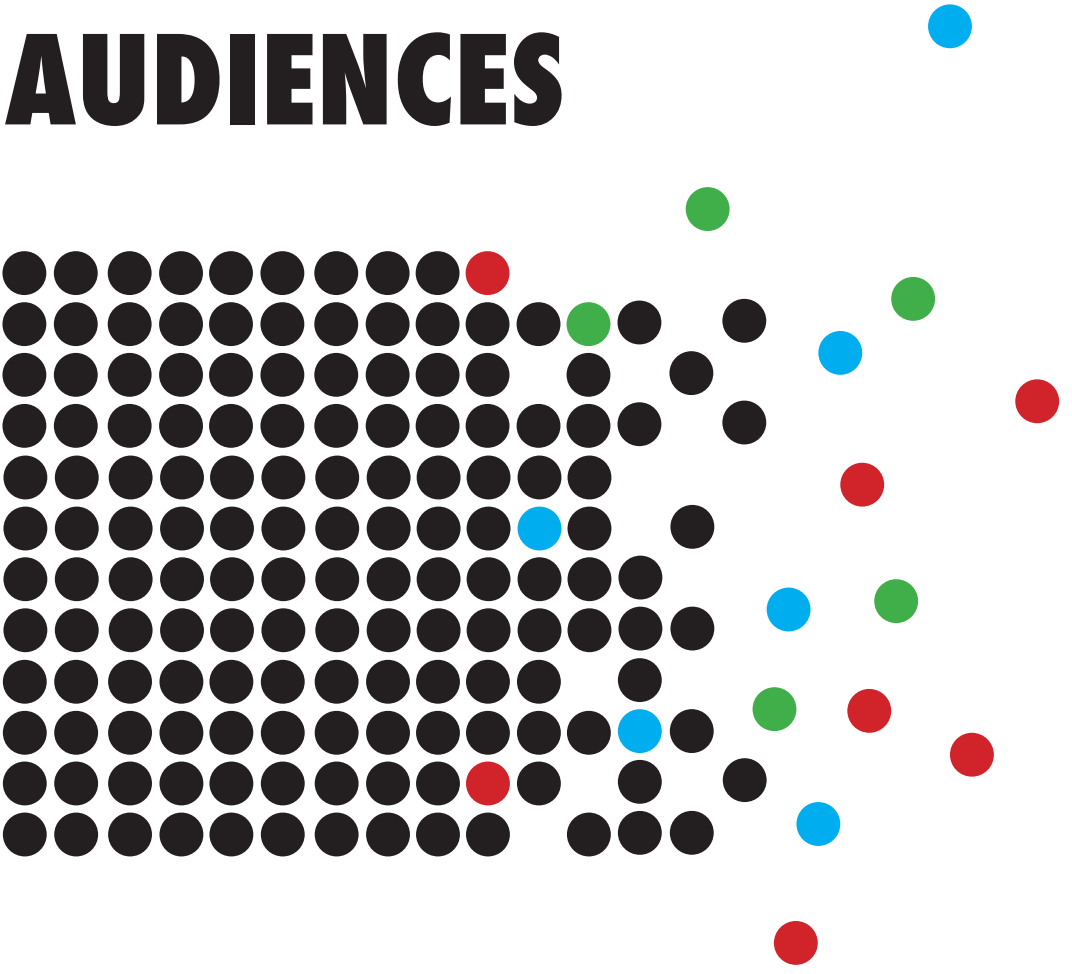
TRANSFORMING AUDIENCES



Patterns of Individualization in Television Viewing

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Content

Figures

Tables

PREFACE

This thesis on Transforming Audiences would not have been possible to complete without the help of a number of persons. I would in this case first express my gratitude to MMS for giving me the opportunity to work with Swedish People Meter data. Thanks to Pontus Bergdahl for giving me the initial possibility, to Hans Mandorff for providing me with data and explanations of its structure, and to Pirjo Svedberg for giving support and help in finding my way through it.

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One person that has played a most central role in the completion of the thesis is Tiffany Rusin. Her over sees proofreading, comments and devotion to the work was crucial at a most important final stage.

Lastly and most importantly, I want to thank all of my family for all of the support and love. Without my wife Louise, and my girls Siri, Sally and Rut life would be an empty shell. Your love, support and understanding means everything!

This thesis is dedicated to you, as the most beloved. But also as number 1, 3, 4 in panel household number 271 216 (numberless Rut: in a near future you will also get a number and be counted as a part of the Transforming Audience).

Jakob Bjur [number 2], Göteborg, November 2009

1

INTRODUCTION

> How is it that such a technology and medium has found its way so profoundly and intimately into the fabric of our daily lives? How is it that it stays there? […] Although … it was not always so … we now take television entirely for granted. We take television for granted in a way similar to how we take everyday life for granted. (Silverstone, 1994:2-3)

Fifteen years after media researcher Roger Silverstone stated "we now take television for granted," we are not so sure anymore. What is television today? And what is television going to be in the near future – in five, ten or twenty years? Broadcasting is presently contested both as 'broad' and 'casted'. Emerging ways of "narrow" distribution open up new horizon of future television. Production of television is multiplied at the same time as consumption is turning increasingly free, in respect to what is consumed, when, where, and how.

There is no place where concerns about the present development are stronger than among actors involved with the management of the television audience: television channels (creating and providing), media agencies (trading), advertisers (purchasing) and audience measurement agencies (monitoring). All of these actors strive to keep pace with audience transformation. First and central to this chain of actors are the audience measurement agencies as responsible for the estimation (or construction) of audiences. Audience measurement agencies are awake, ready to pursue the hunting of new grounds.[1]

This book focuses the past and present audience transformation with the aim of developing new aspects of this development. Not necessarily to catch what lies at the above-depicted horizon, but *to provide a deeper (more nuance) understanding of what is under go today*.

[1] Illustrative examples of how the oncoming change is perceived and tackled are: Nielsen Media research "Anywhere Anytime Media Measurement (A2/M2), (2006) (U.S.) stating that "we must follow the video"; BARB "Future into view" (UK). MMS (Sweden) "Rörliga Bilder" [Video or Moving images] is a survey that maps out video consumption on different platforms beginning in 2007, first on a yearly basis, and since 2008, twice a year.

A revision of the past ten years of audience transformation is performed from a fresh perspective. Present truths about audience transformation is strongly bound up with construction of aggregates and based on the assumption individuals execute free acts of choice. This is how the audience is regularly monitored, described, explained, and thereby known. In order to provide access to new images of the audience, this ruling perspective of everyday professional audience analysis has to be altered and turned on its head. Through the mapping out of *parallel viewing behaviour* and *accumulated viewer acts* a methodological key to a complementary perspective of audiences is created. From this point of view the viewer is perceived, described and explained as an individual placed within the flow of time and amidst varying social situations. Applying the key opens up a doorway to the *habitual* and the *social*, and to the fast growing *referential space* where viewers dwell, live and persist. *The empirical aim of this treatise is to search these grounds and delineate the contours of individualization in television viewing behaviour.*

*

Every empirical investigation has to be staged somewhere, and in this case the stage is Sweden. When it comes to television, Sweden is a case that is both general and particular. It is particular, as a strong Public Service environment deregulated comparatively late. At the same time, Sweden is general, and as good as any other national case, when it comes to general trends of development transforming television systems worldwide.

The 2 March 1992, the Swedish television landscape moved beyond a point of no return as TV4 began broadcasting through the Swedish terrestrial network. TV4 constituted a third channel option – besides the two Public Service channels, SVT1 (established 1956) and SVT2 (established 1969) – and constituted a break as the first broadly available commercial channel in Sweden. Commercialisation was at the time already at play (since the end of 1980s) on the steadily growing distributive platforms of cable and satellite, but the introduction of TV4 to the Swedish television system constituted the tipping point. Deregulation has prevailed and has deepened ever since. Parallel development is found in countries worldwide, reaching their respective tipping point at diverse points in time. The trend of deregulation of national television media systems is of worldwide scope.

The introduction of TV4 coincides in time with another important change of the Swedish television landscape: the introduction of the audience assessment technology of People Meter. Since the advent of Swedish

television in the 1950s the *counting* of the audience had been based on telephone surveys managed by an audience analysis unit (PUB) tied to Swedish Public Service television. The call for an alternative system of audience assessment grew strong in the end of the 1980s. Demanding it was the increasingly powerful commercial companies established on the new distributive platforms of cable and satellite. Three factors central to why the transition from one measurement system to another took place was increased competition and complexity of the television system together with the claim that audience measurement should be released from Public Service (Cronholm et al., 1993:128).

Especially influential to the transition from survey to People Meter was Kinnevik, represented by its CEO Jan Stenbeck. At the time, the company was consolidating a firm position at the centre of the emerging Swedish television market. Kinnevik started competing audience measurement in the end of the 1980s to estimate the size and composition of the Nordic TV3 audience. The channel was, in 1990, incorporated into the measurements of PUB, together with TV4 (through satellite) and Kanal 5. In 1992, the parliament decided to dismantle the Public Service concern of Sveriges Radio (SR), splitting radio, television and educative programming into three separate companies. This reorganisation opened up for a new solution to Swedish audience measurement. The solution chosen was to create an independent measurement agency collectively owned by the largest television channels, media agencies and advertisers. It was established in 1992, named MMS (Mediamätning i Skandinavien) and was to build evidence from People Meter data. Since 28 June 1993, MMS has been the official measurement agency of the Swedish television audience.

Corresponding establishment of People Meter has taken place in an array of national television systems, both before and after. Deregulation of television and implementation of People Meter, as a ruling technology for audience measurement, are two trends of the worldwide scope. The history of People Meter and its dynamics will be provided as a part of the story told in this book.

Year 1993 is consequently a watershed when it comes to the construction of the Swedish television audience. The television audience is, from that point in time, described and explained from People Meter data, and thereby known. People Meter methodology is based on monitoring of 'real' viewing behaviours of a panel of households selected to be representative of an overall television audience – like the Swedish national television audience. Monitoring is performed by technical devises (black boxes) automatically registering what is tuned in, and these devices are

tagged to the television sets of the household. In conjunction with this 'passively' retained information on viewing, viewers are demanded to 'actively' register their presence in front of the screen by pushing a button on an additional remote control. The resulting information is minute-to-minute data estimating the *size* and *composition* of the television audience. Data is transmitted over night and readily available to analysis the day after viewing has taken place.

The apparent practical advantage of the system design is how fast it manages to deliver audience images with great precision. Fastness and precision, together with stability, are three central characteristics sustaining the success of People Meter technology in fulfilling its principal aim: to constitute a 'currency' according to which trade of audiences can be undertaken on the television market.

Designed to deliver what is regularly *used* and *presented* as a 'currency' on the television market, People Meter affects the picture of audience measurement and the picture of the television audience. Audience measurement is emphasised as a 'counting procedure', involved with the provision of 'size' and 'composition', and the resulting audience as a 'commodity' ascribed with value deriving from its 'size' together with its 'composition'. These consequences coincide with the introduction of People Meter technology in the case of Swedish television. However, it must be emphasized that the audience seen as commodity of a certain 'size' is as old as advertising, and that the introduction of 'composition' into the audience's ascribed value saw light in the practises surrounding selling and buying of advertising space in the 1960s (Poltrack,1988).

The point is that People Meter as technology and methodology does not – in itself – turn the audience into a commodity and currency. No methodology has this power built into it, inherently. It is instead the everyday practices of audience analysis guiding how the methodology is put into *use* and the way the resulting images of audiences are *presented* that is turning the audience into a specific form – be it commodity or citizens – suiting a certain practical purpose. The audience is described, explained and thereby known. The seminal question calling for an answer is: which complementary images of the audience are missing due to the current use and presentation of People Meter data?

**

To make a methodological contribution was not a predefined aim of this thesis. One could think so from the above stated, but all methodological development of People Meter data undertaken has been more of a neces-

sary methodological by-product of the road I initially chose to take. Quite early during the research process, it became obvious to me, that a special methodological approach had to be developed in order to fulfil the empirical aim to delineate the contours of individualization in television viewing behaviour. What at first sight seemed within reach, turned out to be quite hidden. Following this, a methodological aim of this thesis has been to develop a methodological approach allowing individualization to be reached and researched. Thus, the best way to understand the disposition of what enfolds below is to follow my traces back to the beginning.

My initial research question was how individualization as a broad trend of late modernization (after World War II) could be applied to television consumption. The landscape of television technique, services and production had been and was subject to changes opening up a space for increasingly individualized practices. The possibility to consume television individually had been growing considerably and the relevant research question to answer seemed to be *how this possibility to individualize behaviour was put into practice at everyday viewing situations*.

I soon identified People Meter data as the seemingly ideal empirical material to answer this question, and I was lucky enough to get the access to the software packages used for audience analysis provided by MMS. The problem was however that these software applications were not giving access to the data in the way I had imagined. The *social* and the *longitudinal* dimension – inherent to People Meter data due to its methodological design – that had awoken my interest were simply inaccessible. The two dimensions give access to individual behaviours as situated in the everyday situation where television viewing takes place. These everyday situations encompass individual viewers and their immediate social surroundings and are thereby well suited for research into individualization. The software applications made clear the two dimensions were not fully developed (the case of the longitudinal) or totally neglected (the case of the social) in audience analysis.

What I had encountered was the above-described 'obsession' with *size* and *composition* of the business of audience analysis and its subsequent orientation towards *aggregates*. The solution to the problem was to get access to raw data and to process it myself. This processing procedure was however not an easy task, me being far from a fully fledged programmer and the material representing massive data abundance.

The road travelled made me aware of three facts that have guided the content of this book and its disposition. The first fact acknowledged was that People Meter, as an audience measurement technology, is surrounded by a handed-down everyday practice defining what we do and do not

know about the audience. The audience is, as formulated above, *first* 'monitored', but *then* 'described and explained, and thereby known'. The consequence of this notion is a chapter devoted to the historical depiction of People Meter following its transition from invention, over possible methodological alternative, towards being the natural choice of television audience assessment. The aim of chapter 3 is to contextualize *People Meter as idea and methodology* in order to better evaluate the quality of the data deriving from it, and to reach a deepened understanding of why it has received its present form and aligned practises.

The second acknowledged fact was that the empirical material of People Meter data – at hand in raw data form – demanded a considerable methodological effort of adaptation. Raw data had to be transformed, processed and accumulated according to a number of criteria and through a number of steps enveloping the social and longitudinal dimension, simultaneously handling the massive amount of data. Since this methodological development and refinement of data is central to my scientific approach and to some extent new, it has been given a prominent place in the text. First as summoned in chapter 4 and 5 and the number of aligned appendixes and second as a natural component of the empirical presentation of chapter 6-8 tied to the application of measures.

The third fact acknowledged was that although professional audience analysis is vast in its production, it still leaves extensive grounds uncovered. Some of these uncovered grounds are laid down and delineated in the three consecutive empirical chapters of *Habitualness*, *Socialness* and *Referential Space*. This empirical part of the book outlines a possible field of audience research (impossible to exhaust within the limits of this treatise). It identifies new accessible areas of audience analysis and elaborates ways to manage these areas methodologically and empirically – here in the search of pattern of individualization. This is, although, only the first steps taken toward a possible path for future research. This is the fact that has kept me going.

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The established research effort constitutes a methodological elaboration of professional audience analysis undertaken in order to fill knowledge gaps in academic audience research. It is crafted out in the borderland between professional audience analysis and academic audience research and is designed to make a scientific contribution to both. So, into which research context should this effort be placed and which are the knowledge gaps it is designed to fill?

Historically, Swedish audience research on television has been concentrated to three different sites. The largest body of television research has probably been produced within the audience research department of the company of Public Service broadcasting. The department was established in 1928 three years after the advent of radio and was later on named Sveriges Radios Publik- och Programforskningsavdelning (PUB). It grew considerably around the introduction of television in the 1950s and during the 1960s. Its research was broad and a large number of researchers from academia were employed to deliver, apart from counting of the audience (started 1969), research into the audience's every day life habits, broad media use, cultural activities and availability of household technique (e.g. research reviews: Radio och tv möter publiken, 1972; Blunda inte för barnens tittande, 1977; Barn och unga i medieåldern, 1989). A lot of research was invested into how viewers chose content (Radio- och TV möter publiken, 1970; I publikens intresse, 1990) and the relationship between the content and the viewers e.g. how news could be made more accessible and comprehensible (Höijer and Findahl, 1984; Findahl and Höijer, 1984). Common to the direction of research was the underlying aim of Public Service television to provide a mix of information and entertainment accessible to all parts of the Swedish television audience[2]. In 1992, PUB was dissolved at the establishment of the new measurement agency of MMS and the focus on audience counting was enforced considerably employing People Meter.

Later, on established centres of audience research are the department of Journalism and Mass Communication (JMG) and the Nordic information centre for Media and communication research (NORDICOM) at Gothenburg University. Since 1979, at Nordicom[3], and 1986, at the SOM-institute[4], time series based on cross sectional samples has been produced monitoring trends in broad Swedish media use (MedieSverige 1983-2007, SOM nr 1-46). Based on these data are a number of research efforts into television audience behaviour (e.g. Severinsson, 1985; Djerv, 1989, Jansson, 1996 and 1997; Reimer, 1994 and 1995; Bergström, 2005; Nilsson, 2008).

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[2] Children, disabled and older are examples of groups of specific focus in research. Groups that today are subject of more marginal interest in contemporary audience analysis.

[3] Mediebarometern, that is the name of the survey, was first launched by PUB and from 1982-1983 run in cooperation with Nordicom that eventually took full responsibility for it before PUB was dismantled.

[4] SOM stands for Society Opinon Massmedia and the survey covers all three areas and form ground for Political Science and Policy research besides Media research.

A third very interesting site of Swedish audience research with international reach is Lund University and more specifically the Mediapanel project, which was established in the 1970s and ran through the 1980s. The panel consisted of several samples of individuals and families that were followed over time (longitudinally) in order to assess changes in media usage over time. Many studies were based in the contemporary uses and gratifications approach centring individual needs and motives of use, but large efforts were also put into mapping out how media usage was socialized from one generation to the next. Research questions that were addressed in particular were violence and media use, children's viewing and its effect, socialization of media use etc (e.g. Sonesson, 1979; Hedinsson, 1981; Johansson-Smaragdi, 1983; Rosengren et al., 1983; Jönsson, 1985).

One principle conclusion that was drawn project concluded was that it is necessary to leave and go beyond the framework of "media effects" that has dominated great part of scientific research around media usage in general and television viewing in particular. To leave *amount of use* and to proceed to *patterns of use* was according to media researcher Karl-Erik Rosengren a promising way forward for audience research (Rosengren et al., 1994).

In relation to this body of Swedish audience research, this treatise builds on audience measurement data that originates from MMS. These data constitute the "currency" of the Swedish television advertising market, and are, as such, the core material of professional audience analysis. The methodological advantage of this data is that it allows detailed delineation of changes in patterns of television usage over time. Equipped with People Meter data, the research direction indicated by Rosengren will be taken. But, if this is the contextualization of the thesis in relation to Swedish television audience research, how is the thesis contextualized internationally and in relation to the broad field of research into societal change and individualization?

The answer to this question will be thoroughly explored in the next chapter (Theoretical considerations) but can be mentioned briefly here. Many of the trends visible in television viewing, from content transformation like channel abundance to viewing transformations like fragmentation, seems to boil down to a broader trend; that of social and common behaviours turning into increasingly individual and unique behaviours. The theoretical frameworks of individualization, advanced and elaborated in the field of sociology by thinkers like Ulrich Beck and Anthony Giddens, among others, seem appropriate to provide theoretical grounds for this trend of development around television.

The focus on individualization discloses a major knowledge gap of Swedish as well as international television audience research. This is the disregarding of the social element of television viewing behaviour in quantitative audience research. Of course, all researchers first acknowledge that television viewing is complex – that viewing is dependent on social situations as well as content flows that change second to second – but they then fall back and rely on the assumption that individual viewers make independent choices guiding their television consumption. The consequence of this practice was a division of labour in audience research during the 1980s. The social element left out of the picture in most quantitative audience research was adopted as central research object for an expanding body of ethnomethodologically inspired cultural studies research that surfaced in the 1970s and 1980s in England and the U.S.

From that point in time audience research is subsequently, in terms of knowledge on the social element, split into two parts: One part focusing the social element of television viewing building knowledge on an impressive number of particularistic accounts, and another part delivering general pictures of television audience behaviour regularly neglecting the social element inherent to television viewing.

The approach developed here draws on both these parts, bridging them on an accessible level. The methods used are purely quantitative in use but the methodological development is to a certain degree inspired by ethnomethodology or more specifically of how ethnomethodology define television viewing as an act that takes place in time and space and is thereby dependent on individual situations. Following this People Meter data is *thickened* (following the terminology used in Methodology) according to certain principles in order to put social leverage and induce it with increased cultural meaning. This way parts of the knowledge gap of quantitative audience research surrounding the social element are filled in the following pages. With it, comparative knowledge gaps surrounding patterns of habitualness and patterns of heterogeneity in television consumption patterns are partially filled.

Habitualness, socialness and heterogeneity in television consumption constitute the three axes along which individualization in television viewing is mapped out, over time. Research along these axes opens up a doorway to an elaborated way to perceive, describe, explain and thereby know the transforming television audience.

So what about the future horizon of television viewing? What is television going to be in the near future, in ten or twenty years? The English media researcher Sonia Livingstone is but one of many who at a certain point in time felt inclined to proclaim the death of traditional linear televi-

sion (Livingstone, 2004:76; cf. Gilder, 1994; Abercrombie and Longhurst, 1998). A more interesting insight is, however, her reasoning about how social science should approach "new" media from a perspective of what is new about new media for society. Technological developments take place within cultural processes and are socially shaped by the same processes. New technologies are first diffused and then appropriated into domestic contexts and everyday life situations. Large parts of the knowledge about what will happen to the "new" emerging forms of consumption of video (here used as a collective term for screen bourn media) – decreasingly delimited to certain spaces (like the home setting) and delimited times slots (like programming schedules) – are embedded in the patterns of traditional media use of today. Imaginations of what lie at the future horizon rest consequently "less on experience than on extrapolation from the past combined with speculation about the future." (Livingstone, 1999:60)

With departure from a more nuance picture of contemporary audience transformation, extrapolation will allow a correspondingly more nuance estimation of tomorrow's television audiences to be made.

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The aim of the account to follow is *to delineate the contours of individualization in television viewing behaviour* and in order to do that a methodological approach allowing individualization to be reached and researched has to be developed. The aim is twofold, as both empirical and methodological and the structure of the thesis and its emphasis mirror this.

The disposition falls into four parts. Part one provides theoretical grounds for the project (in chapter 2) and produces an analytical model with aligned research questions to be answered. Part two furnishes historical background of audience measurement (in chapter 3) and identifies the methodological keys to new dimensions of People Meter data. Thickening is (in chapter 4) evolved a methodological strategy and a tactical approach. General principles are established and subsequently applied (in chapter 5) on the three research fields of Habitualness, Socialness and Referential Space.

Part three constitutes the empirical investigations of these three fields split over three chapters (chapters 6-8). Each chapter addresses one field and answers questions of state of condition and over time, change of individualization in television viewing. Part four is conclusive and weaves together the threads laid out in the proceeding chapters into a composite whole. Empirical results are composed (chapter 9) and the theoretical and

methodological contributions of the thesis are outlined against the background of the future of transforming audiences.

PART I

THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

2

THEORETICAL CONSIDERATION

Television viewing is by no means an isolated act. It is a practice, *taking place* within the frame of everyday life, fiercely competing with other everyday practices for time and attention. Television viewing is undertaken at different *places* (at home, at workout, in the pub or in the underground) and in varying *situations* (having breakfast or dinner, in the coach with a bag of chips, a child or a laptop in lap, in bed alone or idling in a crowded square, at working place, in the room of children or in the kitchen mouth loaded with serials and today's paper unfolded on the table). We engage in it *alone* or *together*. When together with family and peers, a compromised way through broadcasting schedules demands *negotiation*.[5] As viewers, we follow programs with a varying level of *interest* and joy, satisfaction, pleasure or wrath, and the *attention* given depend on our current *mood*, if we are tired, distracted by thoughts, or socially engaged in a discussion, a telephone call or working.

Yet, even as we all know television viewing behaviour varies from individual to individual and from situation to situation and that the existence of *one* singular audience is consequently an illusion, audiences are continuously produced in the day-to-day business of audience measurement as well as by academic audience research (Ang, 1996). The resulting array of images of audiences vary, as was will show in short, broadly reflecting the many differences in underlying scientific ideals, assumptions made concerning the viewer, methods chosen and aims sought to fulfil. This fact should not strike us as specifically strange or alarming but rather as familiar and comforting. It is simply a consequence of how social science works: every account of human action has to be made from a specific perspective and with a certain 'resolution' aiming for the more particular or the more general. This chapter will furnish theoretical ground to

[5] Viewing together, or social viewing as it will be termed below, establishes a field of micro-diplomacy where the possession of the remote control creates an initial power position. Social viewing could also be termed 'shared viewing' a use made by Livingstone (1999).

the enterprise of searching patterns of individualization in television viewing.

The Doubling of Place

> Public events now occur, simultaneously, in two places: the place of the event itself and that in which it is watched and heard. Broadcasting mediates *between* these two sites. (Scannel, 1996:76)

One of the remarkable ('magical') yet now largely taken-for-granted consequences of radio and television use is a 'doubling of place' (Scannel, 1996:172). It is, of course, only ever possible for an individual to be in one physical place at a time, but the introduction of broadcasting media permitted an unprecedented ability of 'live' witnessing of remote happenings and events. These happenings and events were brought 'within range' of 'live' experience. They became experientially 'close', thereby removing the 'fareness' (ibid.:167). Paddy Scannel, the media theorist and historian of broadcasting whose thoughts are described briefly above, emphasise that the seemingly ordinary practice of being a broadcasting audience has large significance to late modern man.

The 'possibilities of being: of being in two places at once' transform according to Scannel the multiple, dispersed, local settings where radio listening and television viewing take place (ibid.:91), and as it does, it transforms our 'ways of being in the world' – how we perceive the world and think of it, as a 'phenomenon', and how we act as beings within the world.[6] Another way to put this is that the introduction of broadcasted radio in the middle of 1920s, followed by the introduction of television in the 1940s and 1950s, changed our horizon of everyday experience from being *local* and grounded in place versus becoming increasingly *'global'* as grounded in the parallel emerging 'mediaspace'.

Three things have to be stated to get a balanced perspective of the change provided by broadcasting. First, this development was not radically new. A principle ability of media has always been to extend the scope of human reach and experience, and so had already proceeding media like the book, newspapers, cinema, the telegraph and the telephone. Gutenberg's invention of the process for mass-producing movable type, the use of oil-based ink, and the use of a wooden printing press revolutionized the

[6] Scannel is elaborating a 'phenomenological approach' building on Heidegger's thinking around time, space and being.

printing of books and made mass production of printed material possible, allowing for increased circulation (McLuhan, 1962). Proceeding broadcasting, the mass circulated newspaper was emphasized as central to the formation of 'imagined communities' like the nation and the local community by Benedict Anderson (1983).

Second, the introduction of broadcasting was, as all technological innovations, introduced at a specific historical moment in time making it dependant on and moulded by the contemporary social, political, economic and cultural circumstances. A thorough description of how television found its specific form as technology has been offered by the cultural theorist Raymond Williams in his analysis of television as a technology and cultural form (1972). The birth of the technology is an evolutionary process with an open ending where accumulated technological development converged with military motives and industrial considerations ending up in a specific solution of television, leaving alternatives behind.

One interesting point rose by Williams and later highlighted by other media researchers (e.g. Silverstone, 1994) is that the introduction of broadcasted media coincides with a general shift in social life. Williams place the television and the car in the centre of this process he terms 'private mobilization'. Private mobilization is a process that simultaneously gives rise to i/ an increased mobility, symbolized and affected by the reach of the car, and ii/ an increased reach of the public sphere into the private setting of the household, through radio and television. It encompasses the two deeply interconnected tendencies of modern urban living: increased mobility paired with the emergence of the apparently more self-sufficient households (equipped with innovations as the refrigerator, vacuum cleaner and other electronic household facilitators) to which happenings and events occurring elsewhere were brought into the living room through radio and television. The social process of private mobilization is thus paradoxical serving an 'at-once mobile and home-centred way of living' (Williams, 2003:19).

Third, the adoption of broadcasting was not solely a matter of diffusion into a market, but as all technologies, radio and television had to be incorporated into social life and learned. Domestication is a concept describing this process of incorporation in which 'appropriation' is one central aspect describing the relative openness of new media technologies and media content in terms of use, meaning and value. If diffusion is the first step making goods available and distributed into a market then appropriation is the compulsory second and social step of consumption through which media artefacts and media content are either rejected or gradually moulded by patterns of everyday life and social interaction (Silverstone,

Hirsch and Morley, 1994). Technologies are social and as such socially dependent. Of this television makes no exception. History can provide a number of examples of how technologies have failed at the step of appropriation regardless of their technological capacity per se (Livingstone, 1999).

Here I would stress that television, as most technologies, change as physical artefact – screens are getting bigger or smaller and mobile, interfaces for interaction (e.g. remote control) and information (e.g. electronic program guide – EPG) develop, etc. – and as content and service provider. The everyday use, experienced meaning and appreciated value of television are subject to a gradual to radical change affected by comparative change (or absence of it) in conjunction with broader social change. To put this firmly in terms of domestication: appropriation is a never ending story, and the television – as artefact, content and service – is and will be appropriated over and over again … until it gets rejected.

Specifically new with television was consequently not the ability to extend the scope of human experience, but rather the temporal and spatial arrangement with which this was done. Scannel describes one of the keys to the impact of broadcasting as its new 'liveness' making an absent audience present at the unfolding of public events (Scannel, 1996:84). New was also the spatial arrangement of radio and television receivers as located in the heart of the home, and the living room. Broadcasting was centred in domestic private life mediating the public through sound and images. The place of the home was doubled. The specific temporal arrangement, induced by the temporal 'flow' of broadcasting, was distinguishing it from previous media. The schedules presented specific genres of content at specific hours day after day or week after week. This flow of programs provided homebound social life with a time structure that was incorporated (appropriated) into patterns of everyday behaviour. Broadcasting was providing a sense of 'dailiness' feeding new regularity and routine into habitual ordinary social life (Scannel, ibid.:144ff).

The ability of broadcasting to provide dailiness could be described as ability to 'double time'. The introduction of the mechanical clock provides an illustrative example of how a temporal universal structure radically transformed society and everyday life, constituting, as some say, a prerequisite of industrialisation (Mumford, 1973; Giddens, 1984). Before it, time was local and fairly imprecise, structured according to the rhythm of nature (the sun and season), labour, local tradition and the following contemporary patterns of everyday life. With the mechanical clock, local time was doubled by one universal (global) time. Broadcasting represents as scheduled, a comparative late modern doubling of time adding temporal

structure to domestic life, as clock time is doubled by scheduled broadcasting time. What we should ask ourselves is, if the contemporary trends of change in broadcasting services are about to end this ability, or at least weaken it.

Media Choice Theory

During the years there has been a lot of work and thinking invested in the area of media choice in order to come to terms with the question of why consumers turn to this and that specific media or content.[7] In the following section, a broader selection of this body of work is presented and discussed with the specific aim to develop a theoretical model depicting the contemporary choice situation in television viewing. The theoretical framework sought is one that is sensible to social patterns of behaviour and which is able to furnish a higher degree of dynamic into the temporal and spatial specificity of the act of television viewing. This implies a move from more general theoretical models delineating factors effecting media choice towards more specific models approaching the individual situation of television choice – as conditioned by temporal (time) and spatial (space) circumstances and variable social situations.

General theories of how media consumers approach media and makeup their mind about what content to consume can be split into two overarching categories following their origin of production. One source of origin is professional audience research belonging to industry, business and practice that is continuously producing accounts of audience behaviour to support everyday business while the other source is the audience research produced within academia (Weibull, 1983; Webster et al., 2000). Knowledge production from both these sources have, since the advent of broadcasting, built our present image of audience behaviour and have provided provisional truths regarding when, how and why individuals engage in media use and media content consumption.

Working Theories on the Implicit Audience

Content producers, programmers and media planners base their day-to-day activity on accumulated practical knowledge on audience behaviour.

[7] In the introductory chapter, research from the Mediapanel project and PUB was provided as two Swedish examples.

In the following section, a number of such practical 'rules of thumb' provided by the audience analysis business, and outlined by Webster et al. (2000), are presented. To know the audience is, of course, central to the commercial broadcasting industry, media agencies and advertisers. Patterns of content preference are continuously mapped out according to demographics, lifestyles and different psycho graphical models in order to deliver the right content and to accomplish scheduling that is efficiently reaching the right audience.[8] To maximize audience size, keep audiences and tailor audience composition, strategies guide how content is to be packaged and organized within a temporal schedule and in relation to other content are used (lead in-effects and block programming). Following this, most working theories regard what content appeal to which groupings of the audience and in which way content should be organized to maximize the size of the desired segment of the audience (ESOMAR, 1987; Ettema & Whitney, 1994; Kent, 1994).

It is widely assumed that media consumers will consistently prefer content of a specific type and market research has been performed to find the content characteristics that polarize people's likes and dislikes (MacFarland, 1997). An interesting facet of program preferences revealed by this research is that dislikes are more clearly related to program types than likes. In other words: "what people like may be eclectic, but their dislikes are more readily categorized." (Webster et al., 2000:163) An expected outcome of a multi channel environment is, consequently, that individual viewers will be increasingly dispersed over different channels in accordance with their dislikes.

The scope of programming is limited in relation to what people consume. Early time budget studies of the audience made in relation to the radio in the 1930s disclosed a close connection between everyday life patterns and media use. At times of the day that people are at work or at school or asleep the television is not tuned on. However at times of the day that people are at home and awake, television is often a viable option. The "potential audience" within technical reach of television (reach of the medium) or a certain channel (channel penetration) was accordingly early complemented by the notion of the "available audience", variable in size following time cycles of the day, week and year (Scannel, 1992).

The NBC audience researcher Paul Klein concluded in 1971, on the basis of the high predictability of when people watched television, that television is a two-stage process of choice. First, people turn on the televi-

[8] As an illustrative example can be taken the set of variables available for the Swedish People Meter panel see www.mms.se – go for file specifications.

sion set out of habit without much thought on what to watch. Second, they choose the *least objectable program (LOP)* from available offerings (Webster et al., 2000:164). Klein's conclusion might have been a far too negative general description of program choice around 1970, but growing channel abundance make time working to sustain it. The described choice process highlights three central aspects of the television choice that have been elaborated further by later research: It is a *two-staged process of choice* that is highly *habitual,* sometimes with the outcome of making individuals consume content not preferred. The last aspect has been held as an evidence of the *passiveness* of the television viewer, but more seldom recognized as a natural consequence of situations of social viewing where a middle range preference is a plausible outcome for many, sometimes for all involved.

This brief account of the character of the working knowledge of television industry exemplifies an advanced knowledge of the audience. Two things should be underlined. First, the constant monitoring of the audience is continuously fed back into the system of broadcasting production of programs, schedules and designation of services with a subsequent gradual change of the channel flows reaching the television audience. Central to this 'recursive' circle of change is the practice of audience measurement which today is established in most television markets as People Meter devices tracking audience behaviour in representative national panels of households. All empirical evidence on audience individualization drawn in this treatise is based on behavioural data collected from these black boxes (whose functionality and history will be further elaborated in chapter 3). Second, program production and programming is a far from hazardous practice. There is always an implicit audience in mind for a specific program or commercial or for a designed flow – the preferred reader.

