crucial in reporting on "vulnerable" categories of children and in cases where parents use children for their own interests. Acting in the best interests of the child requires ethics,

specialized knowledge of media professionals and additional effort into ensuring the implementation of regulations.

Tanja Opačak's paper, "Media and children with disabilities" explores how, many words when describing children with disabilities can hurt them or shape their visibility and public understanding. The author gives an overview of documents, emphasizing the principle of equal opportunities for balancing their participation. Opačak discusses the language and terminology used in reporting, presents various media models of displaying disability and provides useful advice for journalists.

"Children in the daily newspapers: Analysis of reporting on children in 2010" is the article by Lana Ciboci, Hrvoje Jakopović, Suzana Opačak, Anđelka Raguž and Petra Skelin which presents the results of a year long pioneering research on the presentation of children in the media. Their analysis confirms that newspapers usually report on children in a negative context, insufficiently promote children´s rights and often reveal children's identities. Children are rarely the sources of information and features on children are rarely announced on front pages. In reporting on children with disabilities, most attention is given to their health status and when reporting on suicides, ethical standards are not observed. The authors emphasize the need to change the approach and the indisputable responsibility of the entire media industry.

In his article, "Within the framework of negativity and violence: children in *Novi list* and *Vjesnik* in 2010," Hrvoje Jakopović explains how children are presented in the oldest Croatian daily newspapers. The results show an inclination to select negative news: accidents, bullying and criminal offenses committed by children. There is a lack of communication regarding children's achievements and successes. The identity of children is mostly protected but there are still features that reveal children's identities when it needs to be protected. One source of information is usually dominant or there is no source at all. The author concludes that there is a interpretative framework of negativity and violence which is not in accordance with the credibility of professional journalism.

"Children in the eyes of the journalists: from selection to publication in *Glas Slavonije* in 2010" is a feature of Anđelka Raguž that reveals the prevalence of an intrinsic criteria in the selection of news in one of Croatia's regional newspapers. The research confirmed that readers are not familiar with the process of news selection and there are still examples of unprofessionalism when reporting on children: they often broach children-related issues selectively, through a sensationalistic approach, and articles of a negative character are mostly published. The identity of the child is revealed when it should be protected. Raguž insists on refuting journalists' exclusive responsibility and explains the crucial role of other media stakeholders.

The book gives a theoretical and empirical framework for understanding the connection between media and children's behavior and raises the question of who is writing and editing for the Croatian media. The existing image of children points to the urgent need for the introduction of systematic media education. This is one of a few books that will find its place in the institutions of higher education, but it should also be seen in the hands of all media workers and other equally responsible parties.

Stjepka Popović

Gerison Lansdown

VIDI ME, ČUJ ME – VODIČ ZA UPORABU KONVENCIJE UN-A O PRAVIMA OSOBA S INVALIDITETOM I PROMICANJE PRAVA DJECE (See Me, Hear Me: A Guide to Using the UN Convention on the Rights of Person with Disabilities to Promote the Rights of Children)

Ured UNICEF-a za Hrvatsku za hrvatsko izdanje, Zagreb, 2011., 170 str.
ISBN 978-953-7702-14-4

Skroman osmijeh i pogled šestogodišnjeg Christhiana iz Kolumbije dok pruža desnu ruku, jedinu koju ima, prema fotoaparatu kako bi pokazao vlastiti crtež koji pridržava palcem, jer druge prste na ruci nema, kao da govori „procjenjuj me po onome što mogu i imam, ne po onome što nemam". Christhian trenutno pohađa malu školu koju potpomaže organizacija Save the Children i zato krasi naslovnicu ovog vodiča. Još donedavno bio je samo jedno od oko 200 milijuna djece s teškoćama u razvoju koje je zbog svoje različitosti bilo žrtva diskriminacije – zbog tjelesnih teškoća nisu ga htjeli upisati u školu.