Different Strands of Audience Research

Most of the academic models forwarded to explain and predict television program choice rely heavily on the idea of some underlying set of preferences guiding the choice (Webster et al., 2000:163). The set of preferences have during the years been shifted from aggressive predispositions to underlying needs and motives in search of gratifications and escape. Other suggestions have underlined the mood and present affective state as principal guide of program choice while a third strand has forwarded more clear-cut economic models centring on concepts of utility.

In a more comprehensive model of program choice, Webster and Wakshlag identified the following factors: viewer availability, viewer awareness of program options, program and program type preferences, viewer needs, viewing group, and the structure of available programming (Webster and Wakshlag, 1983). The model is simple but fruitful. It acknowledges the television viewing as situated to a social situation – the viewing group – and that television viewing is enacted towards a moving structure of momentary available content.

These two aspects – social situation and content as flow (below flow content structure will be used to underline its fluid and temporal structure) – have an interesting standing in traditional academic audience research. Both are taken for granted as natural parts of television viewing, but are then seldom materialized into research. The underlying reason is that the content is too complex and the social situation too complicated to map out within the limits of the traditional quantitative methods applied (such as surveys or diaries). This discrepancy could be described as a traditional focus on habits instead of behaviours. Habits, what we usually do or think that we usually do, find themselves on another level than behaviours, what we factually do in everyday life situations (Rosengren, 1994). This relationship was early identified by the Swedish media researcher Lennart Weibull (1983) in relation to newspaper readership. In a comprehensive model of reading, habitual readership can be explained by comparatively stable demographic, positional and structural factors while the factual readership one specific day rest on a set of factors aligned to specific situations and varying circumstances (cf. Bausinger, 1984).

Social life around the television has, consequently to some extend, been cut of as acknowledged but seldom researched by traditional audience research. There are of course exceptions to this rule. The body of research around monitoring of the media use of children is one example of a field where shared viewing is emphasized as a central research issue and where research efforts have been aligned accordingly (Livingstone, 2009; Pasquier et al., 1998). Other traditional audience research dealing with social television viewing behaviour is scarce. The existing ones treat it either indirectly using survey data (Webster & Wakshlag, 1982; Heeter & Greenberg, 1988; Jansson & Wadbring, 1997) or try to describe it more directly through cluster analysis of the audience using survey or People Meter data (Kasari & Nurmi, 1992; Hasebrink, 1997; Krotz & Hasebrink, 1993 & 1998) or time series analysis on People Meter data (Sang, et al., 1994).

One shortage of traditional audience analysis is that it does not, in practice, acknowledge the social element of the situation in which televi-

sion viewing takes place. One basic pragmatic assumption underlying analysis of television viewing is instead that choices involved in television viewing belong to the category of *individual discrete choices*, choices that in many cases, such as in rationalistic economic models, also assumed to be carried out from a position of full information regarding available options. The social element of television viewing was in this way a well-guarded secret kept behind a veil until the emergence of ethnomethodologically inspired audience research in the 1970s and 1980s. From that point on a division of labour took place in audience research.

The then emerging strand of audience research based in cultural studies, ethnography and anthropology made the social element of television its principal research object together with power structures and meaning making of individual viewers. Through close-up perspectives using ethnomethodological methods and reception analysis, an impressive body of individual accounts of particular situation has deepened our knowledge of how television takes place in social everyday life.

Situations of Television Viewing

> "…television viewing is constructed by family members; it doesn't just happen. Viewers not only make their own interpretations of shows, they also construct the situations in which viewing takes place and the ways in which acts of viewing, and program content, are put to use at the time of viewing and in the subsequent communications activity." (Lull, 1990:148)

As James Lull states, television viewing "doesn't just happen." Viewing takes place in time and in space and thereby in different *situations*. These situations are constructed by viewers in the act of viewing within a specific *social setting* that is most frequently the household or the family (as is the case of Lull's research). In this regard, television viewing is often a social act. But, as Lull stresses, the social significance of television viewing is not delimited to local social setting but "extends" them when "acts of viewing" and "program content" are "put to use" at "the time of viewing" (during) and "in the subsequent communications activity" (after).

Drawing on Marshall McLuhan (1964), Lull continues this argument by stating:

> "We can interpret much of television viewing as extensions of audience members' most basic and common mental behavioural orientations, nested and constructed within culturally diverse circumstances. For McLuhan, it is the mass media themselves that extend the human senses by means of their technological capabilities. Here, the focus is on acts of

> viewing, wherein audience members' interpretations and uses of television … extend not only the individual viewer, but also social and cultural patterns and dispositions." (Lull, 1990:149)

Television viewing is according to Lull an activity simultaneously involving the individual, the social and the cultural. The principal cornerstones of his argument are that television viewing takes place, in time and within the social setting of the home. Television viewing is consequently often practiced as a social act. As a social act it carries social meaning to the individual and affects the reproduction of social everyday life during and after viewing – a fact that has been illustrated in a number of ethnographic accounts of how patterns of meaning-making, ethnicity, gender and power relations are sustained and contested around the television set (e.g. Hobson, 1980; Morley, 1986; 1992; Ang, 1991; Moores, 1996; Andersson, 2006; Bengtsson, 2007).

A more direct (and obvious) consequence of social viewing is that it radically alters the choice situation. Being alone, the choice of content is an *individual discrete choice* that can be made in line with personal preferences, needs and motives. Being together, the choice situation is transformed into a space of negotiation where multiple individuals have to reach a reasonable social compromise between available alternatives – a *socially negotiated choice*. This dimension of social negotiation is put to the fore within studies as David Morley's *Family Television* (1986) and Ien Ang's *Living Room Wars* (1996), where power over the remote control is a central theme under consideration.

If the advantage of this ethnometodological strand of audience research is that it seriously outlines situations of television viewing in all their complexity, the parallel disadvantage is that this body of particularistic accounts have first difficulties to account for over time change (Radway, 1988, Tufte, 2001; Moores, 2005), and second to assign micro processes of behaviour to macro processes of society (Ang, 1996). Ang's criticism of a growing trend of 'radical contextualism' is highlighting these two weaknesses that grew in severity in parallel with an increased obsession with the particularity of every audience-text relation. By focusing on the 'preferred reading', the structural rearrangements around the 'preferred reader' was lost out of sight. A turn towards media theory representing a more firmly articulated interest for spatial concerns is necessary to be able to advance a framework incorporating the changing space emerging around and as a consequence of media institutions.

Content as a Structural Condition

There has been a calling for social theory that, to a higher extent, merges time and space into social analyses (Giddens, 1984). Within the field of media studies, a corresponding effort in this direction was made in the anthology *Mediaspace – place, scale and culture in a media age* (Couldry & McCarthy, 2004). The theoretical contribution of spatial thinking around media is described accordingly:

> Understanding media systems and institutions as spatial processes undercuts the infinite space of narrative that media appear to promise; it insists that our object of analysis is never just a collection of texts, but a specific and material organization of space. Media like all social processes, are inherently streched out into space in particular ways, and not others. (Couldry & McCarthy, 2004:4)

The flowing television content is one of the social processes that is "inherently stretched out in space in particular ways, and not others." Since the doubling of place at the introduction of television, this social process has been reaching out into households worldwide. The spatial argument could be advanced as twofold. First, content is not just a flow (in the meaning of Williams) or a flow of texts but more importantly a structure that condition the viewer. Second this structure, or 'flow content structure' as it will be termed from here on, is stretched out in a specific way, and not another, reflecting the spatial and material conditions of the broadcasting system. As the broadcasting system changes, so does the flow content structure with a subsequent new conditioning of television viewers.

When applied to a framework of social change, such as individualization, a flow content structure can have a more or less individualizing design depending on how and how hard the 'preferred reader' is predefined within the limits of its flow content structure. Depending on how and how hard the mediaspace is structured, according to a special model of the audience, it will excel different powers of transformation. An overarching shift in the Swedish mediaspace of television during the last decades is an enhanced emphasis of viewers as individual consumers, gradually turning the earlier prevailing emphasis of the viewer as citizen to the margins.

Seen from the spatial perspective of mediaspace, the present development of channel abundance in Sweden is a change in the stretching out of mediaspace. First, it is seen in the form of simple expansion, in terms of increased volume and a larger number of channels. Second, it is seen in

the form of change in character transforming the underlying principles of how flow content is structured and how hard the preferred reader is predefined and addressed by the structure. To give substance to this twofold level change in mediaspace the development enfolded in the US in the1980s could serve a viable example.[9] This is also an example that provides evidence on how television viewing is changing at the condition of abundance.

An appropriate point of departure is the American media researchers Carrie Heeter's and Bradley S. Greenberg's Cable Viewing (1988). There are three main reasons why Heeter and Greenberg's Cable Viewing is highly interesting. First, a situation comparative to the American mid 1980s' television condition is yet to come in most national television environments, of which Sweden is one. Second, they elaborate on earlier television choice theory adding consideration to the particular choice process used by the viewer – merging psychological decision theory with information processing theory. Third, the empirical findings of the numerous studies open up a field of fruitful research areas, of which some will be elaborated on further below.

Heeter and Greenberg forward two main features of the cable environment (as a mediaspace) owing potential of transforming media choice: The *increased amount of channels* and the *specialized programming of particular types of content* (p. 12).[10] In a multi-channel television environment (where around four-fifths of the U.S. households in 1985 received 22 channels or more), the task of program selection had become increasingly complex and uncertain. Heeter and Greenberg describe earlier program choice theory as pervasively based on the assumption of perfect viewer awareness of available alternatives, an assumption the contemporary cable environment made both harder to achieve and harder for audience researchers to believe (as an assumption). They describe this assumption and its weakness as follows:

> "when viewers select a program to watch, they *evaluate all program options available* at the time, and *select the one which best fits* some criterion. In a television environment where only three networks are available, this assumption rarely has been questioned. However, in cable television environments, as the number of program options increases vastly, that as-

[9] An array of other national examples is given in Becker & Schoenbach (1989).

[10] A third feature they consider is the remote control. It enhanced the possibility to engage in laid viewing and increase the easiness of movement in flow and is in this way important. For a discussion of television viewing in the 2000s it has however lost significance as a nowadays integrated part of television viewing.

> sumption becomes less plausible." (Heeter and Greenberg, 1988: 33 [italics in text])

The emerging cable television environment is according to Heeter and Greenberg marked by an interlinked tendency of expansion paired with specialization. As the number of channels increase, specialized programming (channels carrying only News, Sports, Cartoons etc.) becomes a new programming strategy with the consequence of making program types continuously available. Viewers with a strong preference tied to specific content can in this environment easily tune in to whatever they like, whenever they like. This change in mediaspace can in this way be seen as paradox encompassing two counter posing tendencies: the first implying raised complexity and the latter implementing a kind of new order. [11]

In the U.S., television viewing was turned into a choice process undertaken without full information and with an open ending. In order to cope with this new situation, viewers created choice strategies establishing channel repertoires, as Heeter (1985) coined them. These repertoires encompassed a selective set of channels out of the total amount of channels available. They constituted a resource saving strategy developed against the background of increased complexity, which was established in line with the new order ruling in mediaspace.

Channel Repertoires

A channel repertoire contains a delimited set of channels out of the total number of available options. The array of channels represented in the repertoire and the specific mix between them is consequently the outcome of the micro process of choice in everyday viewing situations. In the case of television, viewing these choice situations is often social. Parts of the channel repertoires are shared with other resident of the same household (or family), while other parts are more unique reflecting specific individual preferences (like a strong interest in sports or news).

From a cognitive perspective, channel repertoires can be understood as a cognitive strategy central to the management of everyday choice

[11] The comparative growth in number of channels has been slower and limited to smaller segments of the audiences in the majority of national television environments. In Sweden, a comparatively small proportion of the audience with cable and satellite television has lived something of an American mid 1980s' condition while the majority of the television population has experienced a more scarce availability of channels. To put it bluntly, 1984 is yet to come. And with the steadily diffusion of television on digital platforms it will come, soon.

situation. The cognitive function is limited naturally in the sense that human beings cannot process unlimited amounts of information. We need to delimit the array of possible choices in order to save energy and cognitive resources.[12] Previously encountered choice situations of the same or similar type are as partially accumulated experiences put into work building habitual and routinized choice sets applied when confronting reoccurring and new situations and choices in everyday life. This is the process emphasized by Giddens, at work in 'recursive' everyday life, making habits and routines play a central role in human behaviour. At the same time, habitual patterns of television choice are more than cognitive strategies. They are simultaneously expressions of taste and can play the role of sustaining 'distinctions' between individuals and groups (following Bourdieu, 1984).

If the consequences of channel repertoires as strategies are brought into consideration, they can exert strong influence on individual patterns of learning. The central role of behavioural habits to human nature and processes of learning was in this way early underlined by pragmatist philosophers like John Dewey (1926). Dewey's most famous didactic slogan "learning by doing" is based on this deeper notion of connection between behavioural acts and learning. When channel repertoires are beginning to diverge individual to individual, viewers start to dwell in different "referential spaces" mediated through television. The part of the audience inclined to entertainment obtains one referential ground while the part of the audience obsessed with news or football obtains other.

Channel repertoires could subsequently be looked at from at least three perspectives: the cognitive, the distinctive (linked to taste and identity) and the didactic (linked to ability and learning). If looked upon from a *cognitive perspective*, a number of questions could be raised around the channel repertoire as a delimited choice set simultaneously illustrating its confines to the distinctive and didactic perspectives. Is there a natural biologi-

[12] When looked upon from a cognitive perspective, channel repertoires are expected to be limited in size. The expectancy is based in a long line of research encompassing the classical paper of George A. Miller "*Magic number seven plus or minus two: Some limits on our capacity for processing information*" published in 1956. The paper discusses the amount of information an individual is able to keep in mind cognitively – or more specifically in our short term working memory – before confusion appear. What Miller discovered and underlined was the somehow "magic" limit of information processing behaviour. The number of bits that people could cope with seemed limited to 2.5, which means that the respondents in the experiments could keep apart on average 7 or more specifically 5-9 sense experiences. What was found, reasoned Miller, was something of a natural limit to our cognitive capacity.

cal limit to the size of the channel repertoire? Is this span or limit varying individual to individual in line with cognitive abilities (life cycle) or are there other individual (taste or multitasking capability) or environmental factors (technology as constricted or abundant respectively generational differences) that guide the span and limit of channel repertoires? Channel repertoires arbitrarily dwell upon the spans between biology and culture (identity and conditioning) respectively cognitive strategy and didactic consequence.

A theoretical concept close to channel repertoires and that occupy a central position in consumer decision-making research is the "consideration set" (Hauser, 1977). Consideration sets comprise brands a consumer seriously considers when making a purchase decision (Hauser and Wernerfelt, 1990). The consideration set is a subset of a more extensive "awareness set" encompassing all the brands a consumer recognizes in a specific product category (Shocker, Ben-Akivi, Boccara, and Nedungadi, 1991). Applied on television viewing, that is a complex form of product and purchase involvement, channel repertoires could be described as a consideration set delimited from the broader set of channels a viewer is aware of within the situational frames of channel availability. Viewing time invested in different parts of the channel repertoire indicate the centrality of these channels to the individual. As such, the channel repertoire is a reflection of the structure of individual television choice outlining fragmentation on the level of the audience or individualization on the level of the individual viewer. It is simultaneously an expression of how patterns of preference are distributed within the audience and which referential grounds individual viewers cover.

The international research on channel repertoires following Heeter and Greenberg has been centred on how television choice is becoming increasingly complex and restructured from a perspective of audience fragmentation (Kimberly, Neuendorf and Jeffres, 2001; Webster, 2005) and has produced comparative research around this aspect (Yuan and Webster, 2006). This body of research is based on highly limited sets of People Meter data and is in this way limited in their exploitation of the possibility inherent to the theoretical construct of channel repertoires. The methodological development and empirical investigations of channel repertoires performed in this thesis do not suffer from comparative restrictions in data and have in this respect great possibilities to contribute to this field of research.

Mediaspace and channel repertoires are as the U.S. example illustrates intimately connected. The role played by the channel repertoire increase with the expansion of mediaspace. When delimited, channel repertoires

coincide with the available channels, but as mediaspace expands beyond a certain threshold of size, channel repertoires are becoming less extensive than the total number of channels available in mediaspace, simultaneously getting individualized diverging from viewer to viewer.

The seminal conclusions to be drawn from the above stated is that audience fragmentation on the level of the individual is conditioned by two paired changes under go in mediaspace. The first is expansion and *increased complexity* due to volume and channel abundance, and the second is the *new order* immanent to mediaspace. Every change in mediaspace is a simultaneous change in size and order, and a change in size can never occur without a change in order. This is the dynamics of mediaspace encapsulating individualization of television consumption. Individualization of television choice is conditioned by this paradox expansion of mediaspace but it is simultaneously framed by a broader context of the overall individualization of individuals and society.

Individualization – Changing Form of Identity

After World War II (and more precisely since the 1960s and the birth of the welfare state), the western world has experienced an increased individualisation. What sociologist Ulrich Beck (1992) terms 'risk society' is the result of a transition from the modern industrial society to a post-industrial society. Risk society represents a form of radicalised 'reflexive modernity' (or in the term of Giddens 'late modernity') where traditional social life forms of industrial society – class, family and gender – get dissolved into new social forms of life.[13]

> "*The individual himself or herself becomes the reproduction unit of the social in the lifeworld.* What the social is and does has to be involved with individual decisions. Or put another way, both within and outside the family, the individuals become the agents of … life planning and organization. Biography itself is acquiring a reflexive project." (Beck, 1992:90)

Individualization is the process according to which late modern man is 'set free' from local and socially grounded constraints. People are no longer constrained to follow the paths of their parents. Traditions can be sustained or abolished, at choice, as people face an increased number of

[13] Another principal theme delineated by both Beck and Giddens is a new distributional logic of global risk elements like ecological disaster, nuclear warfare and storage of nuclear waste that transforms the political.

options on: how to lead their life, who to be and what to become. The draw back is however a simultaneous loss of security and the compulsion to bear the risks of ones individual choices and actions.

A similar line of thought is developed by sociologist Anthony Giddens focusing individual processes of identity formation.[14] Self, and the 'self-identity', presumes, according to Giddens, a 'reflexive awareness' and self-identity is "the self … reflexively understood by the person in terms of her biography" (Giddens 1991:53). The life history of the person becomes 'storied' as a 'narrative of the self' that is reflexively revised and contested as it gets told over and over again. To keep this narrative going, to tell it to others and the self, to create coherence and to revise it, is a continuous activity of everyday life. Everyday life that could be described as:

> "the temporal order of doing… But it is not only the temporal order as such which matters, but the associated stratum of experiences repeated over and over again, the normal, the regular, of routinized activity, of safe, easy availability, and thus of actions that can be repeated 'again and again'. It is about 'what is done here', sometimes in a decidedly particularist sense, in the family circle, the village, the region, etc. It is about the commonplace and familiar… what 'everyone does here'." (Hartmann Tyrell (1986:255)[15]

Individualisation affects everyday order of the stratum of experiences, the commonplace and familiar, by breaking down preconscious 'collective habitualizations' (Beck, 2001:5) a process that Giddens (1990) terms 'disembedding'. "The deep layer of foreclosed decisions is being forced up to the level of decision making." (Beck, (2001:5). The consequence is that individuals to a greater extent have the possibility to choose their identity and lifestyle, as well as the everyday practices that constitute it. Choices are to be less affected by traditional group alliances – class, gender, region and religion – as individuals themselves manage their 'do-it-yourself biographies' (an expression attributed to Ronald Hitzler).

The reverse side of the coin of freedom though is, as described by Sartre, a parallel compulsion to choose. Late modern man 'is doomed to individualization' and has to take full consequences of his personal choices. In this way, reflexive modernity simultaneously represents opportunity as well as "social, biographical and cultural risks and insecurities" (Beck 1992:87).

[14] Beck and Giddens' line of thought parallels to a great extent. For distinctions between them accounted for by themselves, see Beck, Giddens & Lash (1994).
[15] I am in indebted to Beck (2001:5) for this citation.

The Late Modern Condition

Individualization constitutes a specific condition when it comes to the interplay between agent and structure. The condition follows according to Beck (1992:128) a triple nature as:

(I) *disembedding* from traditional social forms (liberation) simultaneously accompanied by
(II) *the loss of traditional security* (disenchantment) and always followed by re-embedding into a
(III) *new type of social commitment* (reintegration).

Individualization is consequently a process of liberation that is paired with insecurities and angst, but simultaneously a transformation of the individual into another social form. Individuals are first freed and then recommitted. This triple nature of individualization was clearly illustrated above in relation to the increased participation of women on the labour market. Women where disembedded from housewife life and reembedded into the labour market and all other complementary institutions linked to it (like public child care, welfare support systems, etc). However, this step from family to labour market was destabilizing established family relations and gender roles making them open to revaluation and change. The structural change brought about and sustained by the welfare state consequently changed behavioural patterns of individuals but also values, attitudes, norms, identity and power relations.

What Beck describes is a melting together of the private and the public spheres transforming individual situations of everyday life to "*institutionally dependent individual situations*". Individuals get dependent on new institutions and the "apparent outside of institutions becomes the inside of the individual biography." (Beck, 1992:130) Agent and structure are from the perspective of Beck strongly interdependent and the life and identity of the individual gets increasingly tied up with welfare state structure under the condition of individualization (cf. Habermas, 1987). But is there anyway, at least on a conceptual level, to separate the individualization of society from that of the individual, and to confine individual identity from the outside of institutions? The separation that Beck does is that between *(objective) life situation* and *(subjective) consciousness* (identity, personalization) (Beck, 1992:128). This separation even if hard, or impossible, to sustain in practical research is a figure of thought that will be used below as a distinction when theorizing media structure and individualization. Structural change of objective life situations can open up

spaces for individualization, and the empirical question following such opening up is *what agents do individualize, at what pace and under which conditions?*

Giddens uses a similar theoretical framework to describe disembedding and reembedding. He adds two interesting complements and makes a slightly different pronouncement of the relationship between agent and structure. The first additional complement is a more thorough merging of time into the picture. The focus on time comes from Giddens interest in the role of traditions in guiding patterns of routinized human behaviour. What Beck terms individualization is in the terminology of Giddens identified as 'social disembedding' and 'de-traditionalization'. Traditions used to be based locally in place and in a form of social community that dwelled in this place. During the late stage of modernization, 'time-space distanciation' has undermined the role of local place and traditional social communities. Increased time-geographic mobility has made individuals spend more and more of their time distanced from family life and local community (cf. Berman, 1983; Harvey, 1990). Experiences and the building of the self are, to a larger extent, based elsewhere making traditional patterns of valuation, norms and behaviour loose ground (Thompson, 1995; Tomlinson, 1999).

Giddens focus is consequently the basic relationship between time and space and how transformations of the relationship between them affect individuals. When Giddens outlines the relationship between agent and structure, he stresses the relationship as interdependent but also as a merging point of three different categories of time. The first two are the 'reversible time' (continuous clock time) and the 'irreversible time' (the time of the life cycle of man). While the first is never ending, the latter is the limited time of the agent – beginning at birth, ending at death. The third category of time is the time of institutions that supersede the age of humans ('longue durée'). According to Giddens, social reproduction of society (historical change) comes into play as a consequence of social practice by individuals in relation to institutions. Individually acted out daily routines, in relation to tradition and separate 'speech acts' in relation to language are two examples Giddens use as illustrations. In everyday life, humans are affected by traditions and language as a platform for their actions, but gradual changes in habitual action and continuous creative language use will in the long run transform tradition as well as language. This is a condition that Giddens terms 'structuration' and it is central to the constitution of society as a point of intersection between the irreversible time of individuals and the longue durée of institutions. Structure ar-

bitrarily conditions human agency and agents arbitrarily condition structure (Giddens, 1984).

The notion of 'structuration' can also be used as a thought figure when approaching the transformation of television audiences. Everyday viewer decisions are enacted towards a content structure that condition viewer choice. Over time, however, the content structure develop in line with the choices made by the audience or more precisely in line with the image that content producers are provided with to assess audience behaviour. These cyclic reasoning is central to the line of thought of this thesis and will be elaborated further below. Before that, the following section materializes individualization as a concrete process. Which specific forms have individualization taken in Swedish society at large and specifically in relation to Swedish television?

Individualization of Swedish Society

To materialize individualization in Sweden is an efficient way to approach the structural side of the process. What Beck terms 'individualization of the (objective) life situation' could be apprehended as the structural confines delimiting the possibility for individuals to 'break free' from local and social bounds and individualize '(subjective) consciousness'. The materialization can be performed on the overall society level, the level of household and as connected to the specific practice of television viewing. The objective life situation can following this be exemplified both as a macro level societal and a micro level social everyday life trend, as well as in relation to the specific practice of television viewing. The outcome forms an explanatory framework to the visible patterns of individualization in television viewing same time serving a ground for comparison with other national contexts.

The trend of individualization was scarcely visible in Sweden in the 1950s. It was instead the 1960s that constituted the turning point in Swedish social life. Until the 1960s, the local community, the nuclear family (comprising traditional gender roles) and shared views of authority was three well-established sites that guided everyday life. In the 1960s, they were first contested, or to use the more adequate term: they were individualized (Ahrne, 2008). The specific construction of the welfare state carried some of the seeds of this development (Beck, 2001).

Both Beck and Giddens underline the changes in family life as central to the individualization of society. In research, individualization has around the shift of the millennium turned into something of "a core

metaphor through which sociological analysis of family life is now pursued" (Smart and Shipman, 2004:492). The changes in family structure and the following changes in relations between family members have decreased the importance of both marriage and family as institutions of society. Instead of being unitary collective expressions, the marriage and the family has turned into negotiated agreements, concealed on their own sake, in order to deliver satisfaction for the individuals co involved (Giddens, 1992). When a marriage or a family do not deliver the negotiated outcome, it can be abolished at individual's choice.

There are mainly two factors underlying the social change in family life that emerged in the 1960 and developed afterwards. The first was that an increased amount of women entered the regular labour market. The second was the liberation of sexuality from biological reproduction. A new sector of the labour market, which mainly women entered, was the rapidly growing public sector surrounding health care, care of elderly people, schools and later child care. The rate of female participation in labour market grew steadily from around six percent of all women in the 1950s to about the same level as men in the 1980s, the earlier housewife-era came to an end. The family turned from one male provider to two provider households, which had consequences for both relations within the family and family structure and put further demands of societal structures such as systems of child care that was expanded during the 1970s and 1980s (Ahrne et al., 2008).

Cohabitation became a frequent alternative to marriage and in 40 years (from 1964) the number of newborn children of cohabitant parents was raised from every twentieth to every second. The rate of divorces increased, and the new divorcement act of 1974 facilitated the procedure, leaving a growing number of single parent households and new types of families containing children from earlier marriages and cohabitations. The traditional nuclear family has, since the sixties, been paired with a growing body of alternative family structures. During this period, sexuality was also released from its ties to biological reproduction through the introduction of reliable perceptive such as the p-pill and the spiral, in the sixties, and legalized abortion, in the seventies (Ahrne et al., 2008).

One interesting facet of Beck's reasoning around the centrality of the welfare state to processes of individualization is his outlining of "institutionalised individualization". The meaning of institutionalised individualization can be clarified by entrance of women into the labour market. Entrance makes women disembedded from the family and reembedded into the labour market. Women get dependent on the labour market (and availability of work) and "because of that", simultaneously "dependent on

education, consumption, welfare state regulations and support, traffic planning, consumer supplies, and […] counselling and care." (Beck, 1992:130) In the case of Sweden, the growing public sector constituted a momentum to individualization providing a new labour market for female participation. But this female work force participation was further sustained by economic policy, such as taxation based on individuals instead of as previously around families, and social policy, such as the expansion of public child care, more beneficial parental insurances, etc. Swedish policy guiding family life is highly individualized in an international perspective (Bäck-Wiklund and Bergsten, 1997) and "institutionalised individualization" has played a significant role as new institutions have been established and sustained by the welfare state with the effect of disembedding citizens from traditional institutions.

If this is the action of the welfare state, one must ask oneself if there are other late modern institutions that sustain individualization in a similar way? Before addressing that question, some additional changes in family and everyday life has to be addressed shortly.

Social transformations of family life have affected spatial arrangements of the household and time geographic patterns of everyday life. Over time the quality of housing has been raised in terms of larger living spaces of increased material standard. The amount of families dwelling in scarce housing spaces decreased fast following the expansive urban and surburban housing programs initiated by the state in the 1960s and 1970s. As a consequence of available housing, in conjunction with the changes in family structure, households gradually became smaller in terms of number of residents. The number of single person households was doubled from the sixties to the nineties. The new single person households contained in most cases young people moving away for work or studies or elderly people, but also the growing segment of newly divorced (Sandstedt, 1991). Since the middle of the 1970s, housing has however become a scarce resource. Scarcity in availability of housing was first limited to the largest city areas but is today of a much broader scope that has made household size stabilized around an average of two persons per household since the 1970s.

The spatial condition of late modern society could be summed up as a spread time-geographic everyday movement. Everyday life is today spread over an increased number of places that are increasingly shattered in space. People travel longer distances during a regular working day but also at weekends and during holidays (Asplund, 1983). Tourism abroad turned rapidly from excess into a fairly common activity. At the same time, the life cycle of people has undergone translocation. People live longer. Youth

has been prolonged due to an enhanced general level of formal education. Close to all young people today finish high school and a majority enter higher education. The availability to higher education has been raised through expanding colleges and universities and sustained by individualized systems of loans and subsidiaries to students organized by the state already in the 1957. Longer education, coupled with increased unemployment rates since the beginning of the 1990s, have although had the consequence that young people leave home later, enter the labour market later and postpone their own family building till later in life.

The growing threshold for young people to enter the labour market, get housing and build family illustrates a central aspect of individualization. Even if individualization is, as Beck states, 'the wave of the future' and a process that affects all society at once, it is *still* a process that envelops at different pace in different parts of society and which momentary can turn in the opposite direction. It is also something of a dialectical process as individualization from one institution is followed by a reintegration into other institutions. Individualization is in this way paired with collectivisation, even if in some respect new. There are several examples of counter reactions to individualization. Raised pronouncement of family life and collective values from some segments of society and a raised interest for marriage are contemporary currents. The whole body of 'communitarian' political philosophy could be seen in this light (Gemenskaparna, 1985). The process of individualization is consequently neither simple, linear nor structuralistic, it is dialectic and leaves room for individual agency.

From this exposé of more than 50 years of individualization of Swedish society, it is possible summarize what is central to this period. Individualization has meant a transition from family to individual, from social to individual, and from collectively and locally to individually grounded values, norms and patterns of behaviour. The seed of this process was still underground during the 1950s but grew in the 1960 and was further strengthened during the 1970s and 1980s. Since the 1990s, however, environmental factors such as economic recession, a limited labour and housing market seem to have slowed down the pace of the individualization of the objective life situation when it comes to family life and social living conditions.

There is another layer of change imposed during this later time period that works by a slightly different individualizing dynamics. This is the wave of deregulation disembedding citizens from all encompassing state solutions in favour of market solutions opening up space for individual choice and multiplied options. Since the beginning of the 1990s, deregula-

tion has transformed many Swedish and European market areas earlier ruled by state monopolies. Examples are telecom, energy, retirement funds and broadcasting media to mention some of the most prominent. For Swedish television, the deregulation of the television market has surfaced an increased number of choices same time leaving the era of TV designated for 'viewers as citizens' behind (Ang, 1991). Deregulation opened up television as a market with 'viewers as commodity' which in turn demanded new ways of monitoring the audience turning it into an easily enough exchangeable 'currency' (Poltrack, 1988). This trend of multiplication of options shall below be exemplified in relation to Swedish television viewing departing from the beginning, in 1956.

Contextual Change of Swedish Television Viewing

The advent of Swedish television was the middle of the 1950s and regular broadcasts were initiated in 1956. At that time only a limited segment of the Swedish households owned a television receiver, at that time comparatively expensive to purchase (Boken on TV, 1961; Löfgren, 1990). The diffusion of television receivers into Swedish households took on a quite rapid pace and, in about ten years, more than 90 percent of the Swedish households possessed at least one television set. Consequently, the Swedish introduction of television was late (in comparison to the UK, U.S. and Denmark to mention some examples) but on the other hand comparatively fast in diffusion. The broadcasting system model for television was imitating the British BBC, comprising of one Public Service channel financed by licence fee. In 1969, a second Public channel was launched and the two were to coexist in a relation of 'stimulating competition', to site its regulative act of the time (Höijer, 1998). The new channel, that initially demanded a special box for reception, soon reached the same share of the Swedish households as the first channel (Hadenius et al., 2008).

The stable system of Public Service television was not contested until in the end of the 1980s. Networks of cable television through which international satellite emissions could be received was established and expanded from the middle of the 1980s and cable penetration was in the early 1990s stabilized on a level of close to 40 percent of the households. During the same period, satellite receivers that could be mounted to the home was beginning to diffuse and by 1995 these parabolas had turned into the principal way of receiving the television signal for around 20 percent of the Swedish households.

The channel expansion due to this development started with international channels like Sky and MTV available by satellite and distributed by cable, but took off at the establishment of new Swedish satellite channels like TV3 Nordic (1987), TV5 (1989) together with an array of new available cable channels and TV4 (1990). The decisive turn came in 1992 at the introduction of TV4 as the third channel of the terrestrial network. TV4, financed by advertising, soon reached all Swedish households and established itself at a market share level of the Public Service channels. In ten years, from 1985 to 1995, the Swedish television landscape changed irreversibly from one way of receiving two Public Service channels to several ways of reaching many more.

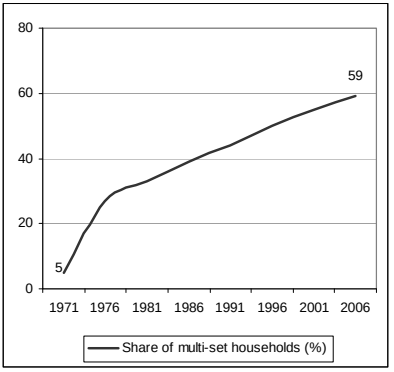
Half of the Swedish television audience could, in the beginning of this period, watch two channels and in the end of the period the corresponding number of channels was four. A more specific effect was a split of the audience into one part marked by a limited and another marked by affluent channel availability. Twenty percent of the audience could in 1995 watch 11 channels or more (Figure 1 – Share of multi TV-set households).

The next period of radical shift in the Swedish television landscape was the period of digitalisation of terrestrial television 2005-2007. That this technological shift was going to take place was decided by the Swedish parliament in 1997. A timetable was defined implying a gradual close down of the analogue network in five consecutive steps, completed in the autumn of 2007. This shift did not affect all parts of the Swedish television audience directly but only the close to 40 percent still receiving television by antenna. For this segment of the audience, however, channel scarcity was wiped away as an option.

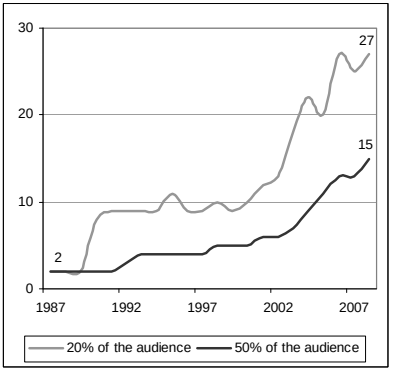
Since the advent of cable and satellite the number of channels available to the Swedish households have been steadily growing (table 1 – Channel availability) but with digitalisation a leap forward was induced. The minimum number of channels available to Swedish television at the completion of digitalisation was 11, instead of as earlier, three. Digitalisation had in this respect, a homogenizing effect on Swedish television households, making multi-channel availability a default household situation. At the same time the amount of channels available to consume, to add to ones consideration set, to pay extra for, has increased in parallel with the flexibility in terms of how television channels can be arranged into service packages following individual tastes for television.

Figure 1. Changes around and in Swedish television viewing 1994-2008.

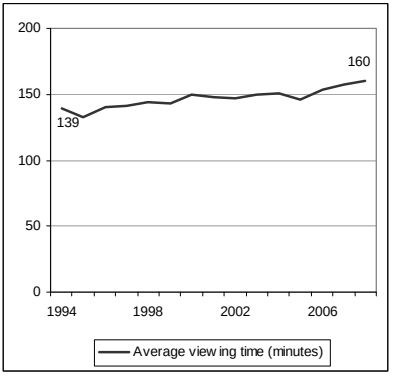
Share of multi TV-set households (%)



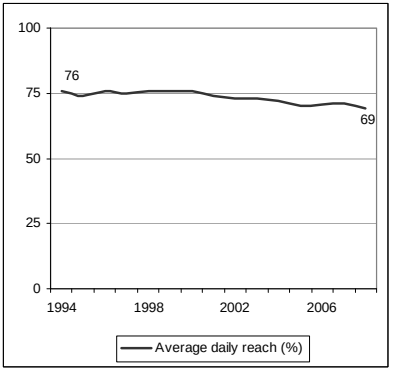
Channel availability (# of channels)



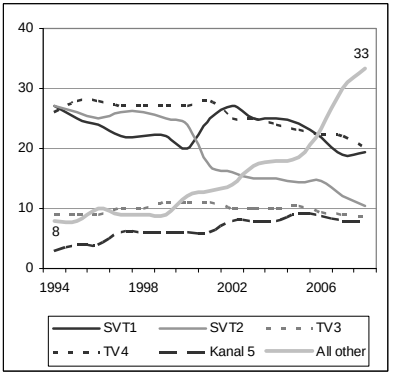
Average viewing time (minutes)



Average daily reach (%)



Market shares (% of viewing time)



SOURCES:
MULTI-SET HH: Radio och tv möter publiken/PUB; Hemelektonik-undersökningen från SR/PUB; Hemelektronikbarometern MMS Aba; MMS Penetrationsundersökningar.

CHANNEL AVAILABILITY: MedieSverige 2007; MMS Årsrapport 2008.
NOTE: Maps out channel viewers are aware of having access to.

VIEWING TIME, AVERAGE DAILY REACH and MARKET SHARES: MMS Årsrapporter 1994-2008.

Swedish households represent an increasingly abundant supply of television technology. At the beginning of the diffusion of television the number of television sets per household was most frequently only one large receiver, but in 1976 close to 30 percent of the household had more than one TV (figure 1 – Share of multi TV-set households). In 1987, around 40 percent of the households owned more than one television and around the middle of the 1990s the households with one respectively two or more televisions sets where equal. Since then, the number of television sets per household has increased slowly stabilizing around year 2000 at a level of around 42 percent single TV households, 36 percent households with two TVs and 22 percent with more than two sets.

Individualization of Television Viewing

From the Swedish development of television viewing, three principal conclusions regarding individualization can be made. The first conclusion regards *which time period television change in an individualizing direction.* Identified are three different periods when television changed more radically and in an individualizing direction. The first is the period of diffusion and establishment 1956-1987. The second is the period of cable and satellite expansion 1987-1995. The third is digitalisation of terrestrial television 2005-2007. While the first period after diffusion, is marked by limited choice and stability, the second and the third period is marked by expanded choice and change. The first is the era of Public Service, the second the era of established commercialisation and diversification of the audience and the third the era when multi channel availability was turned into an all encompassing audience condition.

A general argument when approaching individualization is that periods of change are more interesting than periods of stability. A prerequisite for individualization is that the practice at hand provides a space within which individualization can be realized in everyday action. The number of channels available to the audience is a first delimiter of the space available to individualize the television viewing, in relation to other family or household members and in relation to other audience members. A focus on the period from 1987 till today would be a more interesting case than the time period preceding it, seen from a media centrist perspective of television. The space for individualization is during the period from 1987 rising, encompassing only small segments of the audience at the beginning, and all of the audience at the end. At that point in time, after completed digitalisation, the whole audience lives a multi-channel condition and has the

theoretical if not economic, possibility to expand their channel availability further. Before digitalisation, multi-channel availability was harder connected to the form of dwelling that coincided with different ways of receiving the television signal – cable for apartments in urban areas and antenna in villas on the countryside.

If 1987 onwards is the most interesting period seen from the perspective of channel availability, the development of television technique seems to point to the individualization of television viewing is most interesting at the phase of cable and satellite expansion and some five years after that. This is the period when different receiving technologies are diffused and reach a balanced competition. The emergence of new receiving technologies coincide with the period when the numbers of households with more than one television set increases the most in Sweden (from 40 to 60 percent). From a perspective of individualization, the increased availability of television sets can be seen as development making individuals increasingly free to individualize their television viewing in relation to other household members in physical space. At the shift of the millennium, the technological-physical space for individualized viewing appears free enough and the level of televisions per household saturated.

Both, channel availability and availability of television technique are two structural factors that are expected to be intimately linked to individualization of television viewing. In the empirical investigations forwarded later on both will be used as background factors explaining the form and pace of individualization in different household settings. The time period focused are due to limitation in data 1999 to 2008, even if as we can see from the description above the whole period from 1987 onwards would be of interest. The apparent advantage of the chosen time period is that patterns of individualization is expected to be enveloped from the onset of the period and constitutes the objective life situation of all of the audience at the end of the period.

The second conclusion that can be drawn is *that traditional measurements of viewing behaviour as average viewing time and average daily reach of television represent a poor material for accounting for change in television viewing.* These aspects of television viewing behaviour are to closely tied to habitual patterns of time allocation and do simply not change at the rate of audience transformation (figure 1 – Average viewing time and Average daily reach). They represent surface descriptions and are to general to serve in analysis of change where they will instead over appreciate stability. If contrasted to the picture of changes in market shares over time, this argument gets clearer (figure 1 – Market shares). The dislocation of market shares from the few bigger channels to an array of emerging smaller channels is also an aggre-

gated picture of change, but a picture that illustrates how specialization of channels take form and creates fragmentation in consumption patterns. This picture indicates better what is on the way on the individual level of television consumption.

The third conclusion that can be drawn regards *which trends of individualization of society that can be expected to exert strong influence on television viewing.* If we rollback to the individualization of Swedish society as a whole, the focus on a time period from 1999 to 2008 do not coincide in time with the radical change in individualization of society. Individualization of family life and family structure are developments that started out in the 1960s, were accelerating during the 1970s and 1980s, and found their present level in the beginning of the 1990s changing more slowly from that point on. The number of single person households, the average size of households, and the share of women on the labour market etc. have all reached a level that is only marginally rising and which could even momentarily regress in a near future. The time period chosen constitutes a period when individualization of some of the most important objective life situation delineated by Beck and Giddens has reached a mature level. The positive consequence of this is that individualization of the subjective consciousness (identity and personalization) ought to be visible in patterns of an everyday practice as central as television viewing.

Toward a Theoretical Model

Outlining the theoretical framework of individualisation provided by Beck and Giddens is a rewarding activity, and yet in the same time, unsatisfactory. Rewarding as a framework for contemporary societal change but unsatisfactory representing something of a black hole when it comes to the role played by media and communication technology (Thompson, 1995; Moores, 2005). Late modernity, described by Beck and Giddens, coincides in time with the large-scale diffusion of broadcasting of radio and television, and later on with Internet and mobile phones. While Internet and mobile phones have a more recent breakthrough in the western world, to overlook broadcasting is less understandable. So let us theorize broadcasting, and more specifically, television, within the framework of individualisation.

Television (and before it radio) constituted a transformation of the household by merging a new site of the public into the centre of the private sphere (Williams, 1974; Meyrowitz, 1985; Thompson, 1995). In terms

of individualisation, broadcasting introduced new *institutions* that by a new type of dynamic created *institutionally dependent individual situations* centred to everyday life within the household. In relation to more traditional mass media, like the book or the newspaper, broadcasting implied a *temporal dynamics* to media consumption. As scheduled, broadcasting represented a designated flow of content items delimited in time (Williams, 1974), and repeated over time (Ellis, 1982). Consumption of broadcasting is a time-bound practice.

One proposition of in which way this temporal arrangement of broadcasting is affecting everyday life is given by media theorist Paddy Scannell (1992) elaborating what he calls "dailiness". Scannell draws directly on Giddens outlining of "reversible time" and asserts that broadcasting in its cyclical time structure contributes to our notion of reversible time providing "time-through-the-day". He depicts time through the day as:

> "…zoned from breakfast time to bed time. These zones are part of the fundamental way in which broadcast services are arranged to be appropriate to the time of the day – which means appropriate to who in particular is available to watch or listen at what time and in what circumstances." (Scannell, 1996:150)

Thus, dailiness possesses a double nature, as an effect of consumption and as an integral condition steering scheduling and production of broadcasted content. Scheduling and consumption of television content follow patterns of *time-space paths* of viewers "zoning time" and thereby sustaining the notion of dailiness: a temporal order of doing associated with a stratum of repeated experiences, regular routinized activity replicating the commonplace and familiar, again and again (recapitulating Hartmann Tyrell, see above). To use the terminology of individualisation dailiness is both a *consequence* of the structure of television content and a *condition* making television content taking on a specific structure. As dailiness is, of course also affected by cycles of labour, "time-through-the-weak", that separates the working weak from leisure time in weekend, has subsequent effect.

A line of critique raised against Scannell is that dailiness is bound to traditional terrestrial television and takes an insufficient account of contemporary broadcasting (cable, satellite and digital). Kay Richardson and Ulrike Meinhof (1999) underline that new programming strategies in non-terrestrial broadcasting differ from old ones. In the age of multi-channel television, mixed programming is accompanied by strongly specialized channels devoted to music, sports, news cartoons and so on. Instead of sustaining a day-to-day cycle, these channels represents cycles of single

hours or 15 minutes as in the case of news. This change constitutes an important transformation of broadcasting production as well as consumption and could have implications for televisions role in providing dailiness. Reorganization of scheduling principles and flow can have strong direct effect on the transformation of television viewing as an individual practice and televisions role in sustaining individual identity work.

In fact, the transformation of the broadcasting system that Richardson and Meinhof acknowledge could be apprehended as *individualisation.*[16] It is an individualisation of the (objective) *life situation* of the television viewer faced with an increased number of *options* and alternative *organizing principles* of content (cf. Collins, 1992). Deregulation of broadcasting followed by contemporary digitalisation is, in this respect, a history of individualisation of lifeworlds. The development has multiplied the number of institutions (channels) and changed their character (increasingly representing commercial interest) in the same time altering and multiplying the organizing principles (of content and temporal flows). While the increasing number of options can be empirically mapped out organizing principles of content and flow has to be theoretically developed and integrated into a comprehensive model.

Viewer Flow – Merging Viewer, Content and Situations

Time has come to merge the theoretical bricks advanced so far into a comprehensive framework making individualization of television viewing stand out as a theoretically defined object. The aim is to define individualization in television viewing theoretically in order to in the next step delimit it analytically and make it comprehensible, as well as empirically researchable an object. The section will boil down to the three delimited areas of individualization linked to habitualness, socialness and referential space that will be empirically investigated later on.

A first step towards a comprehensive model is to outline what is this far found out about television viewing as a practice. Television viewing is made up of three basic parts: the *viewer*, the *content* and the *situation* of viewing. Starting out with the situation, James Lull among others underlines that "television viewing *takes place*". It takes place in situations that are connected to a *place* – in the case of traditional television viewing most

[16] The critique of Richardson and Meinhof (1999) could in terms of individualisation be summoned that the individualisation of the (objective) life situation surrounding television makes dailiness an inadequate concept to account for (subjective) consciousness.

frequently the home – that is simultaneously a delimited *social space* that is changing over *time* in terms of composition of persons available for interaction at the site of viewing. Ethnographic research has provided perhaps the most powerful accounts of how social situations affect the practice of television viewing, but there is a gap to fill when it comes to how frequent social viewing is in relation to solitary viewing in different social settings and how television viewing, as a social practice, is changing over time.

Content is the second seminal part of television viewing. It can be seen, as a number of separate items (as texts or as segments) or as a temporal structure (a flow). A theoretical development of flow was made by Klaus Bruhn Jensen (1994) separating it into three different levels. On the level of the individual viewer, flow is the diet of content composed by the viewer when viewing (viewer flow). This category would coincide with Raymond Williams' flow as an effect of the viewing experience. On the level of institutions flow is either a flow of content within one channel (channel flow) or the total flow of content within a television broadcasting system (super-flow). Television viewing is consequently following Jensen the practice of combing available channel flows into viewing flows, which points to the intermediate factor of *availability* of channels contained in the super flow. From this tripartation, one fact gets evident. The institutional history of broadcasting can be read in the longue durée transformation of the multiple channel flows and the aggregated super flow, while the history of broadcast audiences inscribed in viewer flows.

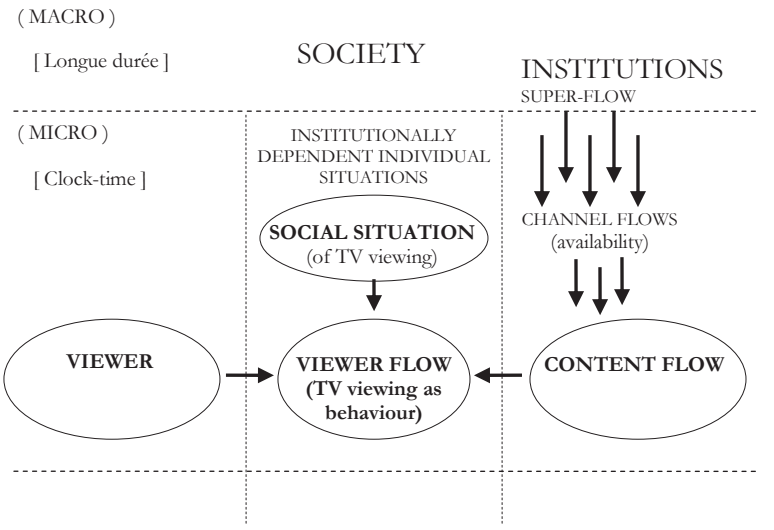
The viewer is the third part that makes up television viewing. A number of factors have been forwarded in audience research as explanatory to viewing behaviour. Age, gender, education and class are demographic characteristics that have shown significant to viewing behaviour. Time geographic patterns, as well as lifestyle, taste and psychographic factors as value orientation have shown importance, but also needs, motives, gratifications and preferences and the actual mode, when viewing. The viewer is as complex and multi faceted as are individuals.

The theoretical composition of television viewing could following the above be depicted as follows. The model is centred on the television viewing as an *institutionally dependent individual situation* taking place in a *social situation* where the *viewer* is confronted with a number of *channel flows* delimited by factual availability.

This theoretical model takes account of the temporal, as well as the spatial properties of the television viewing act. Horizontally, the model is split into two levels of scale: the *macro* level of society (the overarching political, economical, social, cultural and technological conditions), and the *micro* level of everyday life action (encompassing the individual and the

household). This constructed split coincides with the split between structure and agent in social theory. Vertically, the model is split into three parts representing the individual (viewer), the situation (social situation) and the content (content flow). These three parts make up the television viewing act and correspond to the object of choice, the choosing subject and the variable situations in which the choice is made. Sketched this far the model could be applied to most situations of choice. What makes the model particular is that the object of choice is constantly changing and that the outcome of the television act is consequently a viewer flow, unique for each viewer, each situation and strictly dependent on when the choice is made in time.

Figure 2. Theoretical model of television viewing as institutionally dependent individual situation.



Television consumption could be split into two steps: the first is to turn on the TV, and the second, to choose from the available content. The first step of this choice process is very similar to other consumption acts, like buying a specific brand of serials from an array of possible options. The next step is diverting from this simple choice dynamics since the serials chosen over time can turn into bread besides other possible options that change from water to wine, biscuits to root fruits and so on. Heeter and Greenberg (1988) outlined this specificity of television choice as a choice process involving continuous choice acts with open endings. Watching television is one choice followed by a sequence of choices directed towards a temporal flow structure that transforms over time.

Analytical Model of Individualization

The aim of this thesis is to delineate the contours of individualization in television viewing. In the centre of the research enterprise, is change in the form of individualization *around* and *within* the specific practice of television viewing. The theoretical framework above, outlines the changes around (in society, viewers, situations and content) and within (viewer flow) television viewing. The horizontal split between macro and micro change is analytical rather than empirically clear-cut. This was illustrated by the exemplification of how individualization transform Swedish society and Swedish television and thereby individualizing individuals, and the household settings where viewers dwell as well as imposing changes into the mediaspace upheld by broadcasting institutions.

When coining and outlining 'MediaSpace' as a theoretical concept, Couldry and McCarthy (2004) hardly delimit it at all. The theoretical model as a whole could be defined as a mediaspace encompassing media institution and production, ways of circulation of mediated products down to consumption together with all the long term and short term effects that this outlined mediaspace have on a delimited society and the unlimited global world. Mediaspace is in this way more creative a concept than pragmatically useful, if not delimited. To rethink media institutions as spatial processes that reach out is theoretically rewarding (Falkheimer & Jansson, 2006; Morley, 2000; Morley and Robins, 2005). Broadcasting's ability to 'double place' – to merge new "institutionally dependent individual situation" into the centre of everyday life, and to make people present at distanced events – point to the accuracy of framing broadcasting spatially. To frame broadcasting spatially is the key to explaining why channel flows are "laid out in one specific way, and not another" in a specific media system of a specific society at a specific point in time in history (Couldry and McCarthy, 2004).

If the theoretical model above is viewed from a perspective of individualization of television viewing some parts of mediaspace could be forwarded as more central than others. These are the parts tied to production (super flow), circulation (available channel flows) and consumption (viewer flow). The super flow of the broadcasting system is created within the overarching restrictive and supportive framework of society (politics, economy, culture and technology). On this level, national as well as international frameworks play a significant role and certain types of dynamics at specific point in time will guide the super flow. Before 1987, Public service and state regulations were the guiding principles. After

1987, commercial models have become increasingly influential. The channel flows are guided by availability on the household level and after 1987 availability became increasingly tied to form of dwelling and geography and to household economy. One of the effects of digitalisation of the terrestrial network is that household economy has become more and form of dwelling and geography less influential guiding channel availability. The most important change in mediaspace is, as indicated by the development described on the level of super flow and channel flow, that the circulation of broadcasted content over time has been paired with the circulation of money.

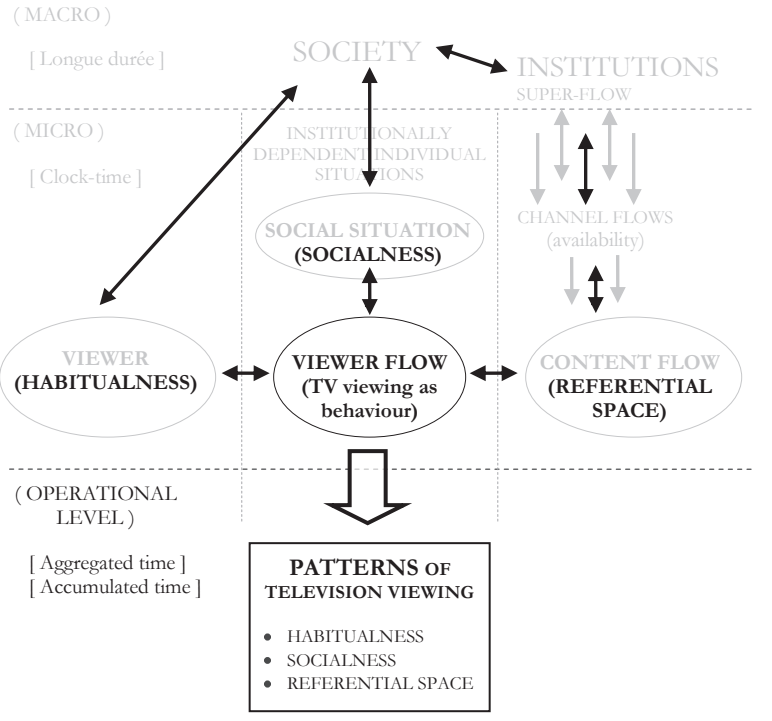
It could be argued, based on licence fee, that monetary circulation has been an integral part of the broadcasting system from the start. The new form of circulation of money was more flexible and depended directly on the viewer flows. The establishment of People Meter as a measurement technology must be seen in the light of this development. People Meter technology was the answer to the question of how an exchangeable 'currency' depicting viewer action could be established to sustain the growing television advertising market (Bogart, 1988).

As a consequence of this shift in principles ruling the production, circulation and consumption of television the channel flows started to change character. Channel flows containing advertising emerged, but the most interesting change from a perspective of individualization is that the channels got specialized in terms of content (Heeter and Greenberg, 1988; Meinhof and Richardson, 1999) and specialized in terms of address to delimited viewer segment. The implied audience has become a dynamics that today guide production and scheduling in a much stronger way than before. Channels are harder addressed towards predefined target groups and "mixed programming" are on the decay as a programming principle.

The consequence of this development is that forces of individualization are structurally merged into the mediaspace that viewers are confronted with every time they watch television. This change is a change in the objective life situation of the television viewer. The question arising is what consequences this new dynamics of mediaspace in conjunction with an overarching individualization of society have for television viewing first, as a habitual act, repeated over time, and second as a social act, performed within the physical setting of the home, and third as a referential act, letting us share common mediated experiences.

These three dimensions of individualization can be inserted into the previous model in order to turn it into an analytical model.

Figure 3. Individualization of television viewing – analytical model.



The model outlines how individualization in television viewing is operationalized in this thesis. The history of television viewing is, as was stated above, inscribed into viewer flows. The viewer flow is as the outcome of television viewing the site where the individual viewer intersects with temporally variable social situations and content flows. What is inscribed here is on more general level what content is consumed, when and together with whom. This is the level that the empirical data employed later on in this thesis will let us reach. But engraved in viewer flows is also what the individual liked and disliked, valued and disregarded, retained and refrained down to the more complex level of the whole meaning making process involved in the meeting of mediated content. This type of information is out of reach. I can, at best, assess indirectly, based on assumptions about how viewer behaviour expresses more qualitative aspects such as evaluation and meaning.

Placed onto the model are the three fields of individualization that will be delineated empirically and the chapter will be finished by a sketching

out of how Habitualness, Socialness and Referential space are related to individualization in television viewing.

Habitualness and Individualization

One fundamental aspect of television viewing is that it is a highly habitual and routinized a practice. Habitualness and routinization are also fundamental aspects of everyday life that according to Giddens (1994) is characterized by being "recursive". Following Giddens, late modernity implies a movement whereby routines are getting disembedded from local and traditional institutions (like the family) and increasingly founded in individuals. The consequence is that individual characteristics and lifestyles, rather than local and social belongings, today are guiding everyday life behaviours.

All actions are enrolled in time and space. When habitualness in television viewing behaviour is operazionalized, space is held constant as a subsequent effect of delimiting the study to television viewing *within* households. Habitualness is further delimited to descriptions of to which degree viewing behaviours are repeated in relation to time. Habitualness is read as an individual characteristic and is in the analytical model placed within the viewer (for operationalization, see Chapter 5 – Habitualness as Probabilities).

An expected effect of individualization on habitualness would be that viewers show increasingly diverging patterns of time allocation to television. If the audience, earlier on, had a common way of allocating time to television this distribution of television time is expected to be more individual. Content flows have developed in the direction of increased volumes of television available around the clock. Viewing is supposed to follow this increased spread in time in a particular way. An increased proportion of individual viewers are expected to establish habitual viewing at alternative times of the day.

Socialness and Individualization

Another fundamental aspect of television viewing is that it is a social act. As has been illustrated above, this is an aspect that is often acknowledge and then left out hand in empirical quantitative research. The consequence is that we know close to nothing of how frequent social viewing is in respect to solitary viewing, and who is more or less social when viewing.

This is an important knowledge gap to fill in order to find out how social television viewing is a practice, for different parts of the audience, and how this socialness in television viewing is developing over time.

Television viewing takes place in time and space, and more specifically, in a social situation. Socialness is tied both to time and take account of how the social situation is changing over time. Social viewing, like television viewing in general, can be allocated to certain hours of the day or days of the week, and its *level* can in this respect be described and outlined in the same way as television viewing is normally (as rating, and share). Socialness can also be apprehended as an individual characteristic: how social an individual is when viewing television alternatively how social television viewing is, a practice, for an individual. Socialness is, either as distributed over time or as an individual characteristic, read in the variable social situations surrounding television viewing. On this ground, it is in the analytical model placed within the social situation (for operationalization, see Chapter 5 – Socialness as Social and Solitary Viewing).

An expected effect of individualization is that patterns of social interaction within the physical space of the home decreases. Since television viewing takes place in the home, over time development of social viewing is a fairly clear-cut indication of individualization. This individualization is tied to physical space and patterns of sharing of physical space. But, as will be argued in the following a parallel space that can be shared to varying extent is the referential which constitutes a complementary and last field of individualization.

Referential Space and Individualization

At the advent of broadcasting, place was doubled. At the same time, this new mediaspace introduced by first radio and then television doubled space. The listeners and viewers could, placed in the midst of home, for the first time experience and become co present at far events occurring outside of home. The audience could "go to" other places and their referential space was expanded by the new media space. In the early years of television, television is more than often described as something of a common event, undertaken together with the family or friends. Parallel to these accounts of shared television viewing are accounts of the commonality of mediated experiences from television, what everybody saw and talked about (so called: 'water cooler TV'). This was the common mediated referential space of Swedish television viewers. If this referential space once helped settling the "imagined community" of Sweden, to use

Benedict Anderson's thinking, what is televisions role in the age of emerging channel abundance?

The total mediaspace of television has been growing in terms of volume of content and amount of channels. Television viewing is an act undertaken in time and space but the outcome is a specific itinerary into referential space. This itinerary is tied to each viewer and can be followed by the viewer flow. When viewer flows are compared to one another aspect like similarity and difference, commonality and uniqueness can be assessed. Lastly, the development of homogeneity and heterogeneity can be mapped out over time. The individuals itineraries into referential space is read as a content characteristic and is for this reason placed within the content flow in the analytical model (for operationalization, see Chapter 5 – Referential Space).

An expected effect of individualization is that the itineraries into referential space become more unique and individual over time. The consequence of this development is that the referential space mediated by television gets decreasingly shared and that the referential space of the audience is getting increasingly heterogeneous. Following the individualization of family life, this heterogenization should be visible on the level of the household. A possible consequence of this development, if realized, is that television viewing is turning from a more common audience experience to an unique individual experience. This individual experience might be share according to new layers of individual characteristics, but regardless of this, leaving a more common audience experience behind.

To sum up, individualization is expected to bring about a gradual transformation from common to unique habitual time allocation, from social to solitary viewing behaviour, from homogeneous to heterogeneous itineraries into referential space. This tripartite line of development could be seen as three broad hypothesises of individualization. They have guided the methodological research design and empirical investigations of this thesis. The three research fields, their respective dimensions and point of focus are summed up in the table that follows.

Table 1. Analysis model of individualization in the three fields of habitualness, socialness, and referential space.

RESEARCH FIELD	HABITUALNESS	SOCIALNESS	REFERENTIAL SPACE
Dimension in focus	TIME	SOCIAL SPACE	MEDIATED SPACE
Continuum of change	Common – Unique	Social – Solitary	Homogeneity – Heterogeneity
Research questions on conditions	How is habitual viewing structured in relation to time? Who constitutes the habitual audience?	How social is the practice of TV viewing? Who constitutes the social audience? Which parts of channel space gather social viewing?	How is TV choice structured? According to which principles is the audience distributed in referential space? To which extent is referential space shared and by whom?
Research questions on change	How does habitualness in television viewing change over time?	How does socialness in the practice of TV viewing, the social audience and its ties to channel space change over time?	How does TV choice and patterns of sharing of referential space change over time?

The next part of the thesis, the second part, establishes a methodological approach bringing the three continuums of individualization and their respective dimensions into reach. The third part of the thesis is subsequently delivering answers to the research questions aligned to each field. Research questions are of two categories. The first, addressing questions of conditional states and the second plunging deeper into questions of over time change. While the first set of questions is providing a highly nuance illustration of new and well established aspects of television viewing the second set of questions lead all way to the outlining of patterns of individualization in television viewing.

PART II

PEOPLE METER AS IDEA AND METHODOLOGY

3

THE HISTORY OF IDEAL RATING SERVICES

A historical overview of the birth and development of audience measurement reveals that the mother and breeder is the marketplace of advertising. The birth is related to the prosperous advertising market around newspapers in the beginning of the 20th century in the U.S. The central legacy since then has been the establishment of stable and legitimate 'currencies' of media consumption for use in advertising markets.[17] Radio and television were soon to follow.

The following chapter describes the main traits of the historical development of audience measurement surrounding newspapers, radio and television. The aim is to identify the continuous trends as well as cyclical movements and breaks immanent to this history. The story starts in the U.S. where audience measurement saw day. It is later on, broadened to encompass the development in other national contexts, as well as Sweden. Presented is an account of power, betrayal, competition, innovation and trust, and the conclusion is that the present day audience measurement of television has traits in common with newspapers at the birth of audience measurement in the 1910s and with the Audimeter, proceeding the People Meter of the 1980s. The aim, here, is consequently to learn from history.

The Cradle of Audience Measurement (1914-1946)

In 1914, the newspaper industry was the first to feel the growing muscles of the advertisers. Before that year, the major newspapers had (by themselves) appreciated and had delivered Figures of circulation to advertisers. But as the market of advertising got more and more prosperous, powerful and organized, advertisers began to raise concerns regarding the actual circulation of the newspapers in which they were buying advertising space. They called for a *standard* and got one through the formation of the Audit

[17] The following section on the development of audience measurement for television is a condensed version of a more detailed account (see Bjur, 2010).

Bureau of Circulation in 1914. The Audit Bureau of Circulation was founded on a tripartite basis, as a collaboration of advertisers, (advertising) agencies and publishers (Beville, Jr., 1988).

At the launching of U.S. local Radio in 1922, the potential of the medium for advertising purposes was soon discovered and utilized first as straight promotional talks and music groups promoting companies. The landscape of local radio changed rapidly in the middle of the 1920s through networking of geographically distant radio stations by telephone line. Following this, the three major American networks were born: NBC (1926), ABC (1927) and CBS (1928). The networks made a broader range of advertising easier and boasted the advertising market for radio further. At this point, only one major question remained: who the heck is listening? Additional questions were: when? To what? How much? Who and how many had radio in the first place? The audience had to be estimated and counted according to a standard that the players of the advertising market could agree upon. There was a need to establish *standardized ratings.*[18]

Measuring Radio (1928-1946)

The ratings of radio in the 1930s have a lot in common with Figures of circulation of newspapers in the 1910s. The intangible radio audience had to be estimated and standardized as a currency for trading of advertising space and advertisers faced two principal problems at this stage. The first was that the market of buying and selling of advertising space in broadcast media depended on scientifically insecure estimations of the audience size and composition. The second was that the providers of these rating estimations were the broadcasting stations and networks themselves. These two conditions based on faith was an equation limited in time, as the marketplace of advertising was growing in size and in turnover. In order to solve this situation, advertising industry called for professional methods and standardization of measures (Beville, Jr., 1988).

The first rough estimation of broadcasting radio was based on the same principals as circulation for newspapers. Audience was in 1928 simply estimated from the selling of radio receivers in different regions (executed by Dr Daniel Starch, Harvard in 1929). But at the beginning of the

[18] Take notice that the measures of newspapers are measures of circulation while the measures of radio and later television are measures of reach (Gustafsson and Weibull, 1992). Measures of reach for newspapers were early developed also for newspapers (e.g. the Ph.D. thesis of George Gallup, 1928).

1930s more advanced, influential and persistent methods as the *telephone recall interview* (Crossley ratings) and the *coincidental interview* (Hooper ratings) were born. The 1930s represents as such the dawn of audience measurement industry – an industry creating services for the three principal actors on the advertising market: the networks and stations (selling) and the advertisers (buying) and agencies (trading). Deciding which methods were to rule in audience measurement from that point and on were these three actors. The weights of their respective word change over time and depend, as will be illustrated, on changes in the power balance between them.

Initially, the advertisers, organized through the Association of National Advertisers (ANA), were the most powerful in driving the development. A cornerstone was set as Archibald M. Crossley in 1930 was appointed by ANA to execute field interviews in 50 different cities to determine when radio sets were used, who listened, to what programs and stations, and what programs were preferred. The reports emanating from this initiative, known as Cooperative Analysis of Broadcasting (CAB), was central to the development of radio as an advertising market. The CAB, based on telephone recall interviews (Crossley ratings), lasted for a period of 16 years resulting in studies involving more markets, refinement of measurement and faster delivery of reports. But in 1946, the service finally went history due to fierce competition and loosing of confidence.

The reason underlying the change in audience measurement method was two-fold. Compared to the competing method of coincidental interviews telephone the recall interviews underestimated radio listening (actually by 20 percent). The underestimation posed an unfortunate fact to the networks that, on grounds of tradition, were kept outside of the board of CAB. This way the networks were out of position to influence a disfavourable measurement system, of which they, over time, were contributing most of the funding. In 1946, the balance of power tipped over in favour of the networks and the more accurate method of coincidental interview (Hooper ratings), that had existed on the market of audience measurement since 1933, and in a refined form since 1938, became the new standard for radio audience assessment. The networks had, at that point, increased their proportion of the national audience immensely following more Americans acquiring radio receivers. Induced with more power, the networks were in 1946, the first ones to leave the then sinking ship of Crossley ratings.

The example of early U.S. radio illustrates one important dynamic of audience measurement refinement: scientific accuracy is but one aspect of the method. An even more influential aspect is the power balance be-

tween market actors choosing the method. A, by ANA, appointed committee concluded at the time that: "the present CAB rating service should not be continued because it does not meet *the specifications of an ideal rating service.*" (Beville, Jr., 1988 [italics by author]). More 'ideal' at that point in time was the coincidental telephone interviews asking: "Were you listening to radio right now?", "To what program were you listening, please?" and "Over what station is that coming?"

On one level, a superior method simply had substituted an inferior. The simplicity, immediacy and randomness of the Hooperratings proved to be more efficient in depicting the audience listening. It was closer to actual behaviour and free from problems of the human ability of recall. Hooperatings also constituted a shift in establishing a measure of the "available audience" at home, within which the actual listening was measured. On another level, however, the change in methodology is simply mirroring the change in power balance between the stakeholders on the advertising market. Audience measurement services are available on a market where the purchasers are advertisers, agencies and broadcasters (or publishers) obliged to agree on standards in order to establish currencies for trade. Changes in power balance between these actors occur through history and as will be illustrated the growth of cable and satellite television in the end of 1970s is a later correspondent to the growth of the radio networks in the 1930s. Interestingly, we seem to dwell in a comparable situation today, as television is split over a number of platforms introducing new actors into the field of television. And as will be discussed later, actors with access to readily available digital 'return paths' to their audiences.

A departure from newspapers and radio at the treatment of television illustrates the shifts and continuities between different media. With broadcasting, the audience was turned into an increasingly intangible entity, out there somewhere. This shift was due to the new way of distribution by ether. The audience gradually got more and more within reach of broadcast media, but same time for always out of reach except as scientific estimations of audience measurement. In contrast to the earlier media that produced copies whose circulation could be counted, broadcasting produced flows deprived of something comparable to sold copies on the consumer side. During this era of analogue media, broadcasting was without a readily available return path, a contested truth in the age of digital media.

Another central shift brought on by broadcasting was that the aired flows where anchored in programming schedules and merged new temporal structures into everyday life (what Scannel termed as the ability to pro-

vide "time-through-the-day"). Together, radio and television are cornerstones by the entrance into an age of electronic media. Broadcasting, ought to be treated as a then integer new dynamic of media distribution, by which the mass audience got intangible, and which represented a new content structure anchored in time. Continuity between radio and television is strong and the same audience measurement technology and methodology designed for radio in the 1930s and 1940s was later applied and refined for television from the 1950s onwards.