Vodič naziva koji upozorava *Vidi me, čuj me* (prevela Slavena Špalj) u originalnom izdanju organizacije The Save the Children Fund autorice Gerison Lansdown, međunarodne savjetnice za prava djeteta, velik je doprinos razumijevanju i ostvarivanju prava djece s teškoćama u razvoju. Riječ je o prvom vodiču koji integrira analizu Konvencije UN-a o pravima osoba s invaliditetom i Konvencije UN-a o pravima djeteta, objašnjavajući njihov međuodnos i smjernice za javno zagovaranje promicanja provedbe te oslanjajući se na primjere dobre prakse.

Uvod donosi statističke podatke o stanju prava djece s teškoćama u razvoju, ustaljena vjerovanja o njima, uzroke tih vjerovanja te posljedice koje pogrešna uvjerenja ostavljaju na djecu. Upozorava na važnost prepoznavanja činjenice da se djeci s teškoćama u razvoju mora omogućiti ostvarivanje njihovih prava koja su jednaka pravima druge djece, i to neovisno o dugoročnosti i višestrukosti njihovih oštećenja.

Nakon uvoda slijedi pojmovnik koji objašnjava 36 osnovnih pojmova koji se koriste u radu. Vodič je logično strukturiran u dva dijela: prvi koji se bavi razvojem prava djece s teškoćama u razvoju podijeljen u četiri poglavlja te drugi koji obrađuje primjenu prava djece s teškoćama u razvoju podijeljen u tri poglavlja.

Prvo poglavlje *Kratak uvod u ljudska prava* definira što su ljudska prava, koja su njihova osnovna obilježja te u kojim su ključnim dokumentima sadržana.

Drugo poglavlje *Povijesni pregled prava osoba s invaliditetom* daje kratak pregled razvoja razumijevanja invaliditeta kao pitanja ljudskih prava na međunarodnoj razini i doprinosa Konvencije UN-a o pravima djeteta povećanju priznavanja prava djece s teškoćama u razvoju. U poglavlju su u posebnim okvirima istaknuti ključni dokumenti o ljudskim pravima važni za pitanje invaliditeta, kao i osnovni članci Konvencije UN-a o pravima djeteta koji se tiču djece s teškoćama u razvoju.

Treće poglavlje *Razvoj Konvencije UN-a o pravima osoba s invaliditetom* osvrće se na kronološki razvoj Konvencije i njezinu važnost te na potrebu priznavanja djece s teškoćama u razvoju unutar Konvencije. Zasebno se navode radnje koje je poduzela organizacija Save the Children kako bi se Konvencija UN-a o pravima osoba s invaliditetom odnosila i na prava djece s teškoćama u razvoju.

Četvrto poglavlje *Ključne odredbe Konvencije UN-a o pravima osoba s invaliditetom* daje kratak opis i objašnjenje značenja svih članaka Konvencije i njezina Fakultativnog protokola.

Peto poglavlje *Odgovornost za provedbu Konvencije UN-a o pravima osoba s invaliditetom*

podrobno analizira ključne obveze država i njihovo postupanje poslije ratifikacije obje konvencije, ali ne zaboravlja obraditi obveze i odgovornost i drugih sudionika u životima djece s teškoćama u razvoju: roditelja, lokalnih vlasti, škola, organizacija civilnog društva i međunarodne zajednice.

Šesto poglavlje *Javno zagovaranje radi promicanja provedbe* predlaže strategiju djelovanja za osiguravanje učinkovitog zagovaranja promicanja prava djece s teškoćama u razvoju. Strategija se sastoji od nekoliko osnovnih radnji koje se u ovom vodiču detaljno opisuju: upoznavanje činjenica o životima djece, izgrađivanje kapaciteta, mreža i saveza, provedba kampanje za ratifikaciju Konvencije, zagovaranje provedbe, ovlašćivanje zastupnika za djecu i praćenje provedbe.