The History of the Black Box (1935-1979)

People Meter technology springs from the measurement of radio listening in the 1930s. In 1935, two professors from M.I.T (Massachusetts Institute of Technology) introduced an innovation able to automatically track radio listening. The so-called 'Audimeter' was a small black box capable of registering both if when the radio was turned on or off and to which frequency it was tuned into. The legend tells that Arthur C. Nielsen, himself an electro engineer, facing the technology immediately realized its full potential. He bought all the rights of use and launched his corporation into a long and costly development phase in order to adapt the technology and to establish a national panel of households within which the radio listening was to be assessed. The outcome saw light in 1942, when the Nielsen Radio Index (NRI) based on 800 households where launched. The Audimeter constituted consequently a third technology available for assessment of the radio audience.

Success of the Audimeter came first in 1950, as it became the standard for measuring television viewing – Nielsen Television Index (NTI). The technology for radio had been adapted for television and was first established in a small panel of 300 household (later extended). In 1953, the system design had achieved an efficient and stable form that was kept, with minor adjustments, till the Audimeter was exchanged by the People Meter in the 1980s. The Mailable Audimeter of 1953 produced cassettes of data on household viewing that were mailed to Nielsen every week. From this data, the size of the television audience was established and merged with additional data on audience composition deriving from a second panel of viewers that kept diaries of their viewing. Reports on size and composition of the television audience were published on a regular basis – National Audience Composition (NAC). Over time, the period of measurement was extended from 39 to 52 weeks a year and reports were

published more frequently as the delivery of data was fastened.[19] Response rates were enhanced by means of flashing and signalling devices distributed into the panel of diary households.

All fundamental principles underlying the audience measurement system of television lasting till the 1980s were manifested in the design of the Audimeter of 1953:

- First, a panel of households equipped with a black box passively retaining when the television is turned on and to what it is tuned into (household viewing)
- Second, a panel of households reporting their viewing (individual viewing)
- Third, a merging of household and individual viewing to assess audience size and composition.
- Fourth, the central assumption that the two panels represent the population of the national, regional or the local television market (universe) that is measured.

The persistence of the Audimeter was due to its efficiency of supplying pictures of the television audience with good enough precision and speed. The audience Figures were accurate enough and stable enough to constitute the currency for the television advertising market. Over time, the ratings reached a status of close to holy and were seldom subject to open criticism (Jenson Adams, 1994). This situation was totally reversed at the end of the 1970s, as the television system was changed following the introduction of cable and satellite television. The consequential abundance of new flourishing channels surfaced present weaknesses of the measurement system as the new actor entered the television market and gained power.

To Relief Measurement From Man (1980-1990)

The fiercest objections to the present measurement design were the diaries. A weakness of diaries already acknowledged was that they overestimated popular and broad programming while underestimating niche and

[19] Delivery of data was quickened first as a consequence of simultaneous transmission over a separate additional telephone line (Instantaneous Audimeter 1959) and later with computer technology storing the information transmitting it over night (Storage Instantaneous Audimeter 1979).

less profiled programming. When keeping a diary, viewers remembered more easily high profile than low profile programming. This error was further strengthened by the fact that many respondents postponed their registration of viewing till later, making the diary even more sensible to the human factor of a limited ability to recall. These methodological drawbacks had been felt earlier on by small channels and been neglected. This problem was consequently not new and was unproblematic, as long as it did not hurt anyone special. New, in the end of the 1970s, was that this source of error systematically underestimated a whole sector of new cable television viewing of enormous rise of audience and consequently also of power. Someone special, in the form of cable and satellite television industry, had entered the scene.

To underline the weaknesses of the diary, the cable television industry committed a study that compared different measurement methods of cable viewing. Even if the study itself represented scientific weaknesses, the Cable Audience Methodological Study (CAMS) stated its point rather clear: Diaries systematically disfavour cable viewing (according to the study an underestimation of 36 percent). The effect of the study together with aired open critic was hurt confidence in the present ratings as a currency for trading on the advertising market. A wave of demands of methodological development and increased precision was raised from the networks, the cable television industry, TV stations, agencies and advertisers (Jenson Adams, 1994).

The answer from the audience measurement business was to increasingly release measurement from man. The growth of cable television was early in the U.S., but other television markets experienced comparative change. A new system of audience measurement was first implemented in Great Britain and Italy in the middle of the 1980s. Audits of Great Britain (AGB) had invented a black box similar to Nielsen's Audimeter. The new box was complemented by an additional remote control whereby individual household members were to register their presence in front of the screen. This People Meter monitored passively what was tuned in and provided in parallel information on the composition of the audience. The previously two panels (of Audimeter and diary) were turned into one and the same delivering both size and composition of the audience at once.[20] An additional advantage of this system was that both audience size and

[20] The methodological difference between Audimeters and People Meters could, in short, by described as Audimeters representing higher reliability and lower validity than People Meter.

composition could be estimated the day after viewing and communicated faster (Webster et al., 2000).

Since the introduction of People Meter, this methodology of audience measurement had for television reached hegemonic dominance world wide. It has become the *ideal rating service* of all television markets of sufficient size to allow the costs to establish and sustain the system (ibid, 2000). People Meter is the official standard in most national television markets and has over time exchanged diaries in more and more of the local U.S. advertising markets of larger cities (IP, 2008; Webster et al., 2000). That People Meter has become the ideal rating service does not mean that it is a waterproof television audience estimation methodology. People Meter, as all earlier, later or future audience measurement methodologies represent both advantages and drawbacks in relation to alternative methodologies. The final part of this section on People Meter as idea and methodology will dig deeper into its specific methodological qualities. Before going into that, some conclusive remarks on what the historic US example of audience measurement development can tell about the ideal rating practice.

The Pragmatic Grounds of Ideal Rating Practices

The U.S. case is illustrative because broadcasting starts out commercial from the beginning, most audience measurement methods (as well as audience research) have their roots in the U.S., and the dynamics inherent to the exchange of one methodology into another are comparatively clear and well documented. The telephone recall interview, the coincidental interview, the diary and the People Meter represent four different methods that have been used during different periods in different national television systems.

In the case of Sweden, telephone recall interviews were in use from the beginning of the 1960s and got exchanged into People Meter in 1993. The date is comparatively late in connection to other West European countries. The reason that the exchange of method took so long in Sweden was a combination of that the previous service worked well enough and that deregulation was late. The complexity of the Swedish television system was comparatively low making methods relying on recall efficient enough[21]. Important to realize, and maybe also to remember, is that rating Figures to Public Service broadcasters constituted but one of many indi-

cators of reach and popularity of different types of programs and eventually also to some degree a measurement of a genre of quality (Cronholm et al., 1993). The Swedish television system was deregulated comparatively late, from 1987 with the introduction of Swedish commercially financed television by satellite to 1992 with the introduction of TV4 in the terrestrial network.

Two guiding principles of audience measurement methodology are *degree of commercialization* and *degree of complexity*. The presence of a television market constitutes something of a prerequisite for adoption of Audimeter/diary or People Meter systems. Within television markets, the higher the degree of complexity the more important are methods that relief measurement technology from man's delimited abilities to recall. The U.S. example illustrates the centrality of change in power balance between the advertisers, agencies and broadcasters that have to agree on a currency of the advertising market. Change is likely to come when an influential actor systematically disfavoured by the present system of audience measurement rise in power with consequential great economic interests involved in adaptation of the system in line with the shift in power.

To regard ratings as a currency is far from controversial but simply the way the audience measurement industry present their service. In order to constitute a currency, the ratings have to be stable enough and a good enough mirroring of the audience behaviour central to the actors buying the audience measurement service. The success of a measurement boils down to a matter of trust and ability to remain legitimate. Audience measurement technology and methodology is developing on a market where scientific accuracy is but one of several aspects deciding which methodology gets priority. The most central aspect is that the measurement can serve as a currency and the overall costs of the system stays within the borders of what the television advertising market can afford.

In order to understand the weakness and strength of People Meter, most information can be arrived at by focusing moments in time when the currency did tremble and did not fulfil the purpose of being an ideal rating service. One such moment was the fourth quarter of year 1990 when US rating Figures suddenly dropped broadly. A drop in actual viewing, said Nielsen, due to failing services, said the networks. To summon facts concerning the effects of People Meter methodology, a broad study was launched. This CONTAM report[22], together with a number of contempo-

[22] The Committee on Nationwide Television Audience Measurement was formed by the three networks ABC, NBC and CBS. It initiated and financed the broad study of the consequences of the implementation of People Meter measurement system.

rary scientific accounts, represents the most thorough research on People Meter methodology available so far.

People Meter as Methodology and Technology

Four central methodological aspects of People Meter are to be focused on in the following sector. The first is the *levels* of viewing produced by PM in relation to earlier exchanged measurement methods. The second aspect is regarding the *panel* and its size, composition and rotation. The third regards different *sources of error* of the system and how they affect level and reliability as well as how they are countered. The fourth and last aspect is the array of *editing rules and definitions* of viewing that can jeopardize direct comparison between different People Meter systems.

Levels of Viewing

The main change in levels of viewing following the introduction of People Meter in the US was that the ratings of the networks fell as the ratings of cable viewing were raised. This was an expected change of the discarding of diaries. A more unexpected effect was that the number of households using television (HUT) diminished. Although the black box measured television viewing passively in the same way as before, that the viewers had to register their viewing, had effects on viewing behaviour. The CONTAM report does not deliver a direct answer to the cause underlying this decline at the start or in 1990. The report falls back onto a number of cooperating factors that could explain some, but not the whole decline of viewing (Milavsky, 1992). In 1990, the levels fell radically, later regaining ground, but finishing on a comparatively lower level (Jenson Adams, 1994).

Diminished viewing was experienced also in other television markets that went from diaries or from in house interviews to People Meter. Sweden, exchanging telephone recall interviews, experienced an increased level of viewing. At the shift in 1993, the two measurement systems were at the shift measuring the audience simultaneously. People Meter reported fewer viewers producing more volume of viewing. Viewing was more evenly spread over hours, downplaying Prime Time and boasting morning and late night viewing, and increasingly distributed over different channels making narrower programming increase their audience (Nordström, 1995).

One time slot of the week loosening viewing was Saturday mornings. This time slot is mostly constituted of child viewing and it illustrates one of the drawbacks of the activity demanded by the People Meter system. People Meter had not made measurement free from man and dependent still on the active participation of panel members through their registration of individual presence in front of the screen. The group of children posed a problem since their ability to register was lower together with their motivation. Most People Meter system have a lower threshold of age of three years for participation in the panel. Identified in the People Meter system has been a form of daddy effect whereby the daddy, most commonly in charge of the remote control, register child viewing. A comparative effect in the dairy system was a present-in-home-effect of mothers taking the main responsibility of filling the diaries of other family members (Milavsky, 1992). Individual *motivation* is an important aspect affecting the accuracy of People Meter data and will be treated further below (see Sources of error).

Panel Size, Composition and Representability

With People Meter, the data on audience size and composition was estimated from the same panel of viewers. One fundamental assumption of the whole measurement system is that this panel shall be *representative* of the television audience that is measured (be it a national, regional or local universe). The choice procedure of the panel, its *size* and *composition* is consequently crucial to how well People Meter work.

When larger the panel, viewing can be analysed for more specific audience segments and estimations of viewing on smaller size channels become more accurate. The larger the size of the panel the better the statistical accuracy of the analysis and estimations made. There is however one aspect central to the People Meter system that could undermine statistical truths. This aspect is the data in itself and the representability of the panel. If the panel is not in first place representative of the estimated universe, increased size can provide no remedy.

In the official historical account of the rise of People Meter provided by Nielsen falling response rates of diaries and surveys is lifted as an argument for People Meter (Nielsen, 2006). It is however hard to see how People Meter in any way could constitute a solution to the problem of decreased response rates. The People Meter panels are established from large surveys defining the composition of the television audience universe. These surveys have a natural response rate varying between national con-

texts, but on about the same level as other surveys. In the U.S., in the end of the 1980s approximately half of these households were willing to participate in the panel and actual installation of Meters where executed in around one third of the households. This rate of response is low enough to question the actual representativeness of the People Meter panel.

That the People Meter panels are systematically biased and consequently not representative of the television audience is a concern raised both from industry and research. The CONTAM reports conclude that the panel is most likely biased when established and that it gets increasingly biased over time depending on development and rotation (Milavsky, 1992; see below Sources of Error). An over representation of pay-tv households and technique friendly young viewers is a selection bias present in many panels (Jenson Adams, 1994).

Sources of Error – Rotation Rate, Attrition and Fatigue

To sustain large panels demand, economic resources and what is gained in precision due to size can be lost in quality of data due to low *rotation rate*. Studies of rotation rate of the panel have shown that the quality of the delivered data is lower the longer a household stay in the panel. Households that remain in the panel for to long tend to be subject to "*fatigue*" making them less motivated to comply to register their individual viewing (Cook, 1995 and 1996; Milavsky, 1992; Sharot 1991). Motivation declining with time in panel emphasises the importance to sustain a predefined schedule of rotation in order to obtain high quality of data. Following this, Nielsen recommends a length of participation in the panel to two years.

To rotate the panel at this pace is however costly. Besides the rotation there is always a part of the panel that is replaced continuously due to *attrition* and too low data quality. A longer participation in the panel could be obtained through establishment of systematic control mechanisms of data quality and by additional methods of participation rate (Sharot, 1991). One such complementary method is coincidental interview (the earlier encountered Hooper ratings) checking the actual viewing of the households in parallel to the viewing registered by People Meter measuring the level of *compliance*. A New Zeelandic study of compliance using coincidental interviews found out that 91.5 percent of the viewers of the panel were registered correctly, and a corresponding study in the UK found a level of 90 percent. Among the 8.5 percent incorrectly registered New Zeelandic viewers half was registered without viewing and half where unregistered viewers. The conclusion drawn is that inaccurate registration

level out and do not pose a problem (Danaher et al., 1993). This argument is valid as long as there is no systematic difference between viewers registered to often vis-à-vis viewers registered to seldom.

Editing Rules and Definitions

When comparing People Meter data of one system in relation to another it is important to acknowledge that there are a number of other factors that will affect the levels of viewing and the accuracy of the data in differing People Meter systems. A first factor that could distinguish systems from each other is the *definition of television viewing*. Is it necessary to be present in front of the screen, be in the same room or listen to television in order to be counted an viewer. Another aspect that can differ is what types of viewing that is included as television viewing (e.g. is time shifted viewing included or not). Other factors distinguishing one system from another are the number of editing rules inherent to the system, guiding how long time of a sequence of viewing that is counted if viewer presence can not be certified (e.g. Late evening time when viewers are more likely to fall asleep in front of the television). Built into the systems are also differing systems of *prompting* mechanisms making the viewers recall registering with certain regularity.

One last important aspect is the *added burden* demanded by different systems. Some people meter systems demand more activity than just registration of individual viewing. Programs can, for example, be rated by viewers in some systems which demands additional activity of the panel risking boasting fatigue. All these aspect do together affect the final outcome of the measurement system and how the actual size and composition looks like in different People Meter systems.

Can We Trust People Meter Data?

Summing up the conclusions drawn from history of audience measurement and from the assessment of People Meter as a methodology the question of trust in People Meter data can be answered. The question is however not a unidimensional question of trust but trust has to be related to the specific purpose of the data. As history have illustrated audience measurement methods have exchanged each other when a former method could no longer fulfil the contemporary role of an ideal rating service for the principal actors on the television advertising market. Since the 1980s

and 1990s People Meter is the dominating audience measurement practice trusted globally to provide estimates accurate enough to constitute a currency for trade in advertising space. The present development of television moving onto new platforms merging time-shifting into the core of television viewing is currently affecting this trust (a situation that will be treated soon), but the point here is that People Meter have been trusted by the advertising market from the purpose of delivering a good enough currency.

Methodologically People Meter is a rather advanced system of monitoring of audience behaviour. The passive registration of viewing is reliable while the active participation of the individual viewer depends on motivation, compliance and fatigue as well as the added burden of different systems. Accuracy in sustained and fatigue countered by different systems of prompting, rotation of the panel and continuous checking that household data correspond to the quality level wanted. If the size lastly is big enough fruitful and accurate analysis of audience behaviour and changes in audience behaviour can be undertaken. Of course, accuracy of data and level of error varies from system to system in line with the system design, but the People Meter system as a whole constitutes a most interesting research design of great potential for audience analysis of the panel. The problematic dimension of the panel is however what the representability of the panel.

The assumption that the panel represent the television audience is the Achilles' heel of People Meter. A cooperation rate of one third of the households already diminished by around 50-60 percent by the establishment survey is far from a scientifically agreeable outcome. On top of this these 1988 Figures do not get better over time. No survey or diary system would survive with a response rate of 15-20 percent and the identified systematic bias versus young and technique-friendly viewers within the sample further deepens the problem. That People Meter panels represent this weakness was acknowledged by research already in 1990, as have been illustrated above. Following this weakness is the notion that even if People Meter data can be trusted as currency and as a reliable measurement procedure it is hard to trust as an accurate representation of the television audience.

The Future of People Meter

If the present situation of audience measurement is seen from a historical perspective broadcasting of the 21st century have taken a decisive turn

with digitalisation. The earlier intangible audience have by means of digital set-top boxes turned into traceable consumers of flows and singular products. Digitalisation has provided television as well as all other digital media of communication with readily accessible return-paths that are now set into use in audience analysis. The set top boxes could be seen as corresponding to the set meters in the earlier Audimeter system from the 1950s to the 1980s. They retain information on household viewing on each television set. The substantial difference is although that this data is now not delimited to small panels but encompass whole audiences.

Alternative audience measurement solutions based on return path data (RPD) from set-top-boxes (STB) are already on the market coexisting with the currencies that People Meter deliver. New growing players on the television market are operators of IP-TV and operators of digital transmissions in the terrestrial network (like Boxer in Sweden). These actors are as distributing agencies in possession of parts of these new return path data of commercial interest to the actors on the television advertising market. The emergence of RPD and aligned new audience measurement services, together with the broad trends of media convergence transforming television make any prediction of future audience measurement markets hazardous.

In contemporary forecasts of the future, People Meter is by RPD proponents brought about as an example of a method that sufficed as long as no other data was available: "The rating system sufficed as a measure of the television audience when the only data available was the metrics of size an reach[…] How we define audience measurement should evolve according to reflect the metrics now available to us." (TNS, 2009). The new metrics the President of TNS Media Research George Shababb is referring to is return path data. The aim of the new analysis is to "provide much greater insights and understanding into behaviour." And at the horizon lies the *habitual* viewing behaviours of the television audience second-by-second.

The methodological development undertaken in the next chapter is aimed to open up for the type of analyses the promoters of RPD sees at the horizon. However, People Meter data on a level of minute-by-minute is here the ground material. People Meter data still owns a specific advantage in comparison to RPD. The panel is smaller, and it might be biased[23], but it is still a panel of identifiable *individual* viewers whose behaviours can

[23] Bias is a problem available to all panels and consequently a problem that cannot be easily sidestepped by RPD technology, even if these systems could allow control of viewing against the background of a total universe.

be tracked over time and, as a consequence also, be accumulated into habitual viewing behaviours. In order to develop the full potential of People Meter data it has although to be though differently and refined.

4

METHODOLOGY

> "[I]f you want to understand what science is, you should look in the first instance not at its theories or its findings, and certainly not at what its apologists say about it; you should look at what the practitioners of it do." (Geertz, 1973).

In this chapter, the specific account of human action provided by People Meter data will be first delineated and then refined. Initial questions to be answered are: what people meter data is, what it looks like and what information it contains on the television viewer and her television viewing. With departure from this data characteristic a methodological process of *thickening* is performed in order to envelop the inherent *social* and *longitudinal* dimension of People Meter data. These dimensions are two inherent properties of the data structure that are usually neglected or underused, and as refined they provide a powerful methodological key to the mapping out and analysis of patterns of individualization in television viewing. Lastly, the three areas of empirical investigation – *habitual*, *social* and *referential* – opened up by thickened People Meter data are outlined. Research questions are formulated for each and the different measures constructed to answer them are specified.

People Meter Data

The audience measurement system of People Meter is set up technically in more or less the same way regardless of the professional measurement agency organizing it. It is a technical standard that has to provide information on three different levels (see Appendix – People Meter data for specification):

Viewing	*(LEVEL 1 data)*,
Viewer and panel	*(LEVEL 2 data)*
Content	*(LEVEL 3 data)*

People Meters (the technical devises) installed and connected to the television sets in the households of the panel members monitor the *viewing be-*

haviours and track a) *when* the television set is tuned on, b) *what* television channel is tuned in, and c) *who* is registered as a viewer. While the information about *when* the television is on and to *what* channel it is tuned is passively registered information, the information about *who* is watching demands active cooperation of viewers (through button-pushing). Subject to human factor error is the information regarding who is watching while the other information is retained automatically.

Four central characteristics should be stressed, concerning the People Meter data. These are all characteristics that make the data unique in some respect. Taken together, I will argue, they point to ways in which this type of behavioural data can furnish a new found land for fruitful audience analysis that simultaneously constitutes a detailed social and cultural analysis.

- Firstly, the outlining of viewing behaviour is an assessment of actual patterns of behaviour, excluding the self-assessment present in methods like surveys or diaries.

- Secondly, the viewing and content data possess a specific temporal character as outliners of how viewing behaviours and content vary in time (minute-to-minute). This means that television viewing is monitored with great resolution, but more important: the data owns a longitudinal (over time) dimension.

- Thirdly, television viewing is monitored in the social micro unit of the household and produces momentary updated images on how television viewing is acted out within the specific *social space* of the home. These images are, as social snapshots, simple but the copious amounts make them outrageous.

- Fourthly, the People Meter data system generates an enormous amount of data. The information on viewing alone generated in 2008 around 25 000 to 35 000 rows *per day* for the Swedish panel of around 3 000 individuals in 1 300 households. This means more than 10 million rows *a year* or close to 100 millions for a period of 10 years from 1999 to 2008, which is the period taken into consideration empirically later on. On top of viewing information are daily logs of content and spots and information on the viewer. This abundance of data was hard to cope with at the introduction of People Meter in the 1980s. At that time, handling, processing and refining data demanded enormous

> efforts equipped with computers of delimited force. Although we are 20 years beyond that point in time, and a normal academic is in possession of a computer far more advanced than the ancient 'super' computers, the abundance of People Meter data is a characteristic that has to be faced and solved practically.

These four characteristics will be outlined in the following section, which establishes how the People Meter data can be subjected to a process of *thickening*. What is about to follow is a reassessment of the qualities of People Meter data: first, as a discussion of the advantages and drawbacks of People Meter data as behavioural data; next, as a delineation of a process of thickening along the longitudinal and the social dimensions inherent to People Meter data. Last, the lines of demarcations drawn, and the overarching methodological solutions taken, to cope with the abundance of data are mapped out.

Thickening Behavioural Data

A suggested starting point of a reassessment of people meter data and its behavioural qualities can be taken in a 'classical' argument offered by the anthropologist Clifford Geertz. In his essay *'Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture'* (Geertz 1973:3-30) Geertz makes a distinction between 'thin' and 'thick' descriptions to summarize two contemporary opposing methodological ideals. The example he advances to outline the difference between thin and thick is about a man making a wink. On the level of thin description the wink of the eye is but an observable behaviour. The meaning of the act is invisible to the observer (the researcher). The wink could be everything from a greeting to an insult, an involuntary reflex to a way of getting rid of a fly; and the main point aimed at by Geertz is that in the case of anthropology, with research object often culturally foreign to the researcher, it is impossible to get access to meanings of behaviours based on thin description. His conclusion is that anthropology (and the ethnographic method) to a higher extent should get involved in performing close up studies providing 'thick' contextual descriptions aiming for the meaning making processes of individuals.

Geertz's argument is not unique to anthropology. Parallel discourses exist in most fields of social science. Identified already in the field of media research is the divide between the 'culturally oriented' and the more 'positively oriented' audience research, where some proponents of the

culturally oriented side (e.g. Morley and Silverstone, 1990) have called for a 'radical contextualization' in order to apprehend media practices in their full complexity. What's at stake in all these discourses are ideal images about how social science ought to be practiced and what purpose social science should have. Put simply: one side is inspired by the ideals of natural science while the other side claims that natural science ideals are not applicable when it comes to research regarding social beings and societies.

People Meter data is from the perspective of Geertz to be regarded as thin. The monitoring of dichotomous viewing behaviours of the audience minute-by-minute result in numbers as People switch on the television, change channel, and switch off. The information recorded is only telling *who watches what*, *at what time* and *for how long*. As such, the people meter system is close to embodying a behaviouristic research ideal that the development of passive meters (that would register an individual's viewing without the active participation of the viewing) would take all the way.[24] As monitoring technology, People Meter has also been colourfully painted with demonian traits from a Foucaultian ubiquitous surveillance perspective (cf. Ang, 1996).

Thickening the Longitudinal and Social

Size and composition. How big is the audience? Which is its composition (in terms of age, gender, education, lifestyle, income etc.)? These are the two questions the People Meter system of audience assessment is constructed to answer. The technical form and functionality as well as the following aligned day-to-day work of audience analyses are built around these two questions.

There are four principal audience measures used to map out the audience size and composition: rating, share, reach and frequency.[25] *Rating* tells us the size of the audience in numbers or percent while *share* and tells us how large percentage of the available audience (the ones watching) that watches a specific channel. These two measures are related to each other, as the available audience is the overall rating curve. Share is the relation

[24] What would remain at that point would only be to solve how the level of endorphin in the saliva, the hand sweating or other scientific parameter of satisfaction can be monitored and registered in parallel. These are all techniques used in experimental television studies in laboratory settings.

[25] A more detailed description of how the different measures are calculated is described by MMS Golden Rules. Official calculation methodology – Technical approach (http://www.mms.se/kunder/teknik/peoplemeter_regler.asp).

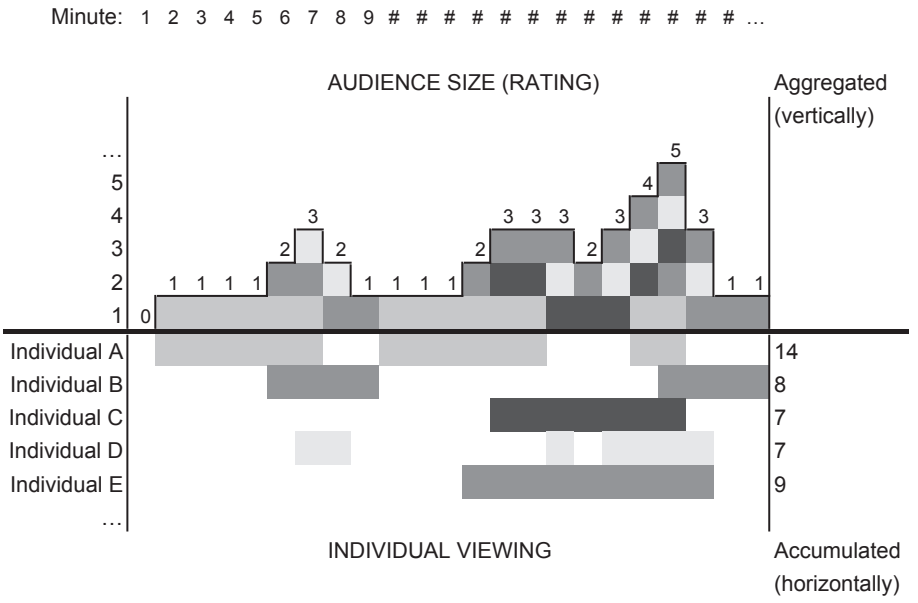
between the rating of a specific channel and the overall rating and is always expressed as a percentage. Ratings are produced for time units (how big is the audience 21:00?), channels, programs or spots (how big is the specific audience of TV4 at that time?). The size of a television channel, its market share, is measured as accumulated ratings. Ratings are consequently illustrations of how viewing time of the audience is distributed, in time and over channels.[26]

The third measure is *reach* and it expresses the number of unique viewers a time unit (how many viewers watch television every day?) or for a channel (how many unique viewers watched the final of Eurovision song contest?). When counting *reach*, a threshold is set in number of consecutive minutes an individual has to tune in, in order to be counted a viewer.[27] The fourth measure is *frequency,* which is *reach* accumulated over time (what was the exposure rate of our campaign?).

The measures mentioned above are quite simple and were already established in the 1930s. This was long before computers facilitated scientific work, and long before People Meter was introduced measuring viewing *behaviour* of *individuals* (instead of households) and *drawing viewing data and viewer data* from the same source. While all of these four measures are designed to be applied on *viewing data* to assess the *size* of viewing (the first level of data provided) the *composition* of the audience (the second level of data provided) is a necessary part of all these analysis. To assess size, composition has to be predefined as the whole audience or delimited through definition of specific target groups. The images delivered of television viewing and the television audience all fall back onto this two-step procedure and to one of these presented measures. Most often the most central one: Rating. To understand the specific longitudinal and social dimension inherent to People Meter, the building of ratings can serve as an example (Figure 4).

[26] Accumulated ratings are aggregated viewing time. When calculating viewing time, accumulated ratings are averaged over the number of viewers.
[27] Reach measured for single minutes coincide with rating.

Figure 4. Modelling the establishment of ratings based on individual viewer data.



The Figure above illustrates how a rating curve gets built up from individual viewer data. The horizontal line splits the Figure in two distinct parts: under the line the viewer data (level 1) and over the line the resulting rating curve. This example is delimited to five individuals during 23 minutes to make it accessible graphically, but it could of course be elaborated to encompass the entire panel. As can be seen above, the rating curve is built up as an aggregation of individual viewing. The squares marked by individual viewing are placed on the horizontal base line and stapled upon each other, building a curve. One minute of individual viewing below the line constitutes one minute of viewing above the line. Fundamental is the difference between minutes above and below the line: minutes below are tied to individual actors and minutes above are not.

Highlighted by the Figure is the fact that People Meter data is longitudinal due to its design. The data monitors viewing of individuals over time and this longitudinal dimension envelops horizontally below the line. The rating curve seems to be an illustration of this longitudinal dimension, but it is in fact not. Ratings are on the contrary grounded in cross-sectional (vertical) cuts minute-by-minute. At each point in time, the audience is reassessed and the longitudinal information about individual action is consequently lost. Returning to the graphic illustration, it is impossible to

tell from a rating curve whether the viewers of minute 7, 15, 16 and 21 are the same. What we can tell from the rating curve is that the audience size is three.

To accumulate viewing information horizontally on the level of the individual constitutes a break with the regular use of people meter data.[28] Viewing information is normally aggregated vertically and tied to points in time or to programs and commercials located within delimited time slots. If the longitudinal information, instead of being discarded, is accumulated on the level of the individual, the individual viewer comes to life not just a part of a general audience but as a singular viewer representing specific viewing behaviours. The longitudinal is consequently the key to *individual patterns of habitual viewing* when mapped out over longer time periods. The horizontal line is a demarcation between two different worlds of description: the world of the audience and the world of the individual viewer. These worlds represent two different modes of assessment: aggregation and accumulation.

Assessment of viewing time can be taken as an illustration of how aggregation and accumulation represent two completely disparate ways of treating data. Viewing time is the time a person invests in television viewing. It is individual and is assessed individually in the world of accumulation. In the Figure, viewing time as accumulation is the horizontal sum of the rows representing individual A to E. The total viewing time of 45 minutes is distributed over individuals as 14, 8, 7, 7, and 9 minutes. The corresponding assessment is performed differently in the world of aggregation. Since viewing is disconnected from individuals, viewing time is summed up as the total number of minutes viewed (45) which is then averaged for the audience (5 individuals). This results in the average viewing time of 9 minutes for all individuals. What is individual behaviour in the world of accumulation (the world of data) is consequently averaged behaviour in the world of aggregation (the world of everyday business audience measurement representation).

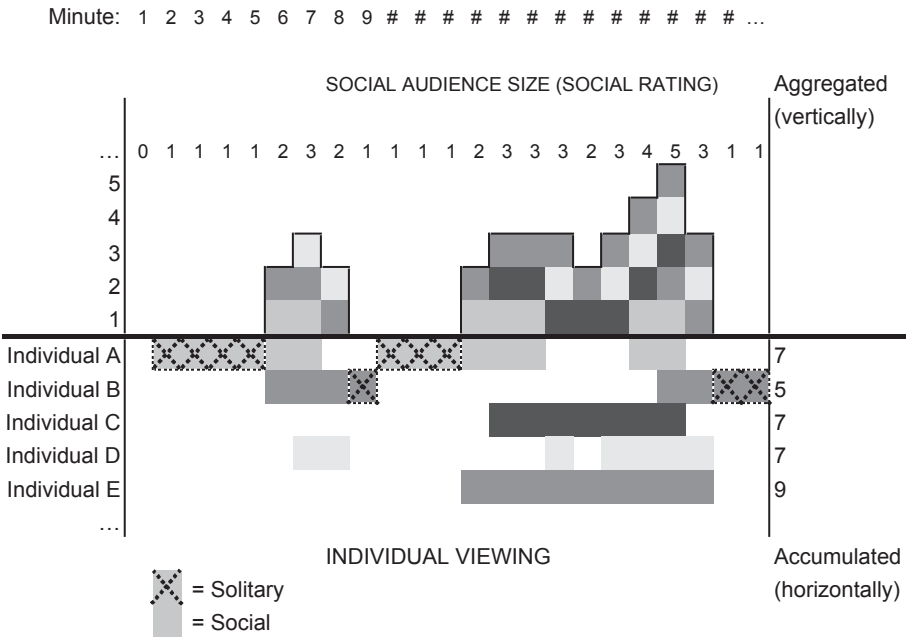
The second dimension carrying potential of thickening is the *social. People Meter data is inherently social due to its research design.* Television viewing is measured within a panel of households, which means that the data depicts the natural everyday social setting where television viewing takes

[28] The majority of measures used and reported in contemporary audience analysis discard longitudinal information. The family of measures using longitudinal information, frequency based 'cumulative measures' (Webster, 2000), are assessing how frequently a viewer turn to television at a specific point in time or over a number of defined time-slots where a commercial campaign or a sequence of a serial is placed. These uses are far from exhausting the potential of the longitudinal.

place. It focuses individuals, but those individuals act side by side in the physical setting of the household making it possible to extract patterns of parallel behaviour from the data. Parts of the audience undertake television viewing socially and television viewing can be thickened when split into two different parts: Solitary viewing and Social viewing. One phenomenon is split in two sub-phenomena as television viewing is given social leverage. Since social situations at home are central to the practice of television viewing (which an enormous body of ethnographic research has shown it to be), the thickening of this dimension have a potential of becoming rewarding.

To shed light on the social dimension, the above Figure can be confronted again provided with the notion that the five individuals live together as a family in a household with one television set.

Figure 5. Establishing social viewing behaviours from individual viewer data through parallel action within households.



The Figure illustrates how television viewing can be split into two different categories: social and solitary viewing. The pattern of individual viewing evolves over time under the horizontal line and starts with individual A turning on the television (minute 2) viewing alone for 4 minutes before

getting company of individual B (minute 6) and D (minute 7). At minute 9, individual A and D have quit viewing and individual B watches alone, and so on. People Meter furnishes by design this type of information on which individuals that share the same household and around which television set the viewing is undertaken.

This social dimension can be treated in two ways in terms of analysis. It can be aggregated vertically or accumulated horizontally. If aggregated, following the same principles as when building a curve of rating, a new rating curve can be construed above the horizontal line: now depicting only the social viewing. Something new has been created from something old.

The alternative treatment to aggregation of the social data is to accumulate it on the level of the individual viewer. When accumulated horizontally as viewing time, solitary and social viewing time emerges on the level of individual viewers. Most social viewing time is spent by individual E and least by individual B meanwhile A, C and D spend an equal amount of time on social viewing. An alternative way of perceiving the 'socialness' of the individuals is to take account of the relation between the social and the total viewing time. Individual C, D and E represent from this perspective 100 percent social viewing while A and B represent a 'socialness' in television viewing of 50 respective 63 percent (7/14 and 5/8). Corresponding relational assessments would on the level of rating curves result in the measurement of social and solitary share (as the relation of the social and solitary to the total viewing).

The Outcome of Thickening

The dive into the longitudinal and social dimension of People Meter data have illustrated that there is more meaning to the data then is commonly acknowledged and exploited. As those dimensions get enveloped and accessible to analysis People Meter data is empowered with induced meaning in regard to television viewing as an act. To conclude the process of thickening, the way the two indicated dimensions could be used for analytical purposes will here be specified further.

Within reach below, the horizontal line is a world of accumulation where individual actors and acts of television viewing to a higher extent are assessed as *situated* in a *temporal flow* and a *social space* variable in time. The television viewer 'set to life' in the world of accumulation is more alike the television viewer we know from first person experience and the act of viewing hence more complex and bound up with continuously

changing situations. Within reach is another set of variables deriving from the realm of individual viewing behaviour (level 1 data) representing a more "fluid" character. This set of variables represent another degree of variability than the variables of the viewer data (level 2 data) and the difference can be described as a distinction between static and in flow variables.

Table 2. The temporal character of household, individual and content variables.

	Household level	**Individual level**	**Content level**	**People Meter data**
STATIC	Social setting Technique availability	Demographics Psychographics Lifestyles	Availability of channels	Level 2 data (self-assessed behaviours)
IN FLOW	Social situations	Time-space paths	Content flow	Level 1 and 3 data (real behaviours)

Static are the variables familiar from survey methodology. They are static in the meaning that they are collected at one point in time at which the respondent is obliged to provide 'still' answers to 'fluid' (f)acts. This is most complicated when it comes to self-assessment of behaviour. Patterns of real world behaviours that vary in time and by situation have to be estimated as invariable habits forged onto a predefined scale. To improve a survey is to adapt predefined scales and formulated questions in order to adequately catch the behaviour at hand. However, comparative improvement is delimited by the fact that self-assessed habits – as to some extent deprived of situational circumstances and in this meaning, static – are different from real world behaviours. Scales and questions adapted to the complexity of real world behaviours would be contra productive to apply in surveys for practical reasons (e.g. the space needed and the time demanded) and because the precision of self-assessment is delimited by cognitive resources such as memory. Another error built into self-assessment is evaluative dimensions. 'What we do' is not the same as 'what we think we do' and 'what we would like to think that we are doing', which are levels of self-apprehension merged into the cognitive process of self-assessment (Rosengren, 1994).

In flow is the level of real world behaviour. Television viewing as any other behaviour 'take place' in distinct situations bound to a delimited space and a moment in time. The living room is in this way not different

from the river of Heraclitus – it is subject to constant variation.29 The variables that are in flow are subject to constant variation within time. The social situation of the household is changing depending on the time-space paths of individuals guiding when they are co present in the household as well as together in front of the television. When viewing television, the momentary content flow delimits the options available to the viewer of a specific household at a specific point in time. Static variables are a more rough description of the demarcation lines within which individual and social behaviour gets enacted. The social setting, demographics and the availability of channels are such demarcation lines for television viewing. While real world viewing behaviours are built from 'in flow' individual time-space paths forming social situations that are confronted with content flows, these real world behaviours are also due to 'static' demarcation lines.

Static social variables of a household are the size of the social group – the number of resident household members, the number of kids – and its composition in terms of individual characteristics such as age, gender, working status together with other variables describing the household as a space for social interaction (it could be form of dwelling, and household size etc.). Taken together, this set of variables outline a spatial platform and as researcher we can have expectations on how different social platforms would conform with certain levels of social interaction (an assumed level of social entropy). Patterns of social television viewing could, based on this type of reasoning, be researched as an aggregated behaviour (provided social rating is measured) that vary in size between different spatial platforms. Different aspects of the composition of social platforms (different variables) would then possess different levels of explanatory power to the phenomenon of social viewing behaviour. This is the indirect way of researching social behaviour open when using static variables. It is indirect since assumptions are made on how social situations around the television are built up from time-space paths of individuals (the 'in flow' level of variables).

An even more concrete example that points to the light at the end of the tunnel is the assessment of viewing time made in the People Meter data. As described above, television viewing time is calculated from aggre-

[29] The ancient Greek philosopher Heraclitus (535-475 BC) was one of the first giving emphases to the flow of time and change as an inherent character of the world. He termed this "panta rhei", that "everything is in a state of flux". Arguably, his most famous saying is cited by Plato: "You could not step twice into the same river; for other waters are ever flowing on to you." (Plato in Cratylus 402a (DK22A6).

gated viewing when approximated in audience analysis and an alternative individual assessment is opened up by longitudinal accumulation. However, none of these two alternatives are today available. At hand, you have instead a variable deriving from self-assessment of whether the viewer regards herself to represent a low, medium or high amount of television consumption. This question could be improved in terms of question and scale but would still be a self-assessed behaviour (level 2 data).

The suggested thickening of People Meter will enhance the precision in assessment viewing time by drawing evidence from first hand information on real world behaviour (level 1 data) and make it readily accessible to audience analysis. This procedure – to accumulate viewing time longitudinally – can be undertaken for all meaningful viewing behaviours that can be extracted from viewing data. Since this data is tied to content logs, content consumption can be accumulated accordingly. Last but not least, the social structure of the data allows accumulation to be made simultaneously on the level of both individual and household making relational corporations within households an option. The longitudinal and the social represent a path to a fuller picture of television viewing as and act and the television viewer as an actor. Taken together, they form the key to patterns of individualization in television viewing that is the empirical question at hand here.

Coping With Plenty – Transforming People Meter Data

The following section delineates how the data material of People Meter data was first identified, then treated, transformed, and delimited in order to make it *adapted* to outline the contours of individualization in television viewing. To get a grip with individualization as a long-term process of social change has been guiding the development and treatment of data.

At the outset of this research project, it became obvious that an empirical mapping out of individualization in television viewing could not be carried out for the whole after World War II period. Important was, instead, to find an empirical material that could serve a delineation of the period when the *objective life situation* of the viewer turns increasingly individualized at television viewing. This period starts as was describe in chapter 2, in the Swedish case at the end of the 1980s, with the introduction of satellite and cable, gets strengthened 1992 by the introduction of a third channel (TV4) in the terrestrial network and by the digitalisation of

the terrestrial network starting at the end of the millennium and completed at the analogue close down at the end of 2007. This period (1987-2008) encompass an exponential increase in the number of everyday choices available to the television viewer. The impetus to individualization built into the objective life situation of the viewer is growing increasingly stronger over time encompassing larger and larger segments of the Swedish television audience.

As described in the introduction of this thesis, People Meter data was early identified as a highly potential material to track patterns of individualization. The two aspects identified was the inherently social and longitudinal character of the data corresponding to the over time social change of individualization. The author of this book had previously depicted individualization from survey data (Bjur, 2005) and he realized the advantages of People Meter as depicting behaviours, minute-by-minute is the social setting of the household, where the major part of television viewing 'take place'. To cope with People Meter data has been a road fringed by practical problems that had to be solved. This is a short description of that road.

The Time Period Researched – 1999 to 2008

The initial problem encountered was that the available instrument for audience analysis (a set of software applications gathered under the name HotCollection provided by MMS) did not give access to the social and longitudinal dimension of People Meter data central to enquiry into patterns of individualization. The software applications were all focused on size and composition of the audience and were relying on rating, share and reach to assess it. They were in this way providing a way into *the world of aggregation* but not to the longitudinal *world of accumulation*, to use the categorization forwarded above. The social dimension of the data was totally neglected. This was a shortage in data use that called for methodological development.

The solution available was to refrain from the use of the software and to process raw data. The visible advantage of this procedure was that the data could be designed and adapted exactly in line with the research questions. However, the drawback was the large effort demanded by a comparative adaptation process of data. Fully operative raw data was only available from August 1998, and this point in time was established an

empirical starting point of the enquiry into individualization.[30] The end of the research period was set to 2008 and at hand was a total period of a decennium. This period encompasses an accelerating growth of individualization of the objective life situation of the television viewers. Since the starting point of this growth is located to the end of the 1980s, year 1998 constitutes an entry somewhere in this growth under go, and year 2008 is an ending point located after digitalisation – when multi channel availability refrained from the realm of choice, turning into compulsion. This is consequently a highly interesting period to study in terms of individualization of television viewing.

Four Waves – 1999, 2002, 2005 and 2008

Abundance of data demands delimitations of data. The raw data is split into three different levels (outlined at the onset of this chapter) and each day, one set of data is produced for each level. Any PC of average capacity using SPSS as a statistical package will let you know, soon enough, that the processing of tens of millions of viewing data rows is out of question. Data has to be delimited and my choice was to demarcate it in two ways. The first was to utilize *viewing* and *viewer* data, but to disregard *content log* data; the second to apply *selection* mechanisms to make manageable sets of the remaining data. Below, these two demarcation principles are described and their potential advantages and drawbacks are identified.

To disregard *content logs* does not mean that all information about content is discarded – the baby is not thrown out with the bath water. What it means is that content can only be appreciated from the delimited information available in viewing data – which is television channel and time – and is not further specified. Lost is the manifest information on content variation of the number of bigger channels that provide content logs. However, content is still latently available through the knowledge of what is usually presented at a specific channel a delimited time-slot. At empirical dead ends, where the use of information from content logs would substantially contribute to further drawing of empirical evidence, this related potential shall be addressed and mapped out as possibility.

The selection of data was performed as an establishment of four '*waves*'. These waves are central to all analysis undertaken empirically and the rules guiding their creation should therefore be scrutinized. The waves

[30] MMS data is available from 28 June 1993 in a pre-processed form. This date is the official starting day of use of People Meter exchanging the earlier PUB data gathered by survey.

represent four time points, arranged at equal distance from each other on an interval of three years: 1999, 2002, 2005 and 2008. Each wave encompasses the eight months of September to April, and is centred to the turn of the year drawing data from two consecutive years (e.g. the 1999 wave is created from September to December 1998 and January to April 1999 data). Waves are based in these particular months to enhance the reliability of the data. Firstly, television viewing is largest during this period of the year and a larger amount of viewing enhances reliability through provision of more information on viewing behaviour. Secondly, the People Meter system has best methodological precision during these months since People Meter assessment of viewing is restricted to the homes of panel members. It does not encompass summer cottages and vacation dwellings, resulting in a loss of precision during periods of vacation, especially during summer months.

Within each wave, 56 days are selected according to a regular pattern of dates. Guiding the size of the sample has been to make the files manageable for computer processing. The chosen size of a total eight weeks composed by 32 weekdays (Monday to Thursday) and 24 weekend days (Friday to Sunday) is manageable and in the same time sufficiently large enough to allow reliable analysis (for methodological specification see Appendix – Waves).

The Waves as Accumulations

The way the waves are constructed as accumulation of days make them different from the panel in one respect: the amount of individuals of the wave is larger than that of the panel. This is a consequence of turnover manoeuvres under hand in the panel. Households leave and are added to the panel continuously and the wave will as constructed as an accumulation contain household leaving, remaining and being added to the panel. The turnover of the Swedish panel is solved by 'natural' dismissal. This is not, as has been describe earlier, an ideal methodological solution but probably good from an economic perspective.[31] The factual relation between the panel and the waves is as follows:

[31] Recommendations based on earlier research have been estimating 2 years as an ideal time in the panel in order to prohibit inaccuracies in reporting due to fatigue (see Chapter 3 – People Meter as idea and methodology: Sources of error – rotation rate, attrition and fatigue).

Table 3. Panel and wave size 1999, 2002, 2005 and 2008 (number of households and individuals).

	# panel households	# panel individuals	# individuals in wave
1999	1000	2200	2439
2002	1000	2200	2433
2005	1000	2200	2400
2008	1300	2800	3137

Note: From the Figures an estimated turn-over rate of the panel can be estimated to around 13-18 percent a year. Calculated: ((# ind in wave - # ind in panel) / # ind in panel) / 0.66 (for 2/3 if a year).

To be handled when working with the accumulated information of the waves is that the some households and their members do not provide full information. Households are either in the panel the whole period of eight months – representing full information – or entering or leaving the panel during this period – representing limited information. There are two possible ways to handle this problem of asymmetry of the data. One way is to *identify the households of limited information and remove them from the data.* This type of identification process is possible for most of the households, but in some cases additional information from panel administrators is needed to certify that lack of viewing is due to the process of turnover. Because this type of additional information on the panel has not been available, another solution has been chosen.

The solution is to *adapt analysis of the wave data to the fact of data asymmetry*. At the creation of accumulated measurements, individual variations due to asymmetry in data are subsequently built in and handled. This has been done applying two principles. The first is the *use of individual baselines* grounded in each individual's availability to television. The second is the identification of situations where scarcity in data could jeopardize analysis and the advancing of accurate conclusions. *Thresholds* have in these cases been applied to limit data when this problem arises as of great significance. Below, at the specification of measures for the empirical fields of habitualness, social viewing and referential space, the two principles are put into practice.

There is one additional reason why *adaptation* is the most fruitful methodological way. This is due to another source of error of the data. Occasionally household data is excluded from the panel due to malfunction of the People Meter device, technical problems of transmission of the data, or as a consequence of longer periods of absence from home (e.g. holidays that has to be reported). Missing data should not be exaggerated a problem but are spread over a comparatively larger part of the panel households. Even if additional information would be available to counter

this asymmetry, to merge these *in-tab rates* of individual households into the data would demand a large effort of ambiguous reward. To put it clear: The methodological way chosen is to acknowledge that there are limitations to the data, be ware of their consequences, and guide analytical work accordingly. It is a pragmatic way opening up great possibilities to draw both valid and reliable conclusions. A general standing is that every panel member, as a part of the construction of the Swedish television audience, shall also be a part of the waves.

Weighting Procedure of the Waves

Statistical weighting is central to the People Meter system as representability in relation to the television audience is obtained accordingly. There are two realms of weighting encountered in the empirical analysis. The first is the one undertaken in the *world of aggregation* and the second in the *world of accumulation*. *Weighting of aggregated data* is undertaken in line with established practice for calculating ratings. Individual weights are summed up for the panel of viewers at a specific minute or summed up and averaged when calculated for longer time periods and are then contrasted to the universal Figure of numbers of viewers available to television.[32] This established practice is used when calculating social rating and social share (see Chapter 5 – Socialness as Social and Solitary Viewing).

Weighting of accumulated data is performed differently and in order to describe it, the form of the data is outlined (Table 4). Individual weights are located to the viewer data (level 2 data). Individual weights vary from day to day (W8) and sum up to a universal Figuree (W8SUM) every single day. These are the weights used when calculating rating. When forming waves, viewer data encompassing the individual and universal weights is merged with viewing data on the level of the *day*. The resulting structure of the basic wave files is specified below:

[32] The universal Figure is often noted as the abbreviation PUT signifying Persons Using Television (see Beville Jr., 1987). Calculations of rating, share and reach and other complimentary measures are well established in daily audience measurement practices. Calculations of these traditional measures undertaken empirically in this thesis follow the rules of these established practices as outlined in MMS – Golden rules 2008.

Table 4. Specification of the variables of the first order wave files.

VARIABLE NAME	VARIABLE SPECIFICATION	ORIGIN
V1	Date of viewing	Linkage (both data sets)
HH	Household number	Linkage (both data sets)
ID	Individual number	Linkage (both data sets)
V8*	Viewing time (summed for the day)	Viewing data
N_SEK*	Number of sequences (# rows aggregated)	Viewing data
W4 to W45	Viewer data (W8 is individual weight)	Viewer data
C1 to C1440*	Channel/source	Viewing data
U1 to U1440*	Number of viewers (social dimension)	Viewing data
T1 to T1440*	TV-set number within household	Viewing data
W8SUM**	Universal weight	Viewer data

Note: * New transformed variables. ** The sum of the individual weights of the viewer data.

As this type of mother file is transformed to the multiple other files that have been used to perform the empirical research below, weights are always kept untouched remaining on the level of the day. In analyses, when data has been averaged (e.g. an average day) the individual and the universal weights have been average accordingly. The same procedure is used when the panel is studied as individuals representing a certain viewing behaviour. The principle used is that every panel member gets a weight that is in proportion to his or her averaged effect on the television viewing of the panel during the studied time span. Days when panel members are not in-tab are not generating weight.

Statistical Methods and Estimation of Significance

The statistical analyses used in the empirical treatment of data are in this thesis *descriptive*. The descriptive analyses are following a systematic pattern with the aim of providing a ground for discussions on *inferential* mechanisms. Discussions on causality are consequently based on systematic descriptions of the outlook at four different points in time 1999 to 2008. Since the independent variables used are most often of ordinal scale ANOVA and ANOVA-MCA are used instead of Classic Linear Regression (CLR).[33] The chosen statistical methods rely on comparisons of means of different groups (principles of ANOVA and ANOVA-MCA are further outlined in APPENDIX – Methodology).

[33] CLR is most efficient using independent variables of nominal of continuous scale.

Weighted data poses, in some cases, problems of estimating significance. This problem is due to statistical procedures assessing the statistical significance from the size of the weighted data (the television audience of several million viewers) instead of the size of the sample (the panel or waves of 2200 – 3200 viewers). Significance based on weighted data is both misguiding and unfruitful since close to every relationship turns out significant due to boasted error terms. The solution adapted through all statistical procedures performed below is that *levels of significance are estimated from un-weighted data* (the number of persons in the panel included in the actual group) while *levels of means, Eta and Beta are estimated from weighted data*. This way of procedure makes the conclusions drawn in the empirical investigations that follow firmly based on what the panel, as a sample, can tell at a certain level of statistical security.

Before proceeding with specification of how the three empirical fields of investigation is approached and treated one central aspect in relation to professional audience analysis has to be underlined. The analyses undertaken in the following all rely on viewing time. Rating and volume of viewing is the basic concept underlying all analysis. An alternative assessment of viewing is reach. Reach is the proportion of the audience watching television during a delimited time period and uses thresholds set to a number of consecutive minutes of viewing. These types of thresholds in consecutive minutes have not been applied, but as will be evident other types of thresholds have in some cases been established in order to "simulate" a type of reach-criteria identifying and removing freak occurrences from habitual behaviours (e.g. channels consumed but randomly and without substantial volume of viewing). An overarching rule followed as far as possible is to align the constructed measures to the accepted standards and procedures of professional audience analysis. This is performed through establishment of different types of thresholds and baselines.

Validity and Reliability of Data and Analyses

Biologist Jane Goodall is probably best known for her study of the lives of chimpanzees. She went to Gombe Stream National Park in Tanzania where she from 1960 spent a good deal of time establishing relationships with chimpanzees in order to perform a closer study of their social learning (cognition, thinking and culture) and social life. Her work has forever

changed our way of regarding nature. But what has Goodall to do with the work and researcher at hand and with People Meter?

The answer is that in the foot steps of Goodall I have during this research project been living with People Meter, at home. Or to make the allegory more suited: People Meter was destined to live together with me and my family for two and a half year. This was a random occurrence. It was not planned or searched for, so it falls into the field of unknown transcendental purposes. Our household happened to be selected to take part in MMS establishment survey, were asked if interested to participate in the panel, and there we were.

This means that what was earlier described (in Chapter 3) from a perspective of research on People Meter technology and methodology has also been self experienced. My family is equipped with an additional remote control when seated in front of the television. Every family member has an individual button that is to be pushed whenever starting or ending a viewing session, or more accurately, whenever approaching or leaving the television. On the top of the television sits the meter equipped with a display on a regular basis asking, "The same persons?" Occasionally the machine bursts into speaking, "Who's watching?" when nobody has been registered a viewer, for too long. I have consequently, on top of reading research about People Meter, experienced the technology live.

I have encountered sources of errors (and how they arise in everyday life situations[34]), attrition (and how it is created), fatigue (and what expressions it take), coincidental interviews (somebody at the end of the line asking who is watching television now) prompting mechanisms (through text and sound from the black box) together with other features such as the continuous communication from AGB Nielsen Media Research (who is responsible for the administration of the panel) aligned with the monthly lottery ticket (that is the compensation the Swedish panel households receive for participation). Have I, by means of this particular experience, been increasingly negative to People Meter data as a reliable source of research information?

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[34] With a family of two parents and three kids, ages 1, 6 and 9 year old, this experience is substantial when it comes to children's viewing. In our particular household, we must also be aware of the presence of a "researcher effect" - a father begging his beloved not to lower the quality of his research data. An example of curious sources of errors and how they are handled is when we lost the People Meter remote, were unable to register, and eventually got a call from panel administrators that sent us two new ones (just in case). The remote has been found again, squeezed into the cassette entrance of the VCR.

The answer is no. Illustrated are simply drawbacks of the system already acknowledged and to some extent treated within it (e.g. by prompting and quality control of data). Every audience assessment methodology represents, as have been illustrated above (Chapter 3), advantages and drawbacks. For the purpose of the research effort undertaken in this thesis, the overall reliability and precision of People Meter is more than good enough. It is an advanced system that produces detailed data that can be most fruitful for research purposes. This conclusion is further sustained by numerous hours spent together with the raw data and by the specific treatments of data that has been performed. Inaccuracies in data are highly exposed by such digging, and I have run into unexpectedly few.

If reliability of data is regarded as sufficient, the more interesting question is that of validity: Are we measuring the right things? That data can be trusted in relation to individualization within the three research fields treated in this thesis is based the assumption that the errors inherent to the data are comparatively stable over time. Assumption valid, conclusions concerning over time development (in this thesis individualization measured at four different points in time) will not be jeopardized even if actual levels are estimated slightly too low or slightly too high. If this assumption is valid it can even counter the earlier identified weakness of the People Meter panel as most likely slightly biased in terms of representability of the Swedish television audience. To exemplify this validity aspect, social viewing can be lifted.

Measuring social viewing of the Swedish television audience, the *level* might be slightly too low or too high due to measurement errors (reliability of technology and human factor) or due to a deficit representability of the panel (reliability of design). Although the level might be wrongly estimated, these sets of reliability factors do not affect the validity of research into individualization based on these data, if the error is stable over time. Individualization can be estimated correctly regardless if levels are too low or too high or absolutely correct as long as errors remain stable. Validity relies on the stability of error. Following this, one central question of validity is if there are any reasons to believe errors have varied over time.

Two major changes that could jeopardize stability have been done to the panel. The first is that the panel has been growing from 1000 (1999-2006) to 1300 individuals (2007-). The second is that there has been a change in the weighting variables (2007-). Both these changes occur in between 2005 and 2008 and have a potential of inducing difference in levels of error of the period before and after the change.

To cope with the uncertainty, different strategies have been adopted to rule them out. A first strategy was to *research three different fields and to*

assess if they indicated the same line of development. Habitualness and Referential Space are fields comparatively insensible to the changes while Socialness is more delicate. A second strategy was *to design measurements that control for the increased panel size as well as other particularities of data assymetri.*[35] A third strategy has been *to run all analysis both with weighted and unweighted data to see to what degree results are affected.* The conclusion based on this control is that the new weighting procedure has not induced any serious change in levels. The conclusion drawn from following these strategies are that change in weighting can be ruled out a problem while the increased panel is a change that remains and has to be controlled for and be built into analysis.

Lastly, a picture of the quality of People Meter data over time is presented. To do this the weighting of the panel is used. Weight defines how many viewers of the general television audience a panel member represents. Since panel data in this thesis has been accumulated it is possible to see how large the over time variation in the weights of different panel members are. The mean level of the weight decreases as the panel increases in size. This can be seen following the mean value of weight each year in the below table.

Table 5. The quality of People Meter data in the different waves 1999-2008 (average mean, standard deviation, minimum, and maximum of weights of individual panel members).

Year	Mean value	Std.dv.	Min	Max	Std.dv. / Mean value	N
1999	4131	772	2975	5619	0.19	2439 (1000)
2002	4086	338	3517	4778	0.08	2433 (1000)
2005	4374	444	3692	5296	0.10	2400 (1000)
2008	3530	407	2930	4317	0.12	3137 (1300)

The quality of the data is highest when the weights are stable. Instability in weight is a sign of technical problems of retrieving data or low in-tab rates. The stability of data can be read from the standard deviation (Std.dv.) describing how large the variation around the mean is from one day to another. This figure is high in 1999 when the panel was in the final phase of enlargement from 600 to 1000 households. The lowest variation is found in 2002. This is the year data is most stable and of best quality of all the researched years. The most accurate assessment of quality is the standard deviation put in relation to the mean, in the second last column. Since the absolute numbers decrease with increased panel size, relative numbers are to prefer. From this column can be read that data of 2005 is

[35] How measures cope with data asymmetry is developed in Chapter 5 treating operationalizations.

of slightly better quality than data of 2008. The big difference is although 1999 in respect to the three other years.

5

THREE FIELDS OF INVESTIGATION

The three fields of empirical enquiry are in this section approached methodologically. Every field is based on one specific methodological principle. Habitualness is relying on probability. Social viewing falls back on the distinction between solitary and social. Referential space tracks uniqueness in patterns of consumption furnishing an overall picture of degree of heterogeneity. These principles and exemplifications of the measures used to research them will be specified in the following starting out with habitualness to proceed to socialness and referential space.

Habitualness as Probabilities

In the following section, the research design for getting to grips with *habitualness* in television viewing is being outlined. All behavioural acts are per definition situated in both *time* (when) and *place* (where). A habitual behaviour is patterned and as such executed *repeatedly* with some kind of *regularity*. That the behaviour is repeatedly acted out is a prerequisite for making it a habit while the degree of regularity is what makes it a habit.[36] Behaviours that are not repeated are not habitual, and when repeated the degree of regularity is the scale from which an observer can assess the habitualness of behaviour. Habits can be rooted in or connected to either *place* (I always watch television being at home), or *time* (I always watch *Desperate Housewives* on Tuesdays 20 to 21 p.m.), or both *place and time* (when at home after a working day I always turn on *the 9 O'clock News*), but the regularity can also be connected to *how* a practice is acted out, qualities of the *way of performance* of a practice (I never watch television alone). In short: Habits are repeated behaviours that show some kind of regularity in relation to time, place or way of performance.

[36] A habit could also consist in an absence of behaviour (I never watch television in the daytime). Both viewing and non-viewing are in the following treated as habitual patterns of behaviour.

If we are to describe habits, it can be done on three different levels: The *dimension* (time, place or way of performance) of regularity, the *degree* of regularity, and last the subjective *meaning* of the habit.[37] Dimension and degree of regularity are two levels within reach through People Meter data. Both dimension and degree can be delineated on a detailed level from the data while the latent subjective meaning is a level out of reach. We can of course make some assumptions about how central an established television viewing habit is to an individual from the way it is performed (socially/individually, tied to the same channel/spread over several, fast or slow flowing) and how *often* it is performed, but this is *not*, which must be underlined, the same thing as an assessment of the meaning of the habit.

An assumption grounded in Dewey's pragmatism would state that the larger the degree of regularity in usage of television (a specific program or channel) the stronger the centrality of the television, channel or program viewing habit to the individual (or at least to the individual's process of learning). From this perspective, regularity, although counted and quantified, can indicate qualitative aspects of the habit. Degree of regularity does not carry all down the line towards the subjective meaning of the actual habit, but it scratches a broad and fruitful surface making us at least see the contours.

In audience analysis, the aggregate measurement for assessing the regularity of television viewing is *Reach [*don't know 'Reach' needs to be *It* because you did this earlier, your choice*]*. Reach is the number of television viewers that have watched a certain program, a channel or television during a delimited time period.[38] Reach at one occasion is not concerned with regularity, but as soon as the measure is accumulated into *average* daily or weekly reach it can be used to assess regularity in television viewing. To give an example: The average daily reach of television was 76% in 1998, dropping steadily to 70% in year 2007 (MMS, 2008). This means that tele-

[37] Giddens who puts 'routinization' as a central element of human action draws on psychological theories when he discusses the subjective meaning of a habit. Repeated behaviour could, according to Giddens, constitute a *pattern*, a *habit*, a *compulsion* or an *addiction* in terms of psychological involvement. Pattern (I take the car to work) is a low involvement routinization while addiction (a behaviour tied to psychological illness e.g. eating in the case of bulimia or anorexia nervosa) is a routine central to a persons functioning and survival. Routinized behaviours, of this scale, play a central role in the sustention of what Giddens elaborates as the 'ontological security' of the individual.

[38] Calculating the measure, a threshold set to a number of coherent minutes is applied. This threshold is in Sweden 3 minutes for a program, 5 minutes for a channel during one day, and 15 minutes for a channel during a week (MMS – Golden Rules, 2008).

vision use is less frequent today compared to at the turn of the century: the regularity of the habit of television viewing is weaker and linear television, consumed at home, is loosing viewers. But is this a general trend encompassing the total audience or a delimited subpart of the audience? Is it a contradictory process with growth in regularity of viewing in some parts of the audience and decay in other? Is the decreased regularity in use, paralleled with a decrease in volume of use (viewing time)?

A Probabilistic Approach

To deal with these questions posed, with a higher degree of precision than you can ever obtain on the *aggregated* level, it is necessary to develop a description of accumulated reach on the level of the *individual*. The design developed is based on *a probabilistic approach*. Probability is a well-established concept that is central to most statistical reasoning concerning uncertainty or inference (King, 1998). The most classic example forwarded in the field of probability theory is the flip of a coin. The probability of a fair coin turning up heads is .50, and if we engage in the experiment of flipping a fair coin a large number of times (why not an infinite number of times?) the average number of heads will approach .50.[39]

Most people have a sense of how to interpret probabilities when presented as numbers. The closer the number gets to one, the more certain we are that the event will occur. The closer it gets to zero, the more certain we are that it will not occur. At P=1.00 we are certain that the event will always occur and at .00 we are certain that the event will never occur. However, except at the values of .00 and 1.00, we are uncertain to varying degrees. Consequently "[t]he calculated probability – the number between zero and one – is a measure of uncertainty." (King, 1998:14).

Applying a probabilistic approach to recursive behaviours – habits – is to take account of the uncertainty built into the behavioural pattern. The probability of reoccurrence of behaviour is assessed from the accumulated pattern of previously executed behaviours and calculated as a "measure of

[39] Coin flipping is as illustrative an example as far from waterproof in reality. The outcome of coin flipping has been studied by Persi Diaconis at Stanford University and his collaborators. They have demonstrated that a mechanical coin flipper, which imparts the same initial conditions for every toss, has a highly predictable outcome. However, the probability ended close to .51 instead of .50. Further, in actual flipping people exhibit slight bias – "coin tossing is fair to two decimals but not to three. That is, typical flips show biases such as .495 or .503." (Source: Persi Diaconis (2003) The Problem of Thinking Too Much. Stated Meeting Report Harvard, Spring 2003.).

uncertainty". "This is to see probability as the limit of a *relative frequency* in the context of an experiment that is repeatable, at least in theory." (King, 1998:15) The information gathered on uncertainty can be used in *retrospect* to assess the regularity of the habit (to answer the question of how the *habitualness* of the practice is developing over time) or in *prospect* to *predict future behaviours* of the same genre based on habitualness (answering how the future behaviours [probably] will look like). A description of how probabilities are gathered from recursive behaviours follows below.

Table 6. Example of calculation of probabilities from repeatedly acted out behaviours: the days of the week, weekdays and weekends.

THE CONCEPTUALISATION OF PROBABILITY *(P)*							
Displaying individual A and his or her television viewing during eight weeks time.							
	Mon	Tue	Wed	Thu	Fri	Sat	Sun
Week 1	1	0	1	1	0	0	1
Week 2	1	1	0	0	1	1	0
Week 3	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
Week 4	1	0	1	1	0	1	1
Week 5	0	1	1	0	1	1	1
Week 6	1	0	1	1	0	1	1
Week 7	0	1	1	0	1	1	1
Week 8	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
SUM	*6*	*5*	*6*	*5*	*4*	*7*	*7*
Days of the week: (P)	***.75***	***.63***	***.75***	***.63***	***.50***	***.88***	***.88***

	# 1	# 0+1	*(P)*
Weekdays:	22	32	***.69***
Weekends:	18	24	***.75***
An average day:	40	56	***.71***

The table above shows the television viewing behaviour of person A during eight consecutive weeks. The behaviour is dichotomous, denoting 1 for watching and 0 for not watching television. The viewer of the example is watching television Monday, Wednesday, Thursday and Sunday the first week and is never watching seven days in a row during the whole period. Following the patterns of regularity (as previously illustrated, inherent in patterns of everyday life and television viewing as well as latently presupposed in programming practices) probabilities of television viewing behaviour can be outlined for the different *days of the week* (Monday, Tuesday, etc.), for averaged *weekdays* (Monday to Thursday) and *weekends* (Friday to Sunday) or for *an average day* of the period.

Probabilities are calculated as the number of times person A watched television (# 1) dived by the total number of times given the opportunity (# 0+1). A square in the table could represent a day, a day part (8-10 pm), a program (the evening news bulletin) or a single minute (19:48). The

television viewing of person A, read as probabilities, exhibits that the most regular viewing behaviour is due to Saturdays and Sundays (.88) and least regular to Fridays (.50). If probabilities are measured for composite averaged categories such as weekdays, weekends and an average day, the respective probabilities are .69, .75 and .71.[40] All of these calculated probabilities say something about the *regularity*, or the *uncertainty*, of the behaviour in relation to *time*. Probabilities of separate weekdays have a higher degree of precision than do (they posses a higher degree of resolution) averaged probabilities as descriptions of how viewing is anchored in time patterns. The averaged probabilities are on the other hand more efficient in their construction and simpler to communicate. Consequently, precision and efficiency has to be weighted against each other when choosing the appropriate level of measurement for a specific description.

Building Measures of Habitualness

Behaviour has three different outcomes when looked upon from the perspective of probability: it occurs always, from time to time or never. When behaviour always or never occurs, we are totally certain about the outcome whereas we in the third situation (faced with a behaviour occurring close to always to close to never) find ourselves on a scale of uncertainty. The strongest habitual pattern is a behaviour that always reoccurs and its anti-thesis: a behaviour that never occurs. Translated to television viewing and its habitual binding to the flow of time is that there are time slots of the day we *always* or *frequently* watch television – like Prime Time – and other time slots we *never* or *seldom* watch television – like during sleeping and working hours. There are also time slots where television viewing is an option realized more irregularly – *sometimes*.

An efficient way to illustrate the habitualness of television viewing is to map out the regularity of the behavioural pattern into the five outlined categories: *Always* (certain behaviour = regular habit), *Frequently, Sometimes, Seldom* (probable behaviour = irregular habit) and *Sometimes* and *Never* (certain non-behaviour = regular habit). A relevant question that arises is then *what is to be regarded as frequently, sometimes and seldom in terms of regularity*

[40] A pre-existing similar measure from the field of audience analysis is *frequency*. It follows the same principle; counting the frequency of watching at specific time slot where a program or, most often, spots run. The measure of frequency is a form of accumulated reach that is used to track the loyalty to programs or series or to count the number of exposures to a spot or a campaign.

when watching television? Always (as 1) and never (as 0) are predefined as probabilistic categories, but if a more nuance categorization of regularity is needed the other three categories have to be confined in relation to each other.

The easy way out would be to state that always is always and never is never and only work with three categories. However, there are two reasons such an answer does not apply for our purpose here. First, *habitual behaviours are seldom as regular as we regard them to be.* People may say they watch television seven days a week, but this is seldom an accurate description of their real world behaviour since such regularity is close to impossible to obtain in real life other than the mythical American couch potato. Other ordinary life practices that interrupt the practice of television viewing when people have to powder their noses, work over time, or go on holidays. Compared to data that rely on self-assessment of behaviours – as survey or diary – real behaviour data is consequently a lot more sensitive to actual variations in habitual action.