Posljednje poglavlje *Razumijevanje prava djece s teškoćama u razvoju: analiza Konvencije UN-a o pravima djeteta i Konvencije UN-a o pravima osoba s invaliditetom* daje detaljnu usporednu analizu dviju konvencija i uputa kako se njima služiti, a da se pritom razumiju temeljna prava djece s teškoćama u razvoju kako bi se moglo učinkovito zagovarati njihovo ostvarenje. Poglavlje je popraćeno nizom izdvojenih primjera kršenja i uskraćivanja prava djece u svijetu te savjeta za zagovaranje pojedinih prava. Također u njemu se obrađuje jezik kojim se potiče diskriminacija, navode se razlozi zbog kojih takav jezik nije prihvatljiv te se za svaki zastarjeli ili uvredljivi izraz koji se veže uz djecu s teškoćama u razvoju nudi prijedlog izraza koji ne potiče diskriminaciju.

Na kraju ovog vodiča nalaze se tri dodatka: prvi daje potpun tekst Konvencije UN-a o pravima osoba s invaliditetom, drugi navodi korisne izvore podataka za sve koji se bave tim područjem, a treći dodatak opisuje razvojni put samog vodiča *Vidi me, čuj me*.

Predgovor potpisuje Yanghee Lee, predsjedateljica Odbora za prava djeteta i profesorica dječje psihologije i obrazovanja na Sveučilištu u Južnoj Koreji, dok zahvalu potpisuju Tina Hyder i Monica Lindvall iz projektne skupine organizacije Save the Children.

Zahvaljujući detaljnoj analizi, sistematiziranju sadržaja ovog vodiča i izvrsnoj grafičkoj obradi, vodič *Vidi me, čuj me* sigurno će biti koristan priručnik svima onima koji rade na pitanjima uključivanja (inkluzije) djece s teškoćama u razvoju u društvo i okončanja njihove diskriminacije: organizacijama civilnog društva, zagovornicima prava djeteta i osoba s invaliditetom, ali i vladama.

Stjepka Popović

Viktorija Car (ed.)

PUTOKAZI PREMA SLOBODNIM I ODGOVORNIM MEDIJIMA
(Guideposts to Free and Accountable Media)

Kuća ljudskih prava i Fakultet političkih znanosti, Zagreb, 2012, pp 60
ISBN 978-953-57446-0-3
lSBN 13978-953-6457-67-0

The book, *Guideposts to Free and Accountable Media*, is the result of a one-year project of the same name, financed by the National Foundation for Civil Society Development within a program aimed at encouraging collaboration in carrying out research about the positioning and development of civil society in the Republic of Croatia in 2012. The project was implemented in partnership between the Human Rights House Zagreb and

the Faculty of Political Science, University of Zagreb. One of the aims of the research was to critically analyse the way public service media, as well as independent non-profit media and audio-visual production, report about human rights.

The research team consists of six authors (Antina Bratić, Viktorija Car, Arijana Kladar, Lucija Kuharić, Milana Romić and Sanja Sarnavka) coming from different academic and professional backgrounds, giving the research an interdisciplinary and varied approach. Thus, the main topic of the book has been covered from various aspects: analysis of the legal framework in which media work (in order to analyse whether or not the legal framework guarantees and ensures that the media promote human rights), content analysis of public service media (in order to determine if and how these media are facing the growing pressures of commercialisation and low-taste content and do the media preserve their primary function: providing citizens with good quality, reliable and relevant information about issues that are of public interest), analysis of the role of non-profit media (whose main task is to be oriented towards public interests and to be independent from commercial and political influences in order to be able to work in the best interest of citizens). One of the aims of the project, as well as the book, was to provide advice for improvement, so the research also focused on shaping recommendations for the inclusion of themes dealing with human rights, that would be wider in scope, more visible and of higher quality, into the content that these media or productions already publicise or create.

Book editor Viktorija Car as a starting point for her discussion takes a definition of a public service media as a public good, due to its social and not commercial value of the program. As such, public service media need to provide citizens with information that improve their lives, including information related to human rights issues. This book, however, does not limit this obligation only to the public service media, but rather shares it with civil society actors, which communicate with public via non-profit media. Public service media and non-profit media thus should be complementary and share responsibility for democratic public sphere, once they are legally guaranteed the freedom and right to act in this direction independently from political, economic and other pressures. That is why the book presents us with an analysis of laws on media in Croatia, in order to give us insight into the legal framework when it comes to the freedom and independence of media.

The most important parts of the book are research-based articles that show that human rights topics (when we speak in quantitative terms exclusively) are present in public service media, but the approach of media to these topics is quite problematic (in qualitative terms), especially when it comes to examples of violation of human rights. Authors also show that civil society actors do use non-profit (community) media, but the quality of their "products" very much depends on individual competencies of activists who work in media. Very interesting results presented in the book show that non-profit media do not have the same range of interests in the sphere of human rights as the mainstream media. This result is an argument that claims that non-profit media are important on the media scene, as complementary actors to public service media. One of the authors argues that non-profit media are the better part of a media scene, which shows more positive practice in reporting on human rights.This book sends at least two very important messages to its readers. The first one is related to the need to do research on how human rights are presented (or not presented) in the media, that is to the need to do research projects

of this kind. In an environment in which not only media employees, but also so-called analysts show a tendency to give general and not research-based statements about the media (un)professionalism, the serious research presented in this book is more than welcome.

The second message sent by Guideposts is closely related to media and their social role: media have been seen as institutions which have an obligation, but also have the potential to "discover" human rights, that is to learn how to report on them more professionally. This optimistic viewpoint towards media (which are capable of learning and which can act more professionally) is very encouraging to media and to those that do research on media.

The book *Guideposts to Free and Accountable Media* will certainly find its place in libraries in universities in the region, so that students can learn from it, not only about media, but also about how to research media. But, hopefully it will be read by news editors and journalists in different media outlets as well. They could use this book as a "mirror" which could help them see how they themselves and their media report on human rights. That could be the very first step towards changing their approach to such topics. The book advocates opening media's sphere to the issues of human rights, as well as more serious approach of media in introducing citizens with different mechanisms of protection of their rights and more responsible approach in reporting on protection of individuals, minority and sensitive groups, all aimed at contributing to a more democratic society. Free and responsible media are pre-conditions for democratic social dialogue and their competence in reporting on "sensitive" topics and/or groups is, in fact, a measure of democracy. That is why this book is very important, since it shows how the Croatian media are dealing with topics related to human rights and as such could serve as a good starting point for defining strategy of media development (especially when it comes to public service media and non-profit media). It will be useful for, not only analysts and researchers of media, but also for main stake-holders in media regulation and strategies.

Hopefully, this book will contribute to understanding media in a way that it will help create such a media environment in which media users, in not so far future, could say: "Finally, the media have discovered human rights!"

Lejla Turčilo

David Gauntlett

MAKING IS CONNECTING – THE SOCIAL MEANING OF CREATIVITY, FROM DIY AND KNITTING TO YOUTUBE AND WEB 2.0

Polity, Cambridge, 2011., 286 str.
ISBN 978-0-7456-5002-9

U svojoj knjizi *Making is Connecting* David Gauntlett bavi se pitanjima stvaranja, povezivanja i kreativnosti te ih nastoji staviti u kontekst ostvarenja sreće i boljitka za društvo, a ujedno proučava i njihove političke implikacije koje su po njegovu mišljenju često zanemarene. Podnaslov knjige *The Social Meaning of Creativity, from DIY and Knitting to YouTube and Web 2.0* opravdano nam daje naslutiti kako Gauntlett materiji koju obrađuje ne pristupa iz „visokog", strogo akademskog kuta, već svoje argumente izlaže relativno jednostav-

nim, konciznim rječnikom. Ako računamo uvodno i zaključno poglavlje, knjiga se sastoji od devet poglavlja podijeljenih u četiri dijela.