Second, *out of home viewing is not in the data material tied to panel members.* Out of home viewing could be of one of three categories: television viewing in other people's home, viewing in public settings (as a bar or gym) or viewing on mobile platforms. People Meter data make an estimation of viewing at other people's home through the registration of guest viewing. The assumption made is that the registered guests' viewing corresponds to the amount of viewing panellists undertake in other people's home (the contemporary amount of guest viewing is around five percent). However, guest viewing is not tied to the panel members and cannot be fully appreciated on the level of the individual (it cannot be accumulated on the level of the individual). Viewing in public settings and viewing on mobile platforms are, on top of this, two categories of out of home viewing not today accounted for by People Meter data and are therefore to be regarded as residual categories (measurement errors). The construction of a measurement of habitualness has to take these two circumstances into account and find solutions to cope with them.

An Individual Baseline of Habitualness

A first pragmatic solution taken to solve the problem of non-presence at the home is to create an *individual baseline,* instead of a *universal*, for the maximum number of times a person is 'given the opportunity' to watch television. A universal baseline of a measurement period of 56 days would be 56 (for all days), 32 (for weekdays Mon-Thu) or 24 (for weekends Fri-Sun). An individual baseline could be constructed based on how many

days, out of the maximum 56, 32 or 24, a single individual is registered as a viewer. An individual baseline varies from person to person reflecting the maximum number of times a person is 'given the opportunity' to watch television. As the data is accumulated longitudinally, such a variable can be constructed and assigned to each individual viewer. Following an individual baseline alters the apprehension of habitualness. The question regarding habitualness becomes: *when watching television* which pattern of regularity in relation to time does the individual show? The question answered could be seen to correspond to the way television viewing is acted out: as a two-step process in which a viewer is firstly an available audience and secondly an acting television viewer.[41]

The creation of an individual baseline has the advantage of giving an assessment of habitualness in television viewing that takes account of individual availability to television. Patterns of availability to television are, as have been illustrated above, strongly integrated in time geographic patterns of everyday life. The individual baseline imposes this time geographic pattern as a frame of analysis to habitualness.[42] To turn on the television only during Prime Time only on Friday and Saturday is arguably a highly habitual television viewing behaviour, regardless the viewer does not watch television other days of the week. A universal baseline would be close to insensitive to this type of habitual behaviour (the resulting calculated probability would be 16/56 = .29 or 16/24 = .66 apprehending it as a highly uncertain behaviour) while an individual baseline would apprehend the behaviour as habitual (P: 16/16 = 1.00 in this case an absolute certainty). An even clearer example is viewers following only one series within a specific time slot a weekday (e. g. *Lost* on Thursdays 20:00). The universal respective individual baseline would produce probabilities of .14 or .25 respectively 1.00. A universal baseline is unproductive in the search for habitualness in temporal patterns of television viewing since it will miss obvious patterns of regularity thereby underestimating habitualness. Having established the meaning of the use of an individual baseline a still remaining question is: where should the breaking points, between different categories of irregular viewing, be placed?

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[41] With a universal baseline, the question regarding habitualness is: *which pattern of regularity in relation to time does the individual's television viewing show.*

[42] A consequence of an individual baseline is that non-viewers do not get a value and are out of analysis. Individuals with only one day of viewing should be dropped from analysis since they automatically are perceived as habitual from the perspective of an individual baseline (P: 1/1 = 1.00).

Thresholds

A solution to the sensitivity of behavioural data to irregularities is the imposition of thresholds. These thresholds should define acts of strong regularity as highly habitual even if they do not occur with an absolute regularity. They should consequently include acts reoccurring 'close to always' (frequently) and 'close to never' (seldom). But exactly where should these thresholds be established, in terms of probability? What is to be regarded as *close to* always and never? And are these thresholds to be symmetrically aligned – meaning that sometimes is as close to always as seldom is to never? Based on answers to these questions the category of sometimes can be confined.

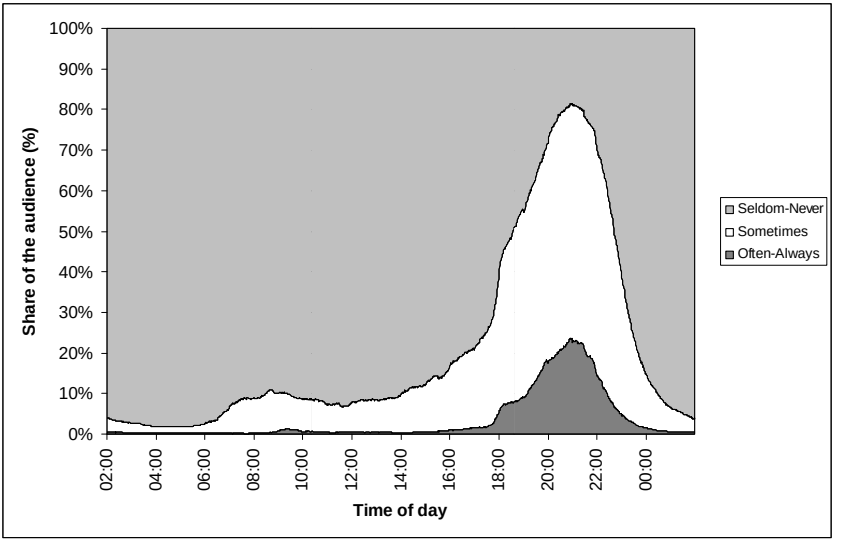
Here, I must emphasise that there is no one true answer to these questions. It is possible to find alternative fruitful solution to where the thresholds could be assigned depending on what is the aim of the analysis. The aim in chapter 6 on habitualness is to illustrate how patterns of regularity in television viewing is tied to time and different parts of the audience, and how habitualness is changing from 1999 to 2008. Two alternative sets of thresholds have been run through all analysis to test the robustness of the results. The one finally used in the descriptions is symmetrically aligned to .25 and .75. These levels have been tried out on the real data in order to see if they were fruitful in the way that they caught sufficiently detailed variations in the audience behaviour. They did, as will be apparent in chapter 6, and were consolidated. The alternative thresholds where asymmetrically aligned to .05 and .50 that represent the points where the variations within the audience were closest to normally distributed.

The two different sets of thresholds arrive at the same conclusion when analysing habitualness in time but represent some slight differences in levels visible in the analysis of the audience. Where differences occur due to threshold placement they will be indicated in text. The comparative advantages of the first threshold are that they are simple to explain and easy to understand in relation to the rating curve that will always run through the field of sometimes. The advantage of the second is statistical following that the increased variability around the thresholds provides a larger body of difference that could be described and explained in analysis. For someone interested in developing measures in the field of habitualness analysis of time is comparatively insensible for threshold placement while analysis of differences on the individual level of viewers and segment of the audience is more sensible and demand more complexly asymmetrical aligned thresholds.

The Habitual Composition

For every individual viewer, group of viewers or for the whole audience the habitualness can be described either as *distributed in time* or as *aggregated volumes*. The picture below illustrates the *habitual composition* of the television audience minute-by-minute. The lower, darkest, field is the audience with an established regular habit of always to frequently watching television a specific time slot. The middle, and white, field is the proportion of the audience watching television according to a more irregular pattern – watching sometimes. The upper, largest area is the proportion of the audience that watches television seldom to never at different times of the day.

Figure 6. The habitual composition of television viewing – an average day 2008 (percent of the audience that turn to television often to always, sometimes and seldom to never at specific times of the day).



Note: The curves build on probabilities set from *individual baselines* with *thresholds* for the category of "Sometimes" set to .25 respectively .75.

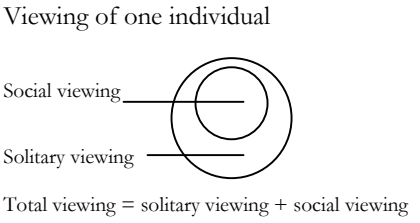
The graph illustrates how the habitualness in viewing of the total audience is distributed an average viewing day in 2008. If read as cross-sections, every minute gets composed by three categories based on habitualness in viewing. At the peak of Prime Time approximately one fifth of the audience is close to always there, one fifth close to never, while three fifth tune in now and then. The habitual composition is an alternative repre-

sentation of rating, based on two to four curves depicting habitual patterns of consumption of television. The traditional rating curve would in the graph run through the purple middle field of sometimes. Every field make up a volume and through chapter 6 habitualness is either presented in the form of the above-illustrated curves or as volumes.

Socialness as Social and Solitary Viewing

When mapping out *social viewing*, the question of *time* allocation, addressed in the previous section on habitualness, is paralleled with the question of *social time* allocation. Instead of addressing one question on size of television viewing, two questions emerge: one regarding the size and the other regarding the socialness of television viewing. Time is consequently transformed from a single category into a dual category split into *social* and *solitary* time, making the question of *time spent* paralleled with the question of *time spent together respectively alone*. To take account of patterns of social viewing is a way to induce television viewing with social meaning – one way of *thickening* it. Chapter 7 provides quantitative audience analysis with social leverage splitting television viewing into social and solitary television viewing.

Figure 7. Television viewing as composed by social and solitary viewing.



People Meter data represent both strength and weakness in terms of description of social viewing behaviour. The strength lies in its broad and general mapping out of patterns of parallel behaviour that carries social significance as simple expressions of social everyday life around the television. People Meter is used as a thermometer taking the social temperature of television viewing in different setting and at different points in time. As illustrated by ethnomethodological audience research, social viewing might represent an array of different needs, motives, coincidences, meanings and particularities that is here downplayed and measured as one or as an either/or relationship. Within reach of observation is thus the temperature while the exact reason behind its variation individual-to-individual and minute-to-minute is beyond reach. Important to remember isthat this is the first time the social temperature gets a nuance presentation for Swedish television viewing.

Size of Social Viewing – Social Share and Social Rating

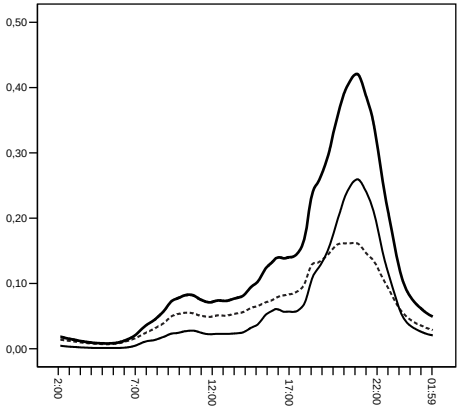
The basic principle for calculating the share of social viewing is simple and is based on proportion of viewing time. Since social and solitary viewing constitute two categories of viewing summing up to the total viewing, when one is estimated the other follow. Following this principle social viewing, is first outlined as distributed in time over the year, week and day, and later on over individual television channels. Social viewing is in all these descriptions outlined as a proportion (in percent) of the total viewing and the absent corresponding proportion is constituted by solitary viewing.

When the trend of over time change is mapped out, the size of social viewing is broken down in accordance with deductively identified categories of social importance to television viewing. Both social settings (single versus multi person households) and types of viewing (household member viewing versus guest viewing) hold central roles in relation to social interaction. A multi person household is by definition a more social setting and guest viewing a more social type or viewing than their counter parts. Or, are these distinctions turning less important over time? Based of the specific social standing of these categories they are initially outlined separately.

The procedure of calculation described this far follow the general principle of the professional use of the measure of *share*. At the outlining of the distribution of social viewing over the day *social share* is complemented by *social rating*. The social rating establishes the size of the audience in absolute numbers (or as a percentage). Social and solitary rating is calculated following the established principles of professional audience measurement. MMS base their guidelines on BARB (UK).[43] The graph of social rating below, illustrates social and solitary rating in parallel to total rating through the day.

[43] MMS Golden Rules: (http://www.mms.se/kunder/teknik/peoplemeter_regler.asp)

Figure 8. Exemplification of social and solitary rating in relation to total rating over the day (percent of the audience).



Note: The example is describing an average weekday 2006.

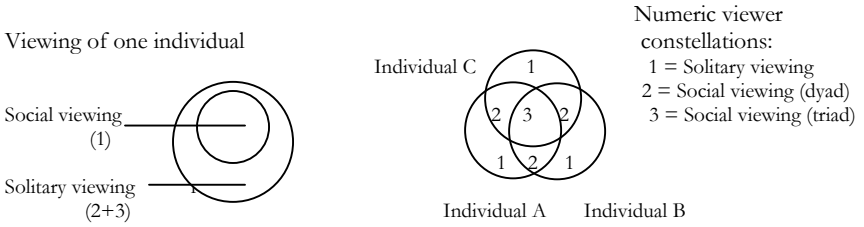
The two lower curves are outlining the distribution of social viewing behaviour. The dashed line is the rating of solitary viewing while the integer line is the rating of social viewing. Faced with the two new curves, a fuller picture of television viewing emerges and provides us with a picture of the social life around television. The picture tells us something more on the practice of television viewing and on how social everyday life and social interaction is bound up with television – at different hours of the day. The same descriptions can be performed for social viewing in varying household settings.

Numeric Viewer Constellation

The size of the viewer group is outlined more in detail in the part concerning numeric viewer constellations. The size of the viewer group co-involved in television viewing is tracked within single and multi person household and viewing of resident household members is split from viewing of guests. Television viewing is split over *numeric viewer constellations* such as monads (1), dyads (2), triads (3), tetrads (4), pentads and larger

constellations (5+).[44] The Figure below describes these viewer constellations for a three person household.

Figure 9. Possible numeric viewer constellations of the household members of a three person household.



Total viewing = solitary viewing + social viewing

Social viewing of each person is made up of the parts of the individual's circle that intersects with the other circles. Social is all viewing undertaken in dyads and in triads. The central field where all three circles overlap represent the viewing time undertaken together in three (triad). The analysis of viewer groups are in chapter 7 delimited to assessment of size although composition of the viewer groups represent a most interesting field of research when aiming for over time change. Of central interest is, of course, which specific social constellations of viewers that decrease respectively increase in importance over time.[45] The selected way to decipher this change indirectly is a thorough description of the changing social audience (see below: Social audience composition).

Social Viewing Distributed Over Channels

In order to find out if changes in social viewing are tied to specific changes on the content level, the social share and its pattern of change can be mapped out on the level of singular channels. In this way the impact on social viewing of every single channel can be traced and specified. The *impact* on social viewing of each channel consists of two different parts:

[44] Social constellations in this form have been researched into in the field of interactional sociology. This is a part of social psychology and Simmel (e.g. 1950) was a pioneer in the outlining of these social constellations at the turn of the century (Miller, 2007).

[45] Analyses of the composition of constellations demand fairly complicated procedures of data transformations that have been excluded from this thesis since these patterns of change are within reach more easily indirectly through analysis of the social audience.

share of social viewing (which is the fraction of the total social viewing) and *audience size* (the size of the channel's audience). The share of social viewing of each channel in conjunction with the size of the channel decides the impact exerted on social viewing.

The product of social share and channel size is the impact a channel has on social viewing. Big channels exert great impact while small channels exert small impact. The level of impact of each channel can be calculated as the product of social share of viewing and share of total viewing. Lining up these products of different channels at the four time points from 1999 to 2008, illustrate what goes on under the surface of social viewing and how the average change 1999 to 2002 to 2005 to 2008 is distributed on the level of channels. Questions that can be answered are: Which channels increase the amount of social viewing and which channels decrease it? What is the effect on social viewing of new coming channels contra the effect of channels going off the air?

Social Audience Composition

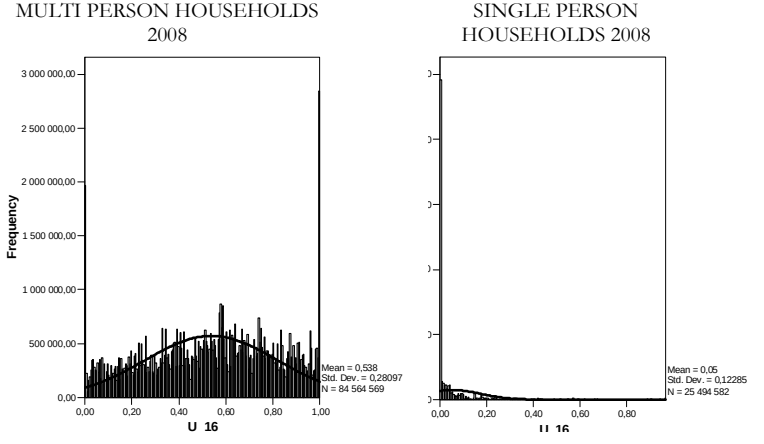
In the empirical investigations of the social audience, each individual's social viewing characteristics is set to the centre. The question calling for an answer is how socially dependent the act of television viewing is for varying individuals embedded in diverging contextual circumstances. Since the total television viewing (Z) of an individual consists of a subpart of solitary viewing (X) and a subpart of social viewing (Y), one could use two alternative ways of comparing the social density of the act of television viewing of different individuals. The first alternative is to let the absolute amount of social viewing express the social density of the individual's television viewing. If individual A views 1400 minutes and individual B views 800 minutes together with others, A is regarded to be the more social viewer. This is a comparison in absolute terms. The second alternative is to let the ratio of social to total viewing express the social density of a person's television viewing. If the total amount of television viewing of individual A and B from the example above is 2800 and 1000 minutes respectively, the ratio (Y/Z) will judge viewer B, with a ratio of .80, as more social a television viewer than individual A, with a ratio of .50. This is a comparison in relative terms.

For the purpose of the inquiry into the social audience, the latter comparison in relative terms is used. The relative proportion of social viewing reaching from 0 to 1 is the dependent variable in all analyses of factors, tied to the individual viewer and her contextual circumstances,

that are expected to exert influence on social viewing behaviour. The comparison in relative terms is more suitable as free from apparent co-variation with amount of viewing time. Comparisons in absolute terms would demand a continuous control for amount of viewing, something that is not needed when comparisons are made in relative terms.[46] This dependent variable chosen, viewing time can be used as one of the independent variables in bivariate and multivariate statistical models applied.

The investigation of the social audience is delimited to multi person households. In single person households the amount of social viewing is low and depend on friends and visitors coming from outside (inter-household interaction) committing themselves to television viewing. Both low amount, that makes the variance to explain small, and the television viewing of outsiders, that represent limited viewer information, pose methodological problems. Aiming for socialness multi person households constitute the natural point of focus. To illustrate the two settings the following two histograms of the social viewing audience of 2008 can be studied.

Figure 10. The distribution of socialness in television viewing over the audience in multi and single person households.



Note: The scale represent numbers 10 times higher. 1 million is really 100 000.

The distribution is for multi person households close to normal with the exception of a fairly strong bottom – the viewers who watch solely alone

[46] The two alternative measures are discussed more thoroughly in Chapter 5 – Socialness as Social and Solitary Viewing.

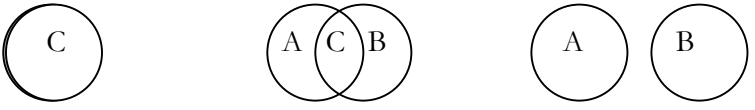
– and top limit effect – the viewers watching only together with others. The number of individuals gathered at the opposite flanks of the scale is comparatively large, and the number of viewers who are committed only to social viewing is bigger than the number of viewers who view television only alone despite sharing household. The depiction of the ratio of social viewing in single person households illustrates the relative unfruitfulness of examining social patterns in asocial settings. Only 8 percent of the viewing is social, due to visiting guests and the majority of single person households represent null or close to none social television viewing.

Referential Space

At the advent of broadcasting the space of the home was doubled. The result of this doubling was a new referential space opened up for cultural everyday consumption. In focus in chapter 8, are the travels that the viewer takes into this referential space and the frame of analysis, from a perspective of individualization, is the uniqueness that every viewer's consumption represents in relation to other viewers in the audience or within the intimate sphere of the household and family.

The degree of uniqueness present in the content consumption of each individual is mapped out to track over time individualization. Individualization would supposedly move traditional groupings of individuals from a certain level of homogeneity versus increased heterogeneity. From a perspective of individualization the multi person household is a particularly interesting unit to focus. It includes, in most cases families, and a changing degree of similarity in relation to intimate peers is an indicator of social disembedding.

Figure 11. Three ideal situations of uniqueness in consumption patterns of viewing.



The circles represent individuals A and B and the television content they consume in three different ideal cases. To the left the content consumed coincide totally; in the middle it coincides partially and to the right it is totally divergent. What a C marks is the content consumption shared by A and B in the three cases. Departing from the notion of a referential space the three cases could be described as follows: beginning from the left, individuals share exactly the same referential space, share parts of referential space or dwell in two completely different parts of referential spaces. Referential space is in this way in parallel to physical social space a space that can be shared, to a varying extent.

Channel repertoires

The *channel repertoire* is the channels a viewer takes into consideration in the act of watching television. It is affined to the concept of consideration set used in consumer research. The channel repertoire is a fingerprint of the viewer's individual consumption and is in chapter 8 built based on viewing time investment. When comparing them to assess similarity, they can be thought of as glasses (channel repertoires of different viewers) filled with liquid (television viewing). The flow of liquid equals flow of time: The more time spent on television viewing, the more liquid in the glass. Suppose the liquid take on specific colours depending on its source of delivery: One channel is one colour. The more channels watched, the broader the spectrum of layered colours in the glass. The more time invested in one channel, the more liquid of one certain colour in the glass. Approached in this way the television audience becomes a large table populated with empty to full, same sized glasses, containing multicoloured layered liquid. Let us approach this table to forward the questions that we are interested in answering.

Individualisation, as a wave of individual level fragmentation, would over time result in a table of glasses filled with liquid of a steadily more varied constitution in terms of array of colours and respective volumes. The content of the glasses is expected to become more unique and varied from glass to glass. Increased heterogeneity is an expected outcome on the aggregated level and heterogeneity is expected to grow faster within some physical settings and due to some group segmentation principles rather than others. Referential heterogeneity for the family with teens probably increases faster than for the retired couple, an expectation based on age being a stronger individualization principle than gender, education or class.

The glass described above is the channel repertoire of the viewer applied in the investigation of chapter 8. When analysing channel repertoires, two aspects of format investigated are *size* as the extension over number of channels and *concentration* of viewing onto the channels gathering an individual viewer's majority of viewing. Viewing is in the channel repertoires arranged according to the amount of viewing time every consumed channel gets by the individual viewer. First in the channel repertoire is the most consumed channel, second is the second most consumed channel, and so on ending with the channels consumed least. This principle of organisation is labelled *ranked individual viewing*. It allows the repertoire to be split into different parts following centrality to the individual's set of preference. A split that is used is the distinction between *head* and

tail, where the head contains the three channels the viewer invests most viewing time in and the tail the rest of the channels. Since the head is central to each viewer viewing and is the part of the viewing with most impact on total television viewing this part is focused in analysis.

Channel repertoires can be studied on two levels. The first is the above-described study of overarching aspects of form. The second is the detailed study of the content. One specific content analysis directed towards the head of the repertoire is the assessment of which channel combinations that dominates the head of the channel repertoires of the audience and different groupings of the audience. Those *top ranked combinations* are mapped out for each viewer and followed over time as distributions within the audience. The outcome of this type of analysis is a very clear image of how individual patterns of viewer action result in aggregate patterns of falling market share of the major players of the television market. This is the individual level correspondence of the aggregate trend of fragmentation. The mapping out of consumption patterns clearly illustrates how this individual level transformation of everyday action looks like.

To take the investigation of individualization a step further and give it a deepened precision, individual uniqueness in relation to other household members is studied.

A Measurement of Uniqueness in Television Consumption

The degree of individualization is measured at the household level as the similarity between the channel repertoires of different household members. The *uniqueness* of each individual's channel repertoire in relation to the other household members are calculated and then compared for the whole audience and between different segments of the audience over time. The over time assessment is answering if individualization is taking place, within which parts of the audience, and at what pace?

The measure builds on the following components:

$a_{1\text{-}K}$ = the individual's viewing time on a range of channels (minutes)
$b_{1\text{-}K}$ = the household's viewing time on a range of channel (minutes)
n = the number of household members
$1/n$ = the expected share of individual viewing
(assuming viewing time is equally split among household members over each channel)
u = the individual's total viewing time

It is calculated as follows in SPSS (the bolded parts are the calculations[47]):

```
DO REPEAT A=a1 TO a550 /B=b1 TO b550 /C=c1 TO c550 .
COMPUTE C=SQRT(((a/b)-(1/n))**2)*a .
END REPEAT .
EXE .
```

This procedure results in a vector of positive numbers (as rooted and squared) depicting *the size of deviation* (in percent) of *the individuals share of household viewing* (a/b) from *the expected level* (1/n) for each channel. The size of deviation from the expected level is then weighted by the amount of viewing of the individual on that channel (a).

```
COMPUTE UNIQNESS=SUM(c1 TO c550)/u/(1-1/n) .
EXE .
```

All weighted deviations are then summed and divided by the total viewing time of the individual (u) and then divided by (1-1/n) to construct a value than ends up between 0 and 1, with 1 as maximal uniqueness in viewing (totally individualized) and 0 as minimal uniqueness (not at all individualized). If put as an econometric formula[48], it would look as follows:

a_{kij} = the individual's i in household j viewing time on channel k,
b_{kj} = the household's j viewing time on channel k,
n_j = number of members of household j,
$\frac{1}{n_j}$ = the expected share of viewing of each individual in household j,
u_{ij} = the individual's i in household j total viewing time.

$$c_{kij} = \left[\sqrt{\left(\frac{a_{kij}}{b_{kj}} - \frac{1}{n_j}\right)^2}\right] * a_{kij} \quad \forall\, k = 1, \dots, K$$

$$\text{uniqness}_{ij} = \frac{\sum_{k=1}^{K} c_{kij}}{\left(1 - \frac{1}{n_j}\right)}$$

[47] For guidance in SPSS syntax code, consult a syntax guide (SPSS, 1999).
[48] For a guide to econometrics, consult e.g. (Kennedy, 2003).

Nota Bene: This measure can only be applied on social settings comprising more than one individual. Single households will always get 1.00 on the measure.

The final analysis of individualization is performed using this measure of uniqueness illustrating the over time development of the audience in multi-person household 1999 to 2008. In focus are the characteristics of the viewer and the viewer's context that affect the level and development of uniqueness in consumption of television.

PART III

EMPIRICAL INVESTIGATIONS

6

HABITUALNESS

Media practices are recursive to their character. They are repeatedly practiced and habits and routines play a significant role in guiding when, where and how people use and consume media. Swedes used to read the newspaper in the morning, listen to the radio during the day and watch television in the evening. To a high extent they still do – morning after morning, day after day, evening after evening and year after year – despite times are changing. This chapter focuses on this habitual aspect of television consumption and maps out the changes in *habitualness* over time. Is television viewing at home becoming a less or more stable habit over time? How rooted is the habit of viewing within different subgroups of the audience? In what direction and at what pace do sub groups change habitual patterns of viewing? These questions will here find their answer on a level of precision not usually delivered.

The classical way to answer questions like the above is to use the measurement of reach. Reach is an aggregate measure of the proportion of the television audience tuned in to a specific program, channel or to television during a limited time period. The average daily reach of television can serve as an example. It has dropped from 76 to 70 percent during the last ten years (MMS årsrapporter, 1999-2008) which indicates that television viewing is becoming a less regular practice. Important to underline is that there is no clear-cut relationship between reach and individualization at this level.

To get access to individualization, it is necessary to proceed beyond aggregate levels towards the level of the singular viewer and her individual patterns of habitualness. On this level, processes of individualization are expected to turn viewing into a more divergent behaviour varying from individual to individual. Common viewing behaviour is expected to be exchanged into more unique and individualized viewing behaviour.

Behaviours that are habitually repeated reoccur with some degree of regularity: always, often, sometimes, seldom or never, to establish one possible scale between the two opposite extremes. *Habitualness* is the term used in this chapter to denote this degree of regularity, and *probability* is the

statistical concept used to estimate it. Habitual behaviour can be tied to time (when), place-bound situations (where) or a way of performance (how). The investigation below is focused on *when* and with which regularity a behaviour occurs and is consequently focused on television viewing as structured in *time.*[49] As a ground for individualization, this chapter will provide an image of television viewing as a temporal practice and its change.

Questions of habitualness treated below are of two kinds. First, which *time slots* of the television day and week that are marked by regular viewing behaviours? Second, which age and gender groups of the *audience* that show a weak to strong regularity in television viewing? To delimit the treatment to only two factors is motivated by the base line character of habitualness in relation to individualization. Habitualness is, here, delimited to repeated actions in relation to time.[50] Especially age and to some extent, gender, have in audience research shown to hold a central role in discriminating between different audience groups' allocation of time to television. The next two chapters that add space – social space and referential space – into analysis treat a larger array of background factors. Central to the presentation of this chapter is the over time development.

Habitual Composition of Television Viewing

When outlining habitualness on the level of the individual viewer, probabilities can be used. Behaviours have three different outcomes when looked upon from the perspective of probability: They always occur, they never occur or they occur from time to time. Behaviours that always and never occur are from the perspective of probability 'certain' in the way that we know their outcome. Between always and never lies a field of uncertainty, in which we can only be to some degree certain of the outcome. Aptly put: the probable outcome.

When viewer acts are accumulated over time the regularity of reoccurrence can be expressed as probabilities. There are time slots of the day that people watch television more often – like Prime Time – and other

[49] *Where* (space) is to some extent held constant as television viewing is monitored within the household, and *how* is a dimension strictly delimited to presence in front of the screen. One central aspect of *how* will be developed further in the next chapter treating social viewing of television.

[50] The methodological principles underlying the construction of habitualness are outlined in chapter 5 (see Habitualness as probabilities).

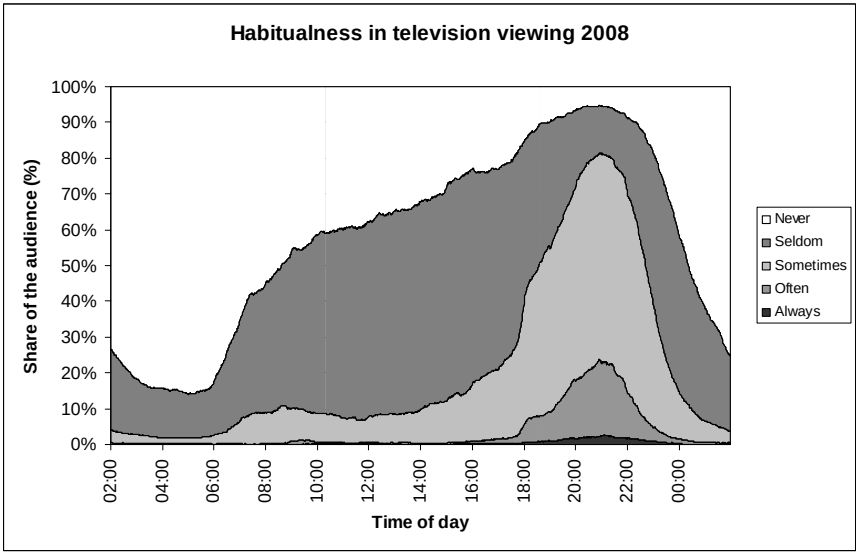
time slots they watch television more seldom – like during sleep and working hours – but there are also time slots where television viewing is more hazardous a behaviour undertaken now and then depending on circumstances. Probabilities are expressed as numbers. Always is denoted by 1.00, never as .00, and the maximum uncertainty occurs at .50 that would correspond to a viewer continuously flipping a coin in order to decide whether or not to commit herself to television viewing.

From these numbers of probability, viewing can be split into regular, irregular and non-viewing giving a picture of how habitual the television viewing is at different points in time and for different segments of the audience. The picture on next page is the first delivered result of the described procedure (Figure 12). It illustrates the *habitual composition of the audience* an average viewing day. It looks similar to a rating curve and is related in the way that it is built from the allocation of viewing time made by the audience.[51] It diverts, however, from the rating curve by building a picture of viewing based on *accumulated individual* viewing behaviour. The five fields of the graph correspond to the proportion of the audience that turn to television according to certain degrees of regularity. The most accessible fields are the lowest dark and the upper white of 'always' respectively 'never'. They contain the proportion of the audience that always or never watch television at a certain point in time. Between the fields of always and never lies three fields depicting the habitualness in viewing reaching from 'often' over 'sometimes' to 'seldom'. These fields are confined using an upper and lower threshold establishing what is to be regarded as watching television 'sometimes'. The thresholds applied in the graph and the following chapter are symmetrically aligned to a probability level of .25 and .75.[52] This means that a viewer tuning in a certain time slot more than one fourth and less than three fourth of the times watching television will fall into the habitual category of 'sometimes'.

[51] Built on viewing time, the measurement of habitualness will follow the change patterns of viewing time (that increases over time) rather than the patterns of reach (decreasing over time).

[52] The consequence of applying alternative thresholds is discussed in Methodology – Habitualness. Important to acknowledge is that the conclusions drawn in the following are sustained when applying alternative thresholds.

Figure 12. The habitual composition of the television audience an average day 2008 (percent of the audience that turn to television always, often, sometimes, seldom or never at specific times of the day).



Note: The curves build on probabilities set from *individual baselines* with *thresholds* for the category of "Sometimes" set to .25 respectively .75. Probability level for the categories of "Always" and "Never" is 1.00 respectively .00.

The graph is to be read vertically as cross-sectional cuts, indicating the habitual composition of the audience every single minute. Read in this way, the graph shows that the habitual composition of the audience 21:00, at the peak of Prime Time, is built of a minor part always (2%) or never (5%) there to watch, while the majority are viewers that turn in now and then (59%) or more often (20%) or more seldom (14%). Prime Time is the time of the day viewing is largest and as illustrated by the graph it co-incides with both more regular and irregular viewing reaching its peak. The size of the never present audience is consequently smallest at that point of the day and largest during night time 4 to 6 a.m. when viewing is smallest. Both regular and irregular viewing is consequently rising, due to larger volumes of viewing which is a fact important to keep in mind when analysing the over time development of habitualness in viewing.

The graph of the *habitual composition* is a complementary illustration to the rating curve bringing into view the habitual ground of television viewing. The average rating curve would, if merged into the graph, run through the middle field of 'sometimes' (blue lined) illustrating that the total audience is composed of one part that is always or often there to

watch and another part that is sometimes or seldom there to watch. The fond of viewing is arbitrarily a proportion of the audience never there. A question arising is then, which segments of the audience that belong to which habitual segment in most cases and at different times of the day? When later treating the habitual audience, this question will be addressed, but before that a thorough mapping out of how the habitualness is developing over time is undertaken.

Over Time Change of the Habitual Composition

The areas of the five fields of the habitual composition could be gathered as *volumes*. In this way, the categories of habitualness can be related to each other and compared in relative size. Comparisons of volumes allow a first set of general conclusions to be drawn about the over time development of habitualness in television viewing. The relative size of the part of the audience always, often, sometimes, seldom or never there to watch can be related to each other and this way supply information on how television viewing is changing *as a practice*.

Both absolute and relative comparisons of habitualness will be employed through this chapter building evidence around individualization of *the temporal use of television*. Important to acknowledge is that the analysis techniques used in this chapter could be applied to audience analysis of a specific channel's audience. In the following table, the over time change in habitualness is illustrated as a change in volumes of viewing.

Table 7. The development of habitualness in television viewing an average day 1999-2008 (minutes).

	Average minutes of the day					
	Always	Often	Sometimes	*Seldom*	Never	Total
1999	3	35	218	516	668	1440
2002	4	41	235	531	629	1440
2005	4	36	231	531	637	1440
2008	6	45	255	532	602	1440
dif (abs)	3	10	37	16	-66	
dif (rel)	76%	30%	17%	3%	-10%	

Note: The table depicts the average number of minutes the audience always, often, sometimes, seldom or never spend on television viewing. The habitual pattern is measured on the level of single individuals of the panel and then averaged. For further information on the construction of the measure of habitualness see Method Habitualness.