U uvodnom poglavlju Gauntlett izlaže teme i pitanja kojima će se knjiga baviti, a ujedno kroz vlastita iskustva objašnjava što ga je potaknulo na pisanje knjige koja se bavi spomenutom problematikom. Značajna je Gauntlettova distinkcija između „*sit back and be told*" kulture i „*making and doing*" kulture. Prva, koja se veže uz konzumističku kulturu, označava tradicionalne modele funkcioniranja društva, od strane institucija (npr. škole) ili medija (npr. televizije), dok druga označava prekid s pasivnošću i oslanja se na kreativnost, društveno povezivanje i osobni razvoj. U tom svjetlu kreativnost je u knjizi definirana kao „proces koji mijenja simboličku domenu u kulturi. Nove pjesme, nove ideje, novi strojevi su ono od čega se kreativnost sastoji" (str. 14). Gauntlett se pri toj definiciji poziva na radove dvojice mislioca viktorijanskog doba – Johna Ruskina i Williama Morrisa. Ruskin je tvrdio da nesputana kreativnost ima poželjne društvene implikacije, a Morris je smatrao da je za stvarno razumijevanje nečega potrebno uhvatiti se s tim ukoštac na fizičkoj razini, ručnim radom. Obojica govore o tome da radnici trebaju uživati i biti nesputani u svom radu, svojoj kreativnosti i kreacijama, te da rad ne bi trebao biti takav da nas udaljava od sebe i od drugih. Gauntlett njihove teze razvija dalje i kaže da ručni/zanatski rad može biti jednako vrijedan i kreativan kao i tzv. visoka umjetnost. Promišljanje o stvorenom i samo stvaranje tako su dio kreativnog procesa, a sam proces stvaranja pruža jednako zadovoljstvo kao i stvoreni predmet.

U trećem poglavlju Gauntlett proučava odnos prema ručnom/zanatskom radu danas. Proučava različite zajednice DIY (*do it yourself*) entuzijasta koji stvari uzimaju u svoje ruke i sami izrađuju ili popravljaju razne predmete. Njihovi su motivi eksperimentiranje, kreativnost i osjećaj sudjelovanja u procesu stvaranja od početka do kraja. No takve zajednice odašilju i snažnu političku poruku da postoji alternativa proizvodima koje nudi tržište, odnosno velike korporacije, te da zajednica i pojedinac mogu uzeti stvari u svoje ruke i u velikoj mjeri biti neovisni o hirovima tržišta. U zadnja dva desetljeća internet je postao idealno mjesto za međusobno povezivanje takvih zajednica i pojedinaca, pa možemo (doduše oprezno) govoriti i o procvatu kulture ručnog/zanatskog rada. No, kako Gauntlett naglašava, još veća prednost i korist interneta (Weba 2.0) jest ta što on sam nudi brojne platforme za kreativnost. Gauntlett kao primjer nudi YouTube, videoservis koji omogućava svakom svom korisniku besplatno objavljivanje videosadržaja. Za razliku od nekih drugih servisa (Facebook, blogovi), za izradu i obradu videosadržaja potrebno je uložiti nešto više vremena i truda, što podrazumijeva i veću kreativnost u cjelokupnom procesu. YouTube tako postaje „arhetip kreativne digitalne platforme" koja omogućava korisnicima da objave proizvod svoje kreativnosti te ih istovremeno povezuje.

Važnu ulogu u svemu ima i osobna sreća pojedinca. Gauntlett navodi brojne studije koje su proučavajući ljudsku sreću došle do spoznaje da je pri samom vrhu ljudskih potreba za ostvarenje sreće ona za razvijanjem dobrih i sadržajnih međuljudskih odnosa. Teorija društvenog kapitala kaže da akumuliranje društvenih veza pojedincu omogućava i olakšava pristup i rad na mnogim stvarima kojima sam ne bi mogao pristupiti niti bi mogao raditi na njima. Web 2.0 tu također ima ulogu da povezuje i omogućava akumuliranje društvenih veza i odnosa.

Gauntlett se poziva i na ideje Ivana Illicha koji govori o alatima kao pomagalima koja ljudima olakšavaju život. Prema Illichu, ti alati trebali bi biti maksimalno otvoreni i kreativni, a

ne šablonizirani, kako bi pomoću njih ljudi mogli na najbolji mogući način ostvariti svoje ciljeve. U knjizi se ta argumentacija prenosi na internetske alate i aplikacije koji su šablonizirani i ograničavaju kreativno izražavanje. Gauntlett kao rješenje nudi otvorene alate koje korisnici mogu mijenjati i dalje razvijati prema vlastitim željama i potrebama.