From 1999 to 2008, the number of minutes the audience allocate to regular (both always and often), irregular (sometimes) and highly irregular

(seldom) television viewing has been rising. The effect has been a shrinking number of minutes never used for television viewing, during the period 66 minutes. This is both an effect of a rise in television viewing time and a simultaneous spread of television viewing over the day. Average television viewing time of the television audience has during the actual time period been rising from 143 to 160 minutes a day (MMS årsrapport 2008). This rise has been close to linear with a momentary drop visible in the table year 2002 to 2005. What is happening over time when the viewing time is rising is that television viewing is being increasingly spread over the day. This trend, illustrated below in more detail, is explaining the growth in categories of irregular viewing (seldom and sometimes) turning non-viewing into irregular viewing. What the spread over the day does not explain though, is the parallel and seemingly opposite trend of increased regularity in viewing. How come the number of minutes habitually allocated to television viewing (always and often) has been rising faster in relative numbers than the irregular viewing? [53]

Habitual Change Related to Time

Raised viewing spread over the day seems to imply a simultaneous move in two directions. Viewing is simultaneously becoming more and less regular. It is necessary to look deeper into this finding. The contradictory whole might be a consequence of a pattern of change differentiated *in time* (over the week and day) or *over the audience* developing in diverse directions.

A more detailed outline of the changes in habitualness must incorporate aspects, both its distribution in time and its distribution over different parts of the audience. The distribution in time exhibits *when* the pattern of viewing is becoming more or less stable or stays the same, while the distribution over different parts of the audience map out the levels and change patterns of habitualness for groupings of the audience, disclosing *who* is more or less habitual. These two aspects are together answering the question: *who* is changing their habitualness *when*? The outline starts out with a mapping out of when.

[53] Habitualness on the level of channel use divides the audience into the same categories of always or never there or tuning in seldom over sometimes to more often. When assessed accordingly, habitualness divides the individual viewers according to levels of channel loyalty, which is something useful when tracking the effect of programming strategies on the audience. Habitual composition of the audience could in this way serve a complement to audience size and composition.

The habitual composition represents an efficient way to exhibit an overall state at one point in time. Change deal with several points in time and focus the discrepancies between them. Information from two or more time points can be put on the top of each other to assess the patterns of change. In the following section, different graphs will be forwarded, merged and related to each other in order to exhibit the over time change in the habitual viewing.

In order to make the presentation more accessible, the five categories of habitualness have been boiled down to three. Sometimes stay unaltered and is from here on termed irregular viewing. Always and often are gathered as regular viewing (also termed habitual viewing) while seldom and never are categorized as highly irregular to none viewing. Using this dichotomy, the general picture is that the levels of both regular and irregular viewing of 2008 exceed the corresponding levels of 1999 all through the day, with one important exception. The development is clearly illustrated in figures 14-16 graphing the differences between 1999 and 2008.

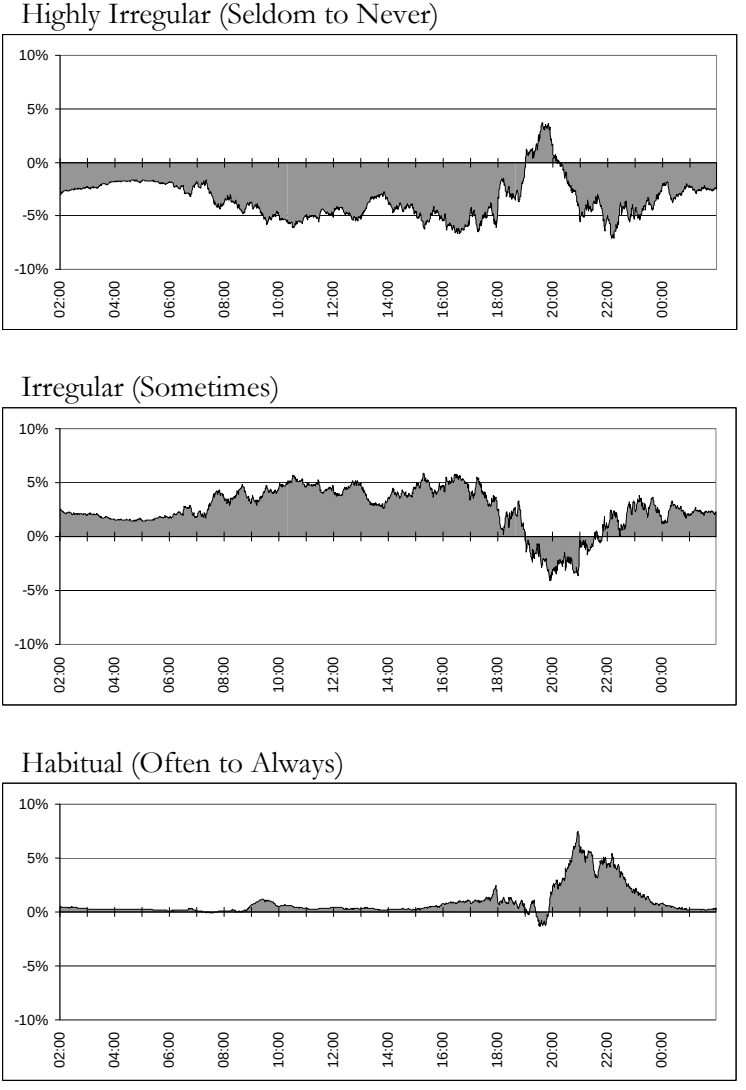
Faced with the three following graphs we can decipher a number of current habitual changes transforming television viewing. The first is *the spread of viewing* over the day; the second, the *restructuring of Prime Time viewing* and the third, *the habitualization of viewing* over the day.

Increasingly Spread Viewing Over the Day

That television viewing is spread over the day is clearly illustrated by a shrinking proportion of highly irregular viewing audience. Minutes of non-viewing are less frequent 2008 and non-viewing are rather than exchanged into highly irregular viewing (seldom) boosting more habitual categories of viewing. This can be seen by the shrinking proportion of Seldom to Never (in figure 13).

The proportion of highly irregular viewing has as a composite category, decreased with 2-6 units of percent (all around the clock). The exception to the rule is 7 to 8 p.m. That is the only time slot of the day viewers increasingly turn away from television. This spread of television viewing over the day has made irregular viewing grow (a growth of 2-5 units of percent). Regular television viewing grows in parallel, starting out from a lower level, daytime and night, increasing at a more reluctant pace (up to one unit of percent). The described pattern is valid for night time and day time beginning at midnight and ending at 7 p.m.

Figure 13. Changing habitualness in television viewing– differences in *highly irregular*, *irregular* and *habitual* viewing an average day 1999 to 2008 (differences in units of percent of viewing time).



Note: The three graphs illustrate the differences between the levels of the curves of 1999 to the levels of the curves 2008 according to the model: *Difference=Value [2008] – Value [1999]*. A positive value in either of the graphs mean that the amount of the specific category of viewing has increased since 1999, a negative value that the category has decreased. Together, the three graphs add up to zero at every point in time (difAO+difS+difSN=0).

More important than the level of increased habitualness (that is small), is that this development turns day parts not earlier subject to regular patterns of viewing into hours of habitual television consumption for a delimited part of the audience.

Habitualness in Prime Time Viewing

A divergent pattern of change emerges during Prime Time. The mentioned growth of highly irregular and non-viewing between 7 and 8 p.m. is connected to a drop in both regular and irregular viewing. To that point in time, regular and irregular viewing is following each other, but at 8 p.m. they go in opposite direction. Irregular viewing exhibits a deepened decrease (of 1-3 units of percent) at the same time as the habitual viewing is growing considerably. The increased level of habitualness in television viewing encompasses Prime Time from 8 to after 11 pm. During this time slot habitual viewing is increasing with 2 to 6 units of percent and habitual television viewing is strongly consolidated late Prime Time.

What can be seen is a *restructuring of the viewing habits around Prime Time*. Early Prime Time – from 7 to 8 p.m. – is a time slot loosing both regular and irregular audience. It is the only time slot of the day when people are increasingly turning away from television. Late Prime Time is, on the other hand, a time slot where the proportion of the regularly viewing audience is growing 'massively' transforming both non-viewers and irregular viewers into habitual television viewers. Habitual patterns of viewing Prime Time are dislocated to later in line with broader everyday life patterns as later dining habits and with prime content being scheduled later in the evening. The irregular viewing of television pursues a negative trend of change till around 10 p.m. and catches up with the positive change level of regular viewing at around 11 p.m. Dislocation of Prime Time coincides consequently with a stabilized viewing, becoming increasingly habitual. Prime Time, and especially late Prime Time, represents a special pattern of change in relation to the rest of the day since it is here stabilization of habitual viewing is firmest.

Habitual Viewing All Through the Day

It should be noted that stabilization of the television viewing, turning it more habitual, is a development that is not delimited to Prime Time. The stabilization of television viewing is in fact a development encompassing

all day parts: Morning, day, evening and night. It is difficult to decipher from the graphs of *absolute* levels presented this far, but there has been a shift in balance between the regular and the irregular viewing making regular patterns of behaviour a larger contributor to the practice of television viewing than it used to be. So even if television viewing is increasingly spread over the day, it is still getting more stabilized and increasingly built on habitual behaviours.

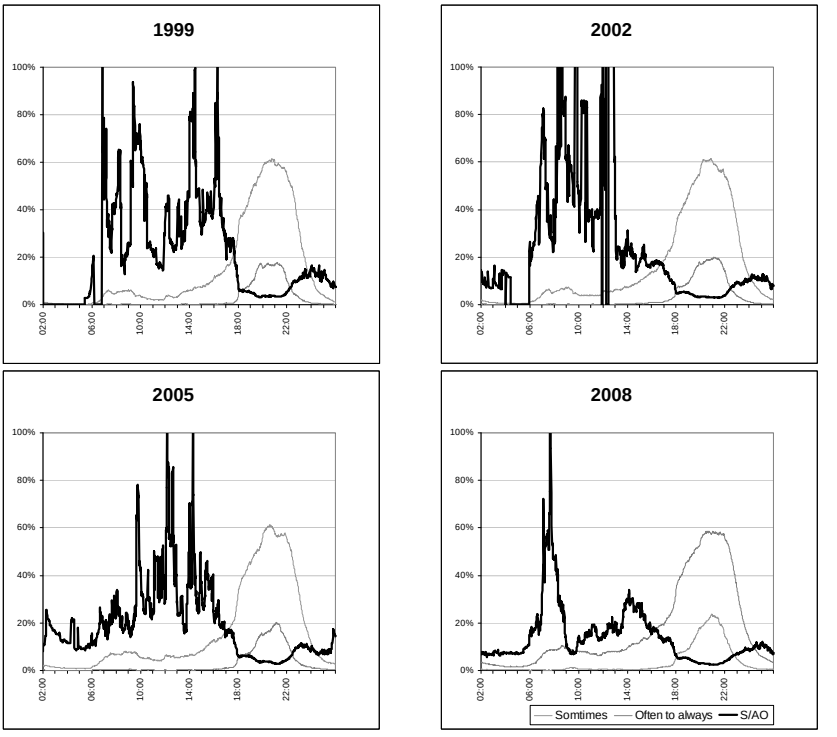
The increased stability in the patterns of television consumption can be followed in the graphs beneath. Illustrated is the ratio between regular and the irregular viewing. The question the curve of the ratio is addressing is how *habitual* television viewing is at different time slots of the day, and how this habitualness is developing over the years. The lower the curve, the more habitual television viewing. The new curve expresses the *ratio of irregular against regular viewing (Sometimes/Always +Often).*[54]

Following the ratio illustrates that, although irregular viewing is the category of viewing increasing most in absolute terms, the relative increase of regular viewing is larger than the relative increase of irregular viewing. This development of increased habitualness incorporates most day parts and can be followed as a lowering and levelling out of the curve. Habitualness in television viewing is strongest during Prime Time and is strengthened, but an even more visible trend is that other day parts, with a comparably smaller audience are getting more and more habitual viewing, even if still heavily dominated by irregular viewing.

The graphs show that television viewing spread over the day is not just irregular occasional viewing but also habitual viewing. Distinct parts of the audience have established habitual viewing tied to time slots not earlier used for television consumption. These parts of the audience are still small but, in contrast to before, they exist and are growing in proportion. In 1999, there was for example no habitual viewing night time and 2002 still no habitual viewing between 4 and 6 a.m. In 2005, there is for the first time a base of habitual viewing all around the clock and it is growing in proportion to 2008 (except in the mornings 6-9 a.m.).

[54] The correct scale of the measure is thus not percent but a value 100 times higher. To give an example: If the ratio of S/A is on the level of 10 percent it is to be read as S (irregular viewing) being ten times higher than A (regular viewing), and if it is exceeding 100 percent, and rising outside the graph, then it is more than 100 times higher.

Figure 14. The change in habitualness over time an average day 1999 to 2008 (ratio of the uncertainty of television viewing behaviour).



Note: The (S/A+O) ratio express how many times higher the irregular viewing is compared to the regular. The measure is divided by 100 in order to make it possible to fit the curve in parallel with the curves of Often to Always and Sometimes, on a scale in percent. When the curve exits at the top of the graph it exceeds 100 times higher.

Patterns of Weekly Change

In order to sharpen the everyday life focus of the analysis, the above mentioned trends has to be controlled for different days of the week marked by work or leisure time. Media use follows this distinction closely. Below, the regular and irregular viewing is outlined for the different days of the week first, as *volumes* and later, as *distributions* in time (Table 8).

The first conclusion, that *television viewing is spreading over the day*, is sustained as a general trend encompassing all days of the week. The number of minutes invested in regular and irregular viewing has increased from 1999 to 2008 for all days at the expense of minutes of non-television use. The absolute increase in *regular* viewing is fairly evenly distributed

over different weekdays with a minimum of 16 minutes Mondays and a maximum of 26 minutes Thursdays and Sundays. Meanwhile, *irregular* viewing represents greater differences in absolute increase with a minimum of 17 minutes Thursdays and a maximum of 50 minutes Saturdays.

Table 8. The change in volume of regular and irregular viewing from 1999 to 2008 (minutes and percent).

VOLYMES	REGULAR VIEWING (Often to Always)						
	Mon	Tue	Wed	Thu	Fri	Sat	Sun
1999	71	68	73	64	77	80	83
2008	87	90	91	90	99	104	109
Diff (abs)	16	23	19	26	22	24	26
Diff (rel)	22%	33%	26%	41%	28%	30%	32%

VOLYMES	IRREGULAR VIEWING (Sometimes)						
	Mon	Tue	Wed	Thu	Fri	Sat	Sun
1999	189	190	187	194	225	248	252
2008	219	228	207	211	250	298	287
Diff (abs)	29	38	20	17	25	50	35
Diff (rel)	15%	20%	11%	9%	11%	20%	14%

Note: The habitualness for weekdays are calculated following the same principles as for the average day used previously in this chapter. The base for the measure is although diverse making direct comparisons between levels inaccurate. This incommensurability between measures of habitualness with different base is tied only to *levels* and not to *directions* and *shapes*. The principles and calculation rules of the measures of Habitualness are delineated further in Three Fields of Investigation – Habitualness as Probabilities.

The habitual composition of the television viewing week follows the general pattern of allocation of viewing time. Both regular and irregular viewing is bigger weekends than weekdays. Regular viewing increases the least on Mondays and the most Thursdays (22 to respectively 41 percent). Irregular viewing increases the least on Wednesdays and increases the most on Tuesdays and on Saturdays. Taken together, there is no clear-cut simple direction, due to which weekends develop in relation to working days. Rather, the tendency is tied to singular days.

Thursdays are the day television viewing has been the most stabilized over time. It is the day of the week that regular viewing has been rising the fastest and irregular viewing, the slowest. Mondays, Tuesdays and Saturdays are the days with the lowest pace of increased habitualization in television viewing, while Wednesdays, Fridays and Sundays are on an intermediate level. Having underlined these day specific differences, the unifying trend encompassing all must be stressed. Habitualness in viewing is raised all weekdays, no matter working day or weekend. The *spreading of*

television viewing so well as the *stabilizing of television viewing* are two trends that encompass all weekdays.

The restructuring of Prime Time viewing consisted of three different tendencies: The first is early Prime Time losing its audience; the second is later Prime Time getting habitual audience and the third is late prime time loosing irregular viewers. *The general conclusion must be that the restructuring of Prime Time viewing is encompassing all days of the week* (see Appendix Tables). However, some tendencies are present and absent respectively stronger and weaker different days of the week. The early Prime Time loosing its audience is an example of a tendency most fully expressed in its time slots on Mondays and on Saturdays, but non-existent on Thursdays and on Sundays. The strengthening of habitual viewing late Prime Time is, on the other hand, present all days but expressed less convincingly on Mondays and on Sundays. The broad loss of irregular viewing is clearly visible all days, like somebody had been there to pull the plug, but we must keep in mind that this is a habitual trend, a loss of irregularity exchanged into regularity. Prime Time is under a reconstruction: Being relocated later in time and to a higher extent habitually consumed.

Two further aspects of the graphs of change above worth mentioning are *daytime* and *night time viewing*. Habitual and occasional daytime television viewing has been growing all days of the week, and weekdays from comparatively low levels in 1999. The growth is stronger articulated weekends, for regular viewing Sundays and for irregular viewing Saturdays. The night time viewing habits show only, I would say surprisingly, small variations over the days of the week. The only time slot breaking the pattern is midnight till 3 a.m. with a larger regular as well as irregular audience weekends. In short: Television viewing is spreading all over the day, all days of the week, in the same time as the great volumes of viewing Prime Time are dislocated till later and consumed more habitually.

The Habitual Audience

The movement from aggregated audience behaviour to accumulated individual level behaviour opens up a world of viewing habits rooted in individual viewers. All recursive patterns of behaviour depicted above rise from individual acts followed over time and accumulated into patterns of habits. Every single habit traced so far is consequently bound up with an individual leading a specific everyday life and owning certain characteristics. The next array of questions is directed versus these individuals per-

forming the habits. Who is sustaining, contesting, strengthening, weakening, stabilizing or dissolving television viewing as a habit? Are the patterns of habitual change stratified according to group characteristics guiding the direction, scale and pace of transformation of television viewing? Are viewing habits becoming more individualized over time? All these questions we hope to have answered when we map out how habitualness in television viewing is distributed within the audience?

Among the number of characteristics available to distinguish individuals from one another, I will treat two in this section. The first is age and the second is gender. The reason to dig further into age and gender is because earlier research has shown them to play a central role in relation to viewing behaviour. Especially age, is regularly brought forward as an essential aspect guiding the ability to enter successfully into the digital age and for developing appropriate digital abilities. Age coincides further with first, specific experiential worlds gathered and discussed under the umbrella of generations, and second with a specific position in a life cycle (child, parent, retired, dead etc.).

A third aspect of coincidence with both age and gender is the guiding principles of broadcasting production and scheduling. Programs and scheduled flows are increasingly directed versus specific combinations of the age-gender matrix. Age and gender are central to the direction in which mediaspace change.

Age and Habitualness

To map out the levels of habitualness within different parts of the audience, the same measures used previously will be reapplied and to some extent developed. The first question calling for an answer is, if there is any difference in levels of habitualness between age groups of the television audience, and if so, how is this difference in levels distributed?

The table 9 shows that habitualness in television viewing is – as we would expect – highly dependent on age. First, as would have shown from regular ratings or time use studies, television viewing increases with age. This can be followed in by age falling number of minutes of *irregular viewing* and *non-viewing*. Second and more interesting from our current perspective of habitualness is the relation between the regular and the irregular within different age groups. Both the minutes invested *regularly* and the minutes invested *irregularly* in television viewing grow with age.

Table 9. Habitualness in television viewing of different age groups 2008 – regular, irregular and highly irregular viewing (minutes and indexes).

					Habitualness indexes	
Age	Reg.	Irreg.	H. Irreg.	Sum	1-AO/(S+AO) *	S/AO **
3-14	40	192	1208	1440	0,83	4,76
15-24	69	197	1174	1440	0,74	2,86
25-34	74	255	1111	1440	0,77	3,43
35-44	85	235	1120	1440	0,73	2,77
45-64	115	243	1082	1440	0,68	2,12
65+	167	239	1034	1440	0,59	1,43
Total	97	230	1113	1440	0,70	2,36

Note: The values are the average number of minutes for each age-group and the indexes 1-AO/(AO+S) and S/AO are calculated from these MEAN-values in the table.
* The index runs between 0 and 1 with 0 being maximal habitualness, 0.50 equilibrium and 1 minimum habitualness. Answers the question: how many percent of the television viewing (highly irregular excluded) is not habitual.
** The index runs between 0 and 1440 (theoretical maximum) with 1 being the level of equilibrium. It answers how many times higher the irregular viewing is to the regular viewing? In 2008, around 20 percent of the values were below 1.00 and 10 percent above 30.00.

What could be seen as a contradiction – that regularity and irregularity increasing simultaneously – is to some extent tied to a larger amount of viewing. The larger the amount of viewing the more minutes of the day gets occupied by a regular to irregular pattern of viewing. A group like the older (65+), representing the largest amount of viewing time, produce a larger amount of minutes marked by both regular (which contribute most to viewing time) and irregular (which contribute less to viewing time).

An interesting exception to the above described pattern is the group of the audience aged 25-34. The group follows with age increasing pattern of regular viewing, but represents the highest amount of irregular viewing minutes. A suggested explanation is that they are less home bound and have a more mobile life. They are, in terms of the life cycle, situated in an episode of their life when they locate a larger part of their life outside of home as less bound to the intimate relationship represented by family (at earlier age) or by a possible partner and family (at later age). Drawing on the data from ten years earlier, the identified specificity in habitual viewing of the 25-34 year olds remain (see table below). It is a specificity that turns out stable over time.

The overall pattern of change is that the amounts of minutes marked by regular and irregular viewing increases while the highly irregular and non-viewing minutes go in the opposite direction. When this trend of development is split over different age groups, all groups turn out to follow it.

Table 10. The change of habitualness in viewing within different age groups 1999 to 2008 – regular, irregular and highly irregular viewing (minutes).

	1999			2008			Difference		
AGE	Reg.	Irr.	H.Irr.	Reg.	Irr.	H.Irr.	Reg.	Irr.	H.Irr.
3-14	37	157	1246	40	192	1208	3	35	-38
15-24	45	177	1217	69	197	1174	24	20	-43
25-34	57	232	1150	74	255	1111	17	23	-39
35-44	68	214	1158	85	235	1120	17	21	-38
45-64	84	212	1143	115	243	1082	30	31	-61
65+	144	221	1075	167	239	1034	24	18	-41
Total	75	203	1161	97	230	1113	22	26	-48
	(Sum=1440)			(Sum=1440)					

That all groups are aligned with the overall trend of change in habitualness is most clearly depicted by the differences to the right in the table. The differences between the level of habitualness 1999 and 2008 are positive for regular and irregular minutes and negative for highly irregular and non-viewing minutes for all age groups, without exception. The levels of the different age groups follow the same order 1999 and 2008 for all three categories of viewing. The less significant exception to this rule is the three age groups above 35 years that differ only marginally when it comes to the amount of irregular minutes.

The strongest pattern of change is exhibited by the youngest. Those aged 3-14 increase their regularity least and their irregularity most of all age groups. If we see to the relative amount of regular minutes in respect to irregular minutes, the youngest are moving in the opposite direction of all other age groups.[55] The 3-14 year olds of 2008 are less habitual than were their antecedents of 1999. A suggestion why this specific group has a pattern that diverges from the other age groups is that their television viewing situation has been radically altered. Television viewing is for this group often subject to parental control regarding viewing hours and appropriate content. Their television evening is, in most cases, shorter as they are constricted to go to bed earlier than the rest of the family, which prohibits substantial expansion of regular viewing.

What has affected this group is a boom in channels specialized in child programming. Schedules filling a broader range of the day have removed the temporal constrictions due to the content provision ruling in 1999. These channels constitute, on top of this, comparatively 'safe' content environment where children can be set free to engage in their own viewing. The consequence of this development is that the viewing earlier de-

[55] See APPENDIX – Tables (table 47.

limited to specific time slots and highly regular is turning increasingly irregular. An outcome reasonable to expect from this development is changes in the patterns of social interactions around the television involving young children and their parents.

To summarize the tendencies of change in habitualness, the individuals of the different age can groups can be divided according to their individual level of habitualness in relation to the overall level of habitualness of the audience. If a span of habitualness is established for the audience going from strong (+), over medium (+/-) to weak (-) habitualness, then the share of the respective age groups that end up in each category indicates the direction of the change in habitualness. A percentage above 33 constitutes over representation of an age group and below 33 the opposite.

Table 11. Shares of different age groups sustaining a strong, medium or weak habitualness in viewing 1999 and 2008 (percent).

	Habitualness						Differences			Change in
	1999			2008			1999-2008			habitualness
AGE	+	+/-	-	+	+/-	-	+	+/-	-	
3-14	23	27	50	17	22	61	-7	-5	12	Weakened
15-24	30	22	48	35	21	44	5	-1	-4	Strengthened
25-34	18	36	46	20	40	41	2	3	-5	Strengthened
35-44	26	42	32	28	39	33	2	-2	1	Unchanged
45-64	35	40	26	35	40	25	0	1	-1	Unchanged
65+	63	30	7	58	32	10	-5	2	3	Weakened
Total	33	33	33	33	33	33	0	0	0	
		100			100					

Note: The table is mapping out the percentage of different age groups that represent a certain level of habitualness: Strong/Medium/Weak. The table shall be read horizontally so that every age group sum up to 100 percent each year. The three levels of habitualness (S/M/W) are derived through a ranking of individual viewers of the audience according to the habitualness index (S/AO). The audience is thereafter split into three equally large parts following the ranking.

If seen from this perspective (taking into account the increased habitualness of the whole audience), the youngest and the oldest are the two groups over time weakening in habitualness while the 15-34 year olds are strengthening their habitualness in viewing. Unaltered, in term of habitualness, stand the 35-64 year olds. This could appear as an unexpected result since young adults lately have been brought forward as the group leaving television viewing for alternative new media practices. However, the result should rather be seen to reflect the low initial level of this group allowing a comparatively larger effect following rise.

Gender and Habitualness

Gender turns out to be a far less significant factor than age in relation to habitualness. The impact of gender on habitualness is miniscule compared to that of age. The difference in absolute levels of regular, irregular and highly irregular and non-viewing are small, as is the pattern of change over time.

Table 12. The change of habitualness in viewing within gender groups 1999 to 2008 (minutes).

	1999			2008			Differences		
GENDER	Reg.	Irr.	H.Irr.	Reg.	Irr.	H.Irr.	Reg.	Irr.	H.Irr.
Male	71	206	1163	90	229	1121	19	23	-42
Female	79	201	1160	104	230	1105	25	30	-54
Total	75	203	1161	97	230	1113	22	26	-48
	(SUM=1440)			(SUM=1440)					

Females show a more habitual viewing behaviour. Compared to males, they represent a greater amount of regular minutes of viewing and about the same amount of irregular minutes. This difference in habitualness is stable over time although the gap between females and males is slightly expanded.

Conclusion on Habitualness

Habitualness has provided a clear picture of the ongoing transformations in time allocation of the television audience today. A general conclusion is that both regular habitual viewing and irregular viewing rise simultaneously and are increasingly spread over the day. While the rise in itself is a direct consequence of increased viewing time, the spread is a clear-cut expression of individualization in viewing time allocation. That habitual viewing over time is spread over the day means that a growing proportion of the audience is establishing viewing habits tied to times of the day outside the time slots where viewing is most commonly allocated. The common movement of the audience is, over time dissolving, resulting in a flattening of the general rating curve. Habitual patterns of time allocation are in this way becoming individualized going from common to more unique.

A parallel, and to some extent contradictory, trend of change is Prime Time viewing turning increasingly habitual. The underlying reason is that

Prime Time is getting compressed in time (shorter) and same time dislocated till later in the evening. The only time-slot of the week loosing both habitual and irregular viewing is following this development 7 to 8 p.m. Irregular viewing continues to fall until 10 p.m. With the exception of these specific hours of Prime Time, both habitual and irregular viewing increase all through the day. That this spread is a trend of individualization is further sustained by the fact that the relative increase in habitual viewing is larger than that in irregular viewing. Individual patterns of viewing are becoming more habitual close to all times of the day.

When the trend of habitualness is assessed within the audience and controlled for different age and gender groups, all groups turn out to follow the trend of increased habitualness in viewing. Groups find themselves on different initial levels rising with age. The sole exception to this rule is the group of children representing strong habitual viewing behaviours. The pace of the increase follows from the initial level. The young adults are the group raising their habitualness the most over time resulting in an over time process of slight levelling out of differences in levels between groups.

7

SOCIAL VIEWING

For the first time, Swedish television viewing is in this thesis mapped out as a social behaviour, using People Meter data. Presented is a rich account of how social patterns of interaction around television are distributed within the audience and how these social behaviours are changing over time. The aim of the chapter is to give a most comprehensive picture of the phenomenon of social viewing as well as the causal dynamics underlying its over time change. The scope of the chapter is first *to describe* social viewing and second *to give reasonable explanations* to its pattern of over time change.

Individualization of social viewing is expected as a behavioural change dissolving social patterns of interaction turning them into solitary (and individual) actions. Television viewing takes place in the social situations surrounding it. Traditional linear television viewing takes place within social situation formed by household (or family) members and guests engaging in television viewing together or alone. Social television viewing is in this way a physically based phenomenon grounded in social everyday life and tied to a daily practice highly central to the regular habits of most people. A decline in social viewing would, as a decreased amount of *time together in physical space,* be a clear sign of individualization and of social disembedding from the intimate social surrounding of the individual.

The chapter will provide the social contours of television viewing and the forces of individualization at play in the midst of it. The introductory part forms a thorough description of the *size* of social viewing tied to diverging *social settings* (single and multi-person households) and *categories of viewing* (of resident household members and guest) proceeding with its *distribution in time* (over the day, weak and year). Central to this descriptive part of the chapter is the over time change 1999 to 2008. The trend of change constitutes the backbone of the whole chapter and the introductory description is establishing a base line of this change in social viewing.

The subsequent part of the chapter digs deeper into the field of possible causal explanations surrounding the over time development of social viewing, as a homebound everyday practice. Causal explanations are split

into three overarching themes addressing changes in *technology*, *content* and within the *audience*. Changes in technology focus the effects of the digitalisation of the terrestrial network on social viewing (a partial answer of to which extent technology is a driver of individualization?). Changes in content outline how social viewing is divided over different channels (which channels gather social viewing?). Identified are the changes in 'channel space' having affected the size and composition of the social audience over time (which specific developments on the level of channels have affected levels of individualization?). Changes in the composition of the social audience is searching to delineate the factors that have guided and do guide who is more or less social in television viewing (who is the social viewer?). Through this chapter, a detailed image of individualization of television viewing in physical and social space is delivered.

The Demise of Social Viewing

The daily viewing situation facing a television viewer has been radically altered in most national broadcasting systems during the last three decades. The number of channels has increased and so have the extension of their scheduling times. Driving this process of change was initially cable and satellite, but today this change is enforced by a broad wave of digitalisation encompassing also terrestrial television. The starting time, speed and scope of this change vary from nation to nation while the direction appears unitary. The most obvious and visible outcome of this development is an increased volume of content to choose from, arranged over a steadily increasing number of channels. The amount grows from scarce to abundant. This growth of *mediaspace* is intimately aligned with a simultaneous change of mediaspace, as a structure stretched out in another way today than previously. That mediaspace change in volume is intimately aligned to a change in character has been emphasized in the theoretical consideration made above.

With regard to mediaspace change, the *television technique* available in the households has been multiplied. The physical setting where television viewing takes place encompasses today a larger number of television sets spread within the households together with aligned additional time-shifting technologies (like DVDs and DVRs) and gaming consoles etc. The overarching timetable of this mediaspace development and technology diffusion has been described above (see Individualization of Swedish television) and will not be reiterated here. What is important to extract from the timetable is the specific parts of this change that are central to the

transformation of the physical setting of the home as a frame delimiting tendencies of individualization in social viewing 1999 to 2008, that is the empirical focus here.

If the change in mediaspace is regarded the major impetus to individualization in television viewing, the seminal restrictive frame of individualization on the household level is first the *availability of channels* (delimiting the access to the mediaspace) and second the *number of television sets per household* (delimiting the physical possibility to consume television alone). During the time period 1999 to 2008, channel availability of the households has been steadily rising. The actual time period represents strong change in channel provision at the end making increased individualization a theoretical, if not practical, everyday possibility of the whole audience. When it comes to diffusion of television sets the physical setting of the home seem to have reached a mature level around the shift of the millennium and have not changed more than marginally since. The household space seems full, at least full enough to satisfy the present level of need to consume television individually.

The general picture seems to give that the growing impetus to individualization in content development that coincides with a loosening of the restrictive frame to individualization at the household level. Given this picture, we must see if this dual development is affecting social viewing. Has the impetus to individualization brought about individualized television viewing thereby decreasing physical time together around the television? Do we watch television alone more often today than a decade ago? A preliminary answer to these questions seems to be yes.

The table below portrays the levels of social viewing during the last decade. It is split into the two seminal categories of solitary and social viewing. Over time, solitary viewing increases while social viewing decreases. Social viewing is, in addition to composite category, in the table split according to the size of the viewer group. Illustrated in table 13, we see that the social viewing is in decline with more or less the same amount regardless of viewer group size. There is a small tendency of larger viewer groups to decrease faster than smaller as is illustrated by the rising negative numbers of relative differences.

Before plunging into trends of change, the first thing to consider is the size of social viewing. More than every third minute of viewing (37%) is in 2008 imbibed socially – in the company of one or more persons. A decade earlier, in 1999, close to every second minute (45%) was consumed socially. Are these large numbers, and do they indicate the practice of television viewing to be of strong, weak or moderate social significance?

Table 13. The share of social and solitary viewing 1999-2008 (percent of viewing time).

	1999	2002	2005	2008	Diff (abs)	Diff (rel)
Solitary	*54.9*	*57.7*	*57.0*	*63.0*	*8.1*	*15%*
Social	*45.1*	*42.3*	*43.0*	*37.0*	*-8.1*	*-18%*
Two	35.1	33.0	33.4	29.1	-5.9	-17%
Three	5.8	5.4	5.9	4.6	-1.2	-20%
Four	2.6	2.5	2.2	2.0	-0.6	-23%
Five or more	1.6	1.5	1.4	1.2	-0.4	-24%
Total (solitary+social)	100	100	100	100		

Note: Sub-categories summing up to the total of Social viewing are Two , Three, Four, Five or more.

Important to recognize, here, is that the aggregate numbers of 37 to 45 percent is an average of the whole audience, all around the clock. As an average number, it melds together parts of the audience where social viewing plays a major role in viewing (multi-person settings) with segments where its role is less significant to the act of television viewing (single person settings). On top of that, it merges hours of the day, when individuals for natural reasons view alone (working hours and night) with time spans when television viewing for the same reasons is socially dense (evenings), and days of the week setting different frames to social interaction (weekdays and weekends). The conclusive answer to the question – whether the amount of social viewing is high – should therefore be postponed a little bit further. It depends on part of the audience and time of the day taken into consideration.

It depends first on which part of the audience you focus. The amount of social viewing is, for natural reasons, higher in multi-person households than in single person households. This distinction between single and multi-person household is central (and will be elaborated further below), but it is still but one of a number of possible characteristics of the audience that will influence the social patterns of television viewing. A second major factor guiding the levels of social viewing is time. The amount of social viewing varies strongly over the hours of the day and the days of the week and is tightly knit up with the recursive (habitual) behavioural patterns of everyday life.