No Web 2.0 nije rješenje za sve probleme, i nije uvijek ružičast. Problemi koji se u knjizi spominju, odnosno pitanja koja se javljaju uz Web 2.0 jesu pitanje eksploatacije korisnika (skupljanje podataka o korisnicima za oglašivače i „besplatni" rad korisnika na kojem davatelji usluga zarađuju), pitanje gušenja individualne kreativnosti te tendencije digitalnih sustava za pojednostavljivanjem i reduciranjem stvari. Tu je i vječno pitanje plaćanja određenih usluga, za koje Gauntlett predlaže sustav mikroplaćanja, tj. plaćanja vrlo malih iznosa za korištenje određenih usluga. Postoje brojna rješenja i prijedlozi za ta pitanja, a preostaje nam da vidimo kako će se ona pokušati riješiti.

U zaključnom poglavlju ponavljaju se glavne točke iznesene u knjizi: razumijevanje kreativnosti kao procesa, emocija i promišljanja; ljudska potreba za stvaranjem i dijeljenjem; sreća koja se ostvaruje kroz kreativno povezivanje u zajednice; kreativnost kao društveno ljepilo; ostavljanje traga i uzimanja stvari u svoje ruke. Ova knjiga bit će zanimljiva svima koji vole sami izrađivati stvari, biti kreativni i neovisni o tržišnim trendovima, a ujedno je i dobar vodič i razbijač predrasuda za one koji će to tek postati.

Neven Benko

INFORMACIJE

INFORMATION

ACTIVITIES OF THE COST ACTION "TRANSFORMING AUDIENCES, TRANSFORMING SOCIETIES" IN 2012

Project website:
http://www.cost-transforming-audiences.eu

PhD workshop "Audiences: a cross generational dialogue. A faculty-mentored cross-generational doctoral workshop on audiences and audience research", Brussels, 11 April 2012

This PhD workshop was co-organized with the Young Scholars Network of ECREA and presented in collaboration with the Audience and Reception Studies section of ECREA. The organiser was Ranjana Das (University of Leicester). The workshop brought together five leading scholars in audience research. With a diverse range of approaches to audiences between them, they spent a day listening and responding to doctoral students and addressing questions raised by their projects especially as they fit into the narrative of audience research in the future decades. The intensive daylong workshop featured opening and closing statements from each faculty mentor, organised in a plenary, and parallel workshops focusing on student work during the day (full programme available online at: http://www.cost-transforming-audiences.eu/node/313).

Action meeting "Audience/Society Transformations", Brussels, 12-13 April 2012

The Action meeting in Brussels carried on the scientific work of the Action that has been going on since spring 2010. The local organizers were Geoffroy Patriarche, Emilie Vossen and Aïcha Amazzouj, from Université Saint-Louis. A highlight of the meeting was a panel on "The role of audience research within mediatised societies: A dialogue between academic researchers and stakeholders from different societal groups". It brought together representatives of the European Platform of Regulatory Authorities/EPRA, a Belgian public broadcaster, the European Alliance of Listeners and Viewers Associations/ EURALVA, as well as a European Policy Manager (Facebook). Another highlight was the keynote panel entitled "The Anatomy of Methodological Innovation: From Inception to Reception" which included talks by Robert Kozinets on "Inventing netnography", Mary Kellett on "Inventing Child-led research" and Rose Wiles on "The nature, origin(ality), dissemination and impact of methodological innovation".

Action meeting "Cross-Disciplinary Collaborations and Innovation", Milan, 20-22 September 2012

The meeting in Milan continued the ongoing work of the Action within the Working Groups and furthered common projects such as "E-Audiences: a comparative study of European media audiences" described below. The local organizers were Fausto Colombo

and Angelica Dadomo (from OssCom – Centro di ricerca sui media e la comunicazione, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore). Apart from the regular work of the Action members, the meeting also featured three keynotes: Anabel Quan-Haase from the University of Western Ontario, Canada, spoke about "Serendipity models: How we encounter information and people in digital environments". Peter van den Besselaar (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam) presented his ideas of "Cross-disciplinary research: A dynamic perspective". Finally, Giovanni Boccia Artieri (Università degli studi di Urbino) gave a talk on "States of connection: Observing networked and productive publics through the reality of online conversations".

Workshop "Communication beyond mediatization. On the changing nature of participation, political community and campaigning in the era of life politics", Budapest, 23-24 November 2012

The aim of the workshop was to contribute to the development of new approaches to political communication that go beyond the current mass communication/media centred approaches. The following key points and trends in the transformation of political communication and public participation were addressed: New horizons in political participation, Citizens beyond the concept of audience, and Communication in the era of life politics. The workshop was co-organised by The Centre for Political Communications Research, Institute for Political Science, Hungarian Academy of Science (PKK), and the Working Group 2 "Audience Interactivity and Participation" of the COST Action. More information at: http://www.cost-transforming-audiences.eu/node/668.

Publications

In 2012, the Action has published 4 special issues and 2 special sections of scholarly journals:

>In *Communications. The European Journal of Communication Research*, 37(3): "Public voice and mediated participation" (eds B. Stark & P. Lunt, Working Group 2).
http://www.degruyter.com/view/j/commun.2012.37.issue-3/issue-files/commun.2012.37.issue-3.xml.

>In *Cyberpsychology: Journal of Psychological Research on Cyberspace*, 6(2): "Generations and mediated relations" (eds A. Siibak & Nicoletta Vittadini, Working Groups 3 and 4).
http://www.cyberpsychology.eu/index.php.

>In *The International Journal on Media Management*, 14(2): "Audience research and media management" (eds B. Mierzejewska, D. Shaver & P. Napoli, Working Group 2).
http://www.mediajournal.org/ojs/index.php/jmm/issue/view/53.

>In *(OBS*) Observatorio*: "Networked belonging and networks of belonging" (eds Manuel José Damasio & Paula Cordeiro, Working Group 2).
http://obs.obercom.pt/index.php/obs/issue/view/34.

>In *Participations. Journal of Audience & Reception Studies*, 9(2), special section on "Audience involvement and new production paradigms "(eds José-Manuel Noguera, Francesca Pasquali & Mélanie Bourdaa, Working Group 2) and special section on "Multi-method audience research" (eds Kim C. Schrøder, Uwe Hasebrink, Sascha Hölig and Martin Barker, Working Group 1).
http://www.participations.org/Volume%209/Issue%202/contents.htm.

More publications of the members are listed on the Action's website.

Research project:
"E-Audiences: a comparative study of European media audiences"

One premise of the Action is that fundamental changes are currently witnessed globally in the communicative practices of audiences across different kinds of media – one-to-one, one-to-many, and many-to-many. Who communicates with whom, to what extent, across what media, in which flows and networks? A group within the Action, led by Klaus Bruhn Jensen (University of Copenhagen), is carrying out a comparative study that aims for nationally representative samples of the online population in each participating country; all core questions will be identical in all countries.

More information at: http://www.cost-transforming-audiences.eu/node/333.

Affiliated events

Two events affiliated to the COST Action were organized in 2012 (more details at: http://www.cost-transforming-audiences.eu/node/117):

>Workshop "Post-socialist media audiences", Prague, 25 May 2012. Organized by the Faculty of Social Sciences, Charles University in Prague. See also http://www.post-socialist-audiences.eu/.

>"Media industries and grassroots cultural production in the digital era. Meeting between young Italian researchers and European scholars", Milan, 20 September 2012. Organized by the Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore in collaboration with PIC AIS (Italian Association of Sociologist of Communication and Culture).

ZAKLADADRIS


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Upute suradnicima

Medijske studije interdisciplinarni su časopis koji otvara prostor za međunarodnu znanstvenu i stručnu raspravu o medijima, komunikacijama, novinarstvu te odnosima s javnošću unutar kulturološkog, povijesnog, političkog i/ili ekonomskog konteksta. Na suradnju su pozvani autori čiji radovi (prilozi) ispunjavaju kriterij relevantnosti i znanstvene izvrsnosti. Radovi ne smiju biti djelomično ili u cijelosti već objavljeni, ne smiju biti u procesu objavljivanja u nekom drugom časopisu, zborniku, knjizi i sl., niti smiju biti prijevod takvih radova. Za sve navedeno autori preuzimaju odgovornost. Uvjet za objavu rada u zborniku jesu dvije anonimne, pozitivne recenzije međunarodnih medijskih stručnjaka. Radovi se šalju isključivo u *doc*-formatu elektroničkom poštom na adresu: ms@fpzg.hr. Zbog anonimnih recenzija u posebnom dokumentu treba poslati ime, odnosno imena autora/autorica s mjestom zaposlenja, podatcima za kontakt (adresa/telefon/e-pošta) te kratku biografiju. Radovi moraju biti napisani na hrvatskom ili engleskom jeziku, fontom Times New Roman, veličina 12, prored 1,5. Sve stranice trebaju biti numerirane. Na prvoj stranici trebaju biti ispisani naslov rada te sažetak koji upućuje na zadaće i cilj rada, metode istraživanja te najvažnije rezultate (100 do 150 riječi s popisom ključnih 5 do 6 riječi), sve na hrvatskom i na engleskom jeziku. Očekivani opseg rada (uključujući bilješke, bibliografiju i mjesta za grafičke priloge) je između 5000 i 6000 riječi. Citirani izvori navode se u tekstu (a ne u bilješkama) u skraćenom obliku, npr. (Dahlgren, 2009: 67) ili (Gillespie i Toynbee, 2006). Na kraju teksta pod naslovom *Literatura* navodi se samo citirana literatura, abecednim redom.

Knjige: autor (godina) *naslov*. mjesto: izdavač.

Dahlgren, Peter (2009) *Media and Political Engagement*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Članci u časopisima: autor (godina) naslov, *časopis* godište (broj): stranice.

McQuail, Denis (2003) Public Service Broadcasting: Both Free and Accountable, *The Public/Javnost* 10 (3): 13-28.

Poglavlje u knjizi ili članak u zborniku: autor (godina) naslov, stranice, u: urednici knjige (ur.) *naslov*. mjesto: izdavač.

Tongue, Carole (2002) Public Service Broadcasting: A Study of 8 OECD Countries, str. 107-142, u: Collins, Philip (ur.) *Culture or Anarchy? The Future of Public Service Broadcasting*. London: Social Market Foundation.

Uz internetske adrese u zagradama treba napisati datum posljednjeg pretraživanja stranice (DD.MM.GGGG.). Bilješke se stavljaju na dno stranice, a ne na kraj teksta. Citati do tri reda integriraju se u tekst. Citati od četiri reda ili više od četiri reda odvajaju se od teksta, uvučeni su samo s lijeve strane, a veličina slova je 10. Sve tablice, grafikone i slike (sve crno-bijelo) treba integrirati u tekst te opremiti naslovom i izvorom. U posebnom dokumentu treba poslati tablice i grafikone u izvornoj verziji (Excel), a slike u *jpg*-formatu. Autori se obvezuju od vlasnika autorskih prava prikupiti dozvole za reprodukciju ilustracija, fotografija, tablica, grafikona ili dužih citata te su obvezni dostaviti ih uredništvu *Medijskih studija*.

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Books: author (year) *title*. city of publication: publisher.

Dahlgren, Peter (2009) *Media and Political Engagement*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Journal Articles: author (year) title, *journal* volume (number): pages.

McQuail, Denis (2003) Public Service Broadcasting: Both Free and Accountable, *The Public/Javnost* 10 (3): 13-28.

Book Chapter: author (year) title, pages in editors (ed./eds) *title*. place: publisher.

Tongue, Carole (2002) Public Service Broadcasting: A Study of 8 OECD Countries, pp. 107-142 in Collins, Philip (ed.) *Culture or Anarchy? The Future of Public Service Broadcasting*. London: Social Market Foundation.

Internet references should include the final searched date in the format of DD.MM.YYYY. Footnotes should be used rather than endnotes.

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