Since social viewing is a pattern of social interaction, the basic social setting of the household becomes a crucial base line to the phenomenon. The most basic expectation on the influence of this social base line is: the denser the social environment of viewing the more diffused the behaviour of social viewing. Following this, social viewing is expected to be a more diffused behaviour in multi-person households than in single person households. If linear, the relationship would result in a larger amount of

social viewing in a household of five persons than in a household of four persons, a household that in its turn would represent a larger amount of social viewing than a household of three persons, etc. Research in the field of social interaction have, as illustrated above, provided extensive evidence on a greater complexity than this, and the patterns of social viewing are assumingly modified and moulded by a number of additional factors as age, gender, class of the individuals composing the social unit of the household and factors tied to the household as form of dwelling, availability of television technique and channels. In short: there is assumingly more to social interaction than the simple base line number of potential interactants.

Returning to the direction of social viewing (table 13), the over time trend is an increased individualization of viewing. From 1999 to 2008, the share of social viewing falls , 45 to 37 percent of viewing time. It is an 18 percent decrease in ten years. Every fifth minute that used to be a social viewing minute has turned into a solitary viewing minute. Confronted with this depicted change, two questions call for further exploration. The first is *whether the pace and scope of change is radical, moderate or modest.* It is a question that will be explored in great length in the following section. The second is *why the trend of change in social viewing has taken on its specific shape, departing from linear.* Explanation of the shape demands causal clues of changing television technology, television content and audience transformation. This explanatory enterprise is launched in the subsequent part of the chapter.

The Pace and Scope of the Demise

Considering the habitualness, homeboundness and recursiveness of the phenomenon of television viewing, a decrease of this extent (-18%) could hardly be regarded as modest. A focus on television viewing as a case of social interaction further sharpens our view: Do everyday patterns of social interaction within the home transform themselves easily at this pace? Whether the decrease of social viewing is radical or moderate is hard to tell straight hand without delineating the pattern of change more thoroughly. A decrease might be more radical in some parts of the audience while weaker or even reversed in other. A first step towards a firmer picture is to outline how the pattern of change is distributed over the different social settings and between resident household members and guests.

Table 14. The change in social viewing of resident household member and guests of multi and single person households (percent of viewing time).

Viewing:	Households:	1999	2002	2005	2008	Change 1999-2008
All	All	45.1	42.3	43.0	37.0	-17.9
	Single	10.3	7.9	8.4	7.9	-23.0
	Multi	60.1	57.4	58.0	52.6	-12.6
Household members	All	43.0	40.5	41.2	35.0	-18.7
	Single	4.9	3.6	3.8	3.9	-20.6
	Multi	59.0	56.3	57.0	51.4	-12.9
Guests	All	82.6	79.7	82.5	76.3	-7.6
	Single	80.3	78.0	81.8	72.7	-9.5
	Multi	84.2	80.7	83.0	78.9	-6.3

Note: The levels will be discussed further down in the part regarding numeric viewer constellation.

When splitting the change in accordance with different social settings, it is revealed that the *relative decrease* of social viewing is larger in single person households (-23%) than in multi-person households (-13%). Both resident household members and guests exhibit a diminished share of social viewing over time. Underlying the drop in social viewing is both decreased interaction between household members (within household interaction) and between resident household members and guests (between households interaction). In all households, single and multi-person, the social viewing of the resident household members have decreased more than it has decreased for guests – a -21 and -13 percent for resident household members against a -10 and -6 for guest.

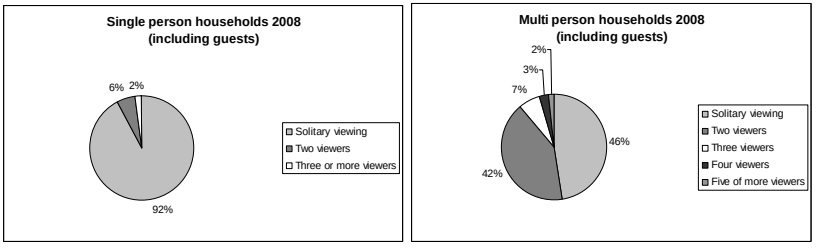
In sum, the trend of decreased social viewing is broad in *scope* and, perceived at this level, all encompassing. Social interaction around the television is shrinking a phenomenon in both single and multi-person households and among resident household members as well as guests. A preliminary answer to the question of *pace* of the decrease can be grounded on the *relative* pace. Most radical is the pace of decrease within single person households (compared to multi) and among resident household members (compared to guests).

The Size of Viewer Groups

Social television viewing can be undertaken in different constellations. On the most basic descriptive level, the composition is a number of persons

as monads, dyads, triads, quartets, quintets etc. The number of persons viewing television together constitutes the social situation within which choices of content are negotiated and taken. This social situation will also intersect with all parts of the reception process affecting perception, attention, interpretation, emotion and satisfaction of the viewers. The television audience is in terms of size in viewer groups composed as follows.

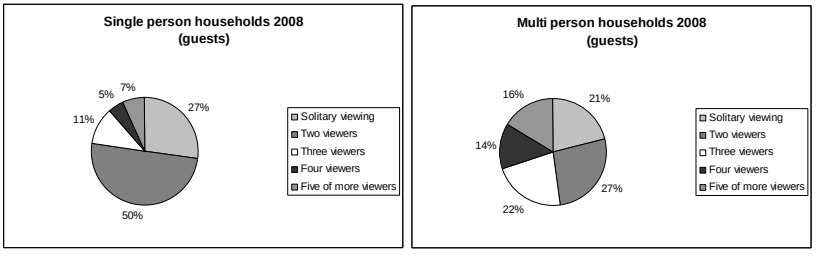
Figure 15. The size of the viewer group in all viewing 2008 in single and multi-person households – all viewing (percent of viewing time).



The dyad is the most usual form of social viewing. In a multi-person household, the situation of two persons viewing together occurs almost as often as solitary viewing – 42 against 46 percent respectively. Television viewing in larger constellations, such as triads, quartets, and quintets and larger is less frequent and fall in amount with increased size. In multi-person households triads account for seven percent of the television viewing, quartets three percent, and quintets and larger two percent. In single person households, the level of social viewing is significantly lower (8%). Around four fifths (78%) of the social viewing – or six percent of the total viewing in single person households – is undertaken in dyads.

A more detailed picture of the size of the viewer group can be assessed by dividing resident household member viewing and guest viewing.

Figure 16. The size of the viewer group in guest viewing 2008 in single and multi-person households – guest viewing (percent of viewing time).

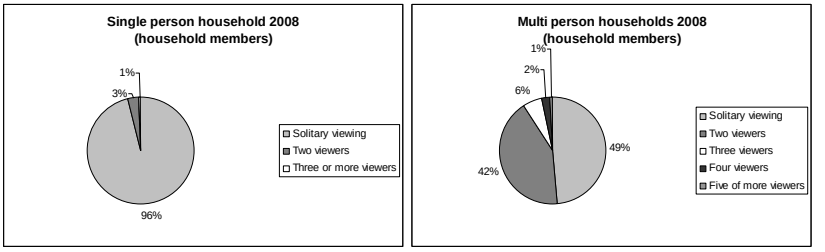


Guest viewing diverges from other categories of viewing when it comes to size of the viewer group. The natural reason for this is that watching television at someone else's home is different compared to television viewing at home. Solitary viewing is less common and encompasses only around one-fifth of the viewing in multi-person households and one fourth of the viewing in single person households. The amount of viewing undertaken alone, in dyads, in triads, in quartets, and in quintets and larger are fairly even distributed for guest viewing. This is especially evident in multi- person households but also in single person households. The dyad is still the most frequent viewer group size but constellations with more viewers than two are much more frequent in guest viewing compared to resident household member viewing.

Guest viewing is a highly social type of television viewing. The over time change seems to imply a slow loosening up of this social dimension of guest viewing as people visiting each other increasingly consume television alone. To watch television alone at someone else's home is still in 2008, a minor category of guest viewing, but a minor category of viewing that is growing over time. In 1999, only 20 percent of the guest viewing was done alone in single-person households. The share in multi-person households was 16 percent. In 2008, the corresponding levels of solitary guest viewing have been raised to 27 respectively 21 percent of viewing time. From a perspective of individualization, it is an interesting trend that the act of visiting one another, per definition a social act, is increasingly filled with a solitary practice.

The relative size of guest viewing, as a comparatively small part of the total television viewing (5%), is the reason the impact of this diverse pattern is close to insignificant for the general picture. The impact of home viewing – representing 95 percent of the total viewing – is much stronger and makes the total distribution of numeric viewer constellations in the total audience differ only marginally from the picture of household member viewing given below.

Figure 17. The size of the viewer group in resident household member viewing 2008 in single and multi-person households – household member viewing (percent of viewing time).



A number of conclusions can be drawn from the display of the numeric viewer constellations of the television audience displayed above. The overarching conclusion is: *depending on which type of household – single person or multi-person – and which type of television viewing you focus – viewing at home or guest viewing –the expectation of social interaction in television viewing differ*. The social setting of the household has a clear base line effect for social patterns of television viewing that becomes evident when you split single person and multi-person households. *Television viewing in single person households is by default individual and consequently most often solitary*. The inherently asocial characteristic of single person households is connected to the fact that individuals of single person households live by themselves and have no default social setting in which everyday practices, like television viewing, takes place. To become social, the practice of television viewing has to involve guests from outside the household – a situation occurring four percent of the time of viewing.

Likewise, *guest viewing can be said to be inherently social*. Seldom do guests enter someone else's home to watch television alone. In single person households, this situation occurs one-fourth of the viewing time and in multi-person households one-fifth of the viewing time. This is low compared to the level of solitary viewing of resident household members when at home – 96 and 49 percent respectively. The conclusion that can be drawn is that the act of visiting a friend – that arguably is interaction between households – more often result in social than solitary patterns of consumption when it comes to the practice of television viewing. A conclusion that is more comforting from a humanitarian perspective than surprising from a commonsense perspective. But as have been found, it has been contested by over time development.

The conclusions presented above have consequences for the way social viewing is to be researched. First, as stated previously, single person households can supply no information when it comes to question on intra-household interaction, since they represent none (following the simple law that it takes two to tango). Second, when guest viewing is included in analysis of social viewing its inherently social character will bias results in

the direction of indicating more social behaviour than present among the actual members of the household. Consequently, both these categories of viewing – viewing within the single person household setting and guest viewing – have to be distinguished down the line of analysis and at certain points dropped and excluded.

Social Viewing Over the Year

Earlier research on television viewing has established that television viewing follows a regular pattern in relation to time. Viewing varies over the year and week and throughout the day, according to a familiar pattern. The question under consideration here is *when* these regular patterns, normally assessed on the level of the audience, are paralleled by social patterns of interaction. If the allocation of time to television viewing is well established field of audience research, the same can not be said of the allocation of time to social interaction in television viewing. This is an under researched domain and questions like when we do watch television together respectively alone during the year, week and day are short of answers for the Swedish as well as for most other national television markets.

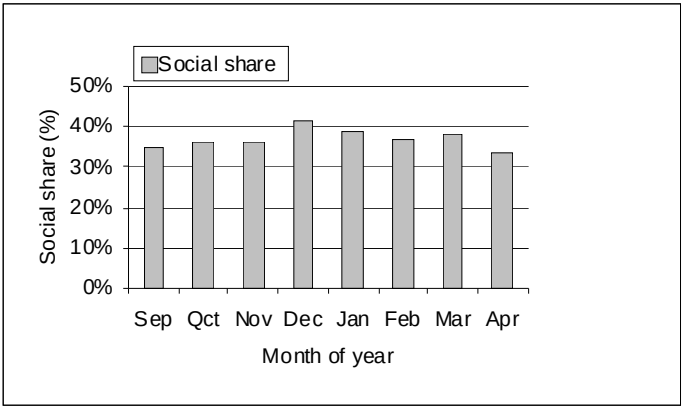
The question of variability of social viewing over the year will only be given a partial answer here. This is due to the fact that the data waves created are a composite of the months of September to April leaving out the four months of the year. During these four months viewing is lower, and holidays break ordinary patterns of everyday life. This is lowering the precision of People Meter technology as designed for audience measurement at home. The months within the selected time span exhibit the following pattern.

Taken into account, the below diagram (figure 18) is the *share of social viewing* in respect to its juxtaposition: *share of solitary viewing*. Television can be undertaken either alone or together with other persons, and the two categories are consequently all encompassing, adding up to the total amount of television viewing. Absent in the diagram is thus the staple of solitary viewing adding up to 100 percent.

The *share* of social viewing varies from month to month. Around the shift of the year 2008, it increases from around 35 percent in September to a maximum of slightly over 41 percent in December. It then decreases to a level of 37 to 38 percent from January till March making a fall in April below the initial level of September. The same months viewing reaches its peak in Swedish households, social viewing is most comprehensive. In

these months, November, December, January, February and March, social everyday life is comparatively home centred, in respect to other times of the year.

Figure 18. Share of social viewing September 2007 to April 2008 (percent of viewing time).



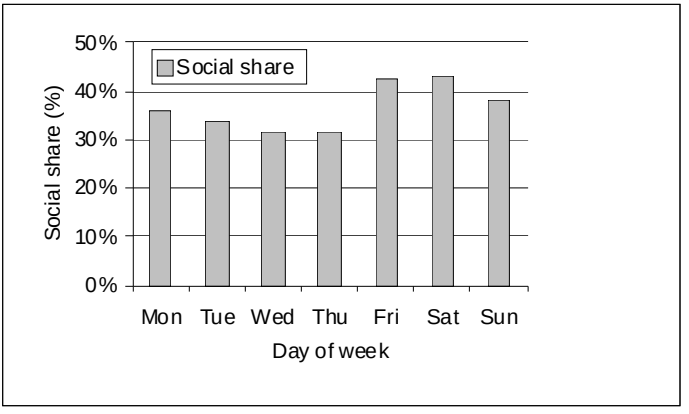
Not included in the graph above is the share of social viewing of guests, that is, as expected, higher than for household members. The share of social viewing of guests oscillates around 80 percent with its maximum in December. *Social share,* as reported above, gives an answer to the question of *the relative size of social viewing for a delimited time period.* The share of social viewing for the whole time period, September to April, is 37 percent. This mean value regards all months constituting the wave and coincides with the total amount of social viewing of 2008 reported at the onset of this chapter. When the share of social viewing for singular months is considered in relation to this overall mean value, the share of social viewing is above the overall mean December to March and below it September to November and April in most of the waves.

The question of when social viewing is the biggest (in *relative* size) is thus December although it might be bigger (in *absolute* size) during months when the absolute amount of total television viewing is higher. The relation between relative size of social viewing (share) and absolute size of television viewing (rating that expresses amount) will be treated further below to assess if there is a causal relation between social viewing and the amount of television viewing. To provide firmer evidence, the share of social viewing has first to be assessed over the week and throughout the day.

Social Viewing Over the Week

The variability of social viewing over the days of the week follows the expected pattern of peaking when the social environment of the household is most dense: in weekends of leisure time.

Figure 19. Share of social viewing during the days of the week 2008 (percent of viewing time).



Social viewing drops during the working week, from a level of 36 percent on Mondays to a level of 32 percent on Thursdays. The level rises during weekends reaching its peak of 43 percent Saturdays. Saturday was before 2005, a day of the week when the share of social viewing was larger than the share of solitary viewing, a situation that has changed in 2008. The shares of social viewing Fridays and Sundays are 42 and 38 percent, respectively. Guest viewing follows the same pattern on a higher-level of around 70 percent weekdays and above 80 percent Fridays and Saturdays with a Saturday peak of 84 percent share of social viewing in 2008.

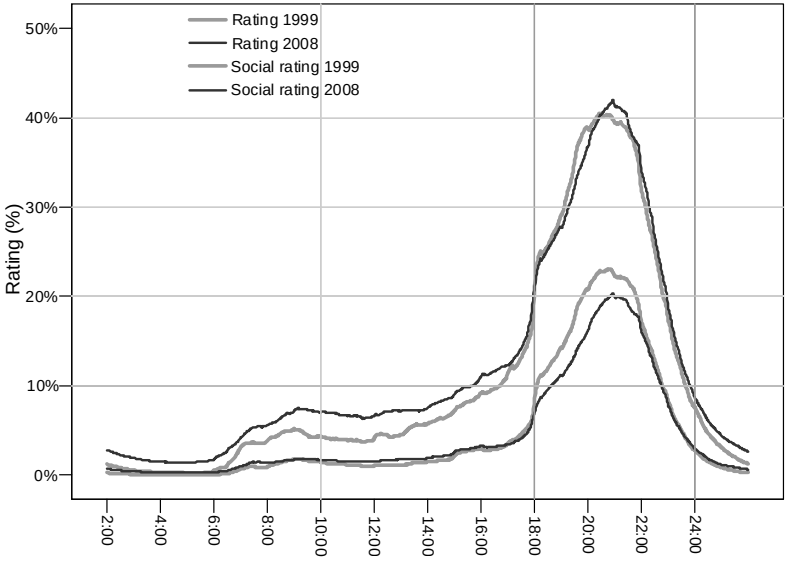
Social Viewing Over the Day

The illustrated pattern of social television viewing exhibits the link between everyday life and the practise of social television viewing. During the working week leisure time is for the major part of the audience limited to morning and evening time, as tomorrow calls on another working day. Weekends constitute a break from this 9 to 5 work week, opening up a social leisure time where television viewing can be excelled, as one among many leisure time practices. The influence of working week patterns on

television viewing will be further illustrated when treating viewing bound to hours of the day. One seminal parallel dimension that will be merged into the analysis is here is the overall development and dislocation of television viewing as a temporal practice. In chapter 6 on habitualness changes in contemporary patterns of time allocation to television viewing was mapped out and a central question to answer is if social viewing is following these overall tendencies or if it diverges from them in some particular way.

In the graphs below, rating curves are used to outline how television viewing is distributed over the day. The rating curves show the proportion of the audience that tune in at different times of the day. The social rating curves describe consequently how large proportion of the audience that is watching television in a social situation together with other viewers. Immediately below, follows a graph depicting the composite ratings of an average viewing day 1999 and 2008 followed by a split distinguishing weekdays from weekends.

Figure 20. Rating and social rating curves – an average viewing day 1999 and 2008 (percent of audience).



The two upper curves describe the total viewing while the two lower describes the social viewing. The grey and broader lines represent year 1999 and the black and thinner year 2008. Television viewing, over time, is spread over the day. At the same time viewing is concentrated to a com-

pressed Prime Time dislocated later in the evening. Viewing is in 2008 reaching higher levels all throughout the day, except for early Prime Time 18:00 to 20:00. The social rating curve follows this tendency of overall viewing all over the day except at Prime Time 20:00 to 23:00. In this time slot, social viewing of 2008 does never reach the comparative levels of 1999. Late Prime Time is the time slot the social audience is dramatically shrinking.

To come closer to real world television consumption, it is necessary to split the composite development indicated above over weekdays and weekends. This way it is possible to see if this pattern of change is especially tied a particular section of the week, i.e. weekday or weekend. When split, change turns out to be tied to weekdays rather than weekends.

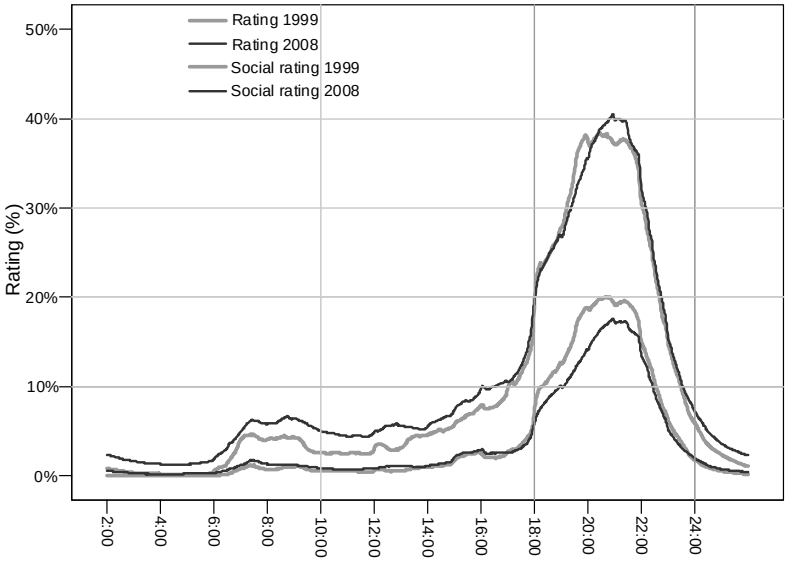
The two graphs on next page illustrate that social rating follow overall ratings most times of the day both weekday and weekend. Daytime and night time (from midnight till 17:00) viewing in general as well as social viewing is more comprehensive in 2008 than in 1999 following increased television viewing spread over the day. The more interesting shifts occur in broad Prime Time, where the largest proportion of television viewing time is invested. Prime time is also the slot of the day where weekdays and weekend viewing diverge from each other in over time development.

In both graphs, the grey curves of 1999 respectively the black curves extend similarly. The two upper curves in each graph depict the shift in overall viewing, while the two lower curves outline the parallel shift in social viewing. Beginning with the two upper curves, the shift in overall viewing is weekdays a compression of Prime Time viewing making the peak in rating reach higher, and weekends a dislocation of Prime Time viewing till later in the evening. Of the two trends of *compression* and *dislocation* of habitual Prime Time viewing (found in chapter 6), compression is due to weekday television viewing while dislocation is due to changed patterns of viewing all of the week.

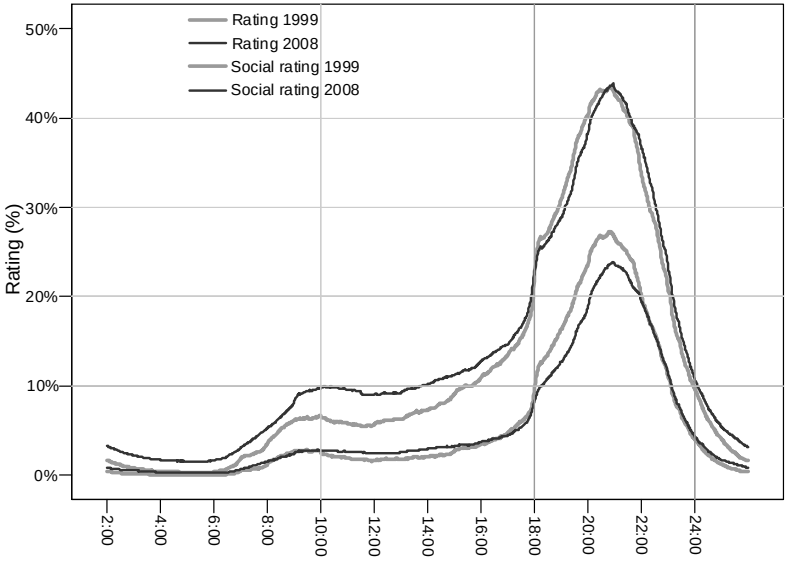
Social viewing follows the trends of compression and dislocation, illustrated by that the curves extend similarly. The way social viewing diverges from overall viewing is that it shrinks during Prime Time. The lower black curves depicting social rating in 2008 are during Prime Time, both weekdays and weekends, positioned below the lower grey curves of 1999. This situation rules 18:00 to 23:30 weekdays and 18:00 to 22:00 weekends. Prime Time is consequently the delimited time slots where the social audience is dissolving over time while the social audience increases in amount all other times of the day.

Figure 21. Rating and social rating curves – an average weekday (Monday to Thursday) and weekend (Friday to Sunday) 1999 and 2008 (percent of audience).

WEEKDAY



WEEKEND



That the social audience is dissolving at Prime Time means that the largest volumes of television viewing today are consumed more individually than it used to be. A Prime Time audience composed of families are over time becoming a less suitable guideline for contemporary scheduling strategies as singular family members increasingly consume television individually. But if the curves above are related to each other an even clearer picture can be given of when this dissolving of television viewing as a social practice is strongest. In the table below the share of the audience involved in social viewing at different parts of the week is illustrated. From the table gets evident which time slots of the week represent the most radical fall in social viewing. The larger the volume of viewing (Rating) the more impact on social viewing gets a change in social share.

Table 15. Rating and Social share over the day 1999 and 2008 – an average weekday (percent of audience and percent of viewing time).

Weekdays	Rating			Social Rating		
	1999 (%)	2008 (%)	Diff.	1999 (%)	2008 (%)	Diff.
02:00-05:59	0	2	1	5	18	13
06:00-09:59	3	5	2	21	21	0
10:00-17:59	6	7	2	27	23	-3
18:00	25	24	0	43	35	-9
19:00	34	31	-2	47	38	-9
20:00	38	39	1	52	42	-10
21:00	36	38	2	52	43	-8
22:00	23	24	1	46	39	-7
23:00	10	11	1	38	31	-8
00:00-01:59	3	4	1	25	22	-2
Total:				41	33	-8

Note: Rating is the average level of the rating curve during the actual time slot. Social share is calculated as the social rating/total rating and describes the share of social audience in relation to the available audience (Persons Using Television). AVT is the Average Viewing Time of the audience. AVT has been growing from 152 to 172 minutes a day from 1999 to 2008.

The fall in the share of social viewing is broad and includes all time slots but night time, all week, and morning time, weekdays. Social viewing is diminishing during broad Prime Time but the most in its early hours 18:00-22:00. This fall is the change with most impact on the overall pattern of social viewing since it is affecting the time slots holding the most massive audience. Morning time weekends constitute another time slot loosing social ground but holding a comparatively small audience. As can be seen from the total shares of social viewing, weekdays and weekends the level of fall is equally big. The broad fall in social shares is a trend undergo in television viewing that encompasses all week and which is not

linked to an overall fall in viewing. Viewing time increases during the period from 152 minutes a day to 172 minutes a day, but this increase is not feeding into social television viewing. Television viewing grows, but more as an individual practice than a social practice.

Table 16. Rating and Social share over the day 1999 and 2008 – an average weekend day (percent of audience and percent of viewing time).

Weekends	Rating			Social Rating		
	1999	2008	Diff.	1999	2008	Diff.
	(%)	(%)		(%)	(%)	
02:00-05:59	1	2	1	18	20	3
06:00-09:59	4	6	2	38	28	-11
10:00-17:59	9	11	3	33	29	-4
18:00	28	26	-1	50	41	-9
19:00	36	33	-3	55	46	-9
20:00	43	42	-1	62	53	-9
21:00	40	41	1	61	54	-7
22:00	28	30	3	57	51	-5
23:00	14	16	2	48	45	-3
00:00-01:59	5	6	1	34	34	0
Total:				49	41	-8
All week						
Total:				*45%*	*37%*	-8
AVT (min)	*152*	*172*				

Note: See Note of previous table.

These changes in social viewing are concrete changes in physical patterns of interaction around the television located in the physical setting of the home where television viewing takes place. That television viewing is losing social ground is something that opens up an increased space for individual consumption at the intimate site where television viewing comes about. These changes in physical space will imply changes in what family members share in terms of consumed content mediated by television, which is a question that will be studied in depth in the following chapter on referential space.

In order to get a balanced perspective, it is important to underline that even if the decline of social viewing and family viewing is broad, there are still social settings where television viewing to a high extent equals social television viewing, still in 2008. If the share of social television viewing is considered for multi-person households at the peak of Prime Time 21:00 the average share is in 2008 of 66 percent of the total viewing. Important to acknowledge is that television viewing is not a single behaviour in terms of social composition. Even if the clear overall trend is individualization

of television viewing as a practice, the natural social situation of television viewing still diverges heavily from one television viewer to another. How socialness in viewing diverges between members of multi-person households will be further elaborated in the last part of this chapter (see Social audience).

Conclusion on Temporal Distribution of Social Viewing

The split of television viewing into solitary and social viewing is providing analysis of television viewing with social leverage. The exhibits of the distribution of social viewing over the year, week and day seem to boil down to one conclusion: The curves of social viewing covariate almost perfectly with the general curves of total rating. There is a strong dependency between general rating figures and patterns of social interaction around the television and massive audiences are consequently most often built on social grounds. But is this covariance an expression of a true causal relationship? Or, to pose the question more accurately: is this covariance *still* an expression of a true causal relationship?

The over time development of social viewing illustrates that social interaction, used to play a central role in the everyday practice of television viewing, but that it is rapidly loosing ground. This development is highly visible during the ten studied years from 1999 to 2008. Important to remember is that the actual period studied here constitutes an era where television viewing has reached a comparatively high level of individualization. The period is also marked by the technological shift of digitalisation of the terrestrial network that induces further impetus to this trend of individualization. If the data had allowed a referential point further back in time the radically of this social shift in viewing would have been even clearer.

The over time comparisons reveal that social viewing covariates positively with total ratings (volumes of television viewing) at most time spans where ratings rise to a peak. The winter months of the year, the weekend days of the week and Prime Time of the day all represent a comparatively larger share of social viewing than do other time spans of the year, week and day. The straightforward conclusion would be that *there is a causal relationship between social viewing and total viewing making peaks in total rating highly dependent on peaks in social television viewing.* Massive audiences are built on social grounds and peaks in rating are highly dependent on the social audience. But, we have to consider that this relationship could be more of

a historical account of how it used to be, and to some extent still is, but eventually won't be.

Two clear indications that individualization is about to put an end to or at least weaken the covariance between social viewing and overall ratings is the social consequences of spread viewing over the day and compressed Prime Time viewing at weekdays. Viewing time has during the ten years been rising from an average of 152 minutes to 172 minutes per day.[56] This growth in viewing is mostly spread over the day with the effect that ratings daytime and night time has been rising and so have social ratings. The relative rise in social ratings is smaller compared to the regular ratings and this development does not feed into social viewing. The compressed Prime Time viewing weekdays exhibit a similar effect where regular ratings peak without resulting in a parallel peak in social ratings. When it comes to social viewing, Prime Time compression is not yet visible on weekends. At weekends, social viewing is still holding a firm position in television viewing.

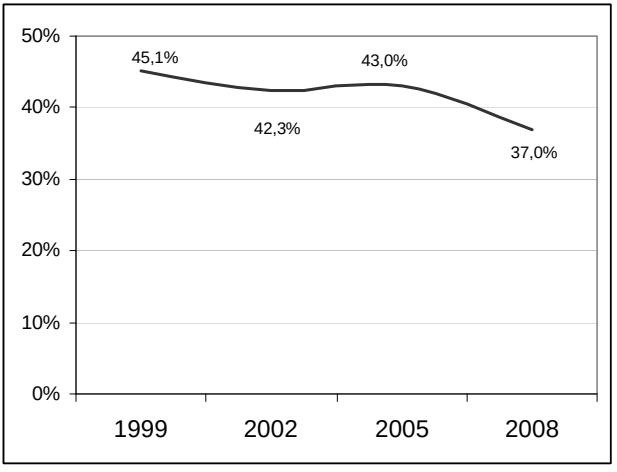
The decline of social viewing was expected as an outcome of the process of individualization and could from this perspective be seen as an approval of the theoretical framework of individualization forming the spinal cortex of this thesis. There is however one annoying fact immanent to the decline that has to be explained further. The question is: *why the trend of change in social viewing has taken on its specific form, departing from linear*. It is a question that demands an explanatory enquiry into the broader context of television viewing. Can the irregularities in the over time change be explained by changes in television technology, television content or changes under go within the television audience? This explanatory enterprise is pursued in the remaining part of this chapter. On the way, social viewing will be described further giving answers to which channels that gather social audiences and to who the social viewer is.

[56] These average viewing time figures derive from the created waves of 8 months. Corresponding growth for entire years is 144 to 160 minutes, as were reported (based on MMS yearly reports) in Chapter 2 – Figure 1.

The Causal Factors of the Social Decline

A point of departure in the mapping out of the causal dynamics of social viewing can be taken in its fluctuations. The hypothesis underlying the inquiry into individualisation is that changes in television technology and in content provision over time will bring about and sustain individualization in television viewing. The hypothesis is that individualization will increase over time and that one side of this development will show up as an increased physical practice of solitary viewing at the expense of social viewing. The time period 1999 to 2008 considered the hypothesis is sustained at large as solitary viewing practices increase substantially.

Figure 22. The shape of the development of social viewing 1999-2008 (percent of viewing time)



What urges further exploration is though why the pattern over time exhibits leaps and reversal tendencies instead of a more uniform linear fall. Two big leaps of decline are found 1999 to 2002 and 2006 to 2008. The first is smaller and the latter larger, which means that there are at least three periods of different tendencies 1999 to 2008. During the intermediate period 2002 to 2005, the size of social viewing remains invariable – around 43 % – and even tends to an increase. How can this over time development be explained? It contains both different directions of change and varying paces. Which causal factor or combination of factors could explain development trend?

There are at least three possible fields of explanation that has to be scrutinized further in search for an underlying explanation of the curve's

shape. The first explanation could be a change in the field of *television technique* that somehow temporarily knitted people together: a macro level change with social consequences on the micro level of the household. One such factor could be the introduction of digital terrestrial pay television from 2001 with the subsequent period of close down of the analogue terrestrial network 2005 – 2007. Could this step of development that has unleashed abundance of choice, at the same time, temporally have imposed constraints on the process of individualization?

The second explanation could be some major *development on the content side* like an introduction of new channels drawing in social crowds and making the audience temporally more socially involved when watching television 2005 than year 2002 and 2008. The inclusion of specific media events could here be a similar plausible explanations (e.g. The Olympics) but is something that has been controlled for building the waves in the first place.

The third field of explanation is changes within *the audience*. We have already seen how the *social setting* constitutes a social base line guiding the performance of social viewing behaviours. Besides the social setting additional arrays of factors that could be scrutinized are *demographics*, *technique availability* of the household and *viewing behaviours.*[57]

Before approaching these three fields of explanation to form and to test this hypothesis, we must first reassess if there is anything found this far that can explain the shape of the decline of social viewing. Concluded in the introductory part of this chapter was that the difference between levels of social viewing of single and multi-person household is large. So is the difference between the guests and the resident household member's share of social viewing. Even a small dislocation in the *relative volumes* of those different categories of television viewing would consequently exert a substantial impact on social viewing. Has there been any dislocation in the relative volumes in line with a pattern of decline of social viewing?

[57] A fourth explanation that has to be mentioned in order to then be ruled out is the methodological aspects of the measurement and especially the selection, sensitive to the composition of days (the number of holidays included and which falls on week days). The question posed is: can the absence of linearity be explained by selection bias? Selection bias varying year to year has been controlled for (this has been treated in the methodology chapter) and has consequently been taken out of consideration.

Increased Viewing in Single Person Households

A negative trend in social viewing would be supported by a relative decrease in the volume of viewing of multi-person households (in relation to single) and of guests (in relation to residents). And as the attentive reader already has noticed, there is an identical displacement under hand. In the following table, the over time change in volume of total and social viewing are outlined. They are firstly split over single and multi-person households and secondly split into resident household member viewing and guest viewing.

Table 17. The effect of volume and share of different categories of viewing 1999-2008 – single/multi-person households respective guest/household member viewing (percent of viewing time).

		Viewing by *household*			Viewing by *interaction*		
	Year	Single	Multi	SUM	Residents	Guests	SUM
VOLUME	1999	30.2	69.8	100	94.8	5.2	100
of all viewing	2002	30.4	69.6	100	95.2	4.8	100
	2005	30.3	69.7	100	95.6	4.4	100
	2008	34.9	65.1	100	95.1	4.9	100
SOCIAL	1999	10.3	60.1	*	43.0	82.6	*
SHARE	2002	7.9	57.4	*	40.5	79.7	*
S-share	2005	8.4	58.0	*	41.2	82.5	*
	2008	7.9	52.6	*	35.0	76.3	*
SOCIAL	1999	3.1	42.0	45.1	40.8	4.3	45.1
IMPACT	2002	2.4	39.9	42.3	38.5	3.8	42.3
(volume *	2005	2.5	40.5	43.0	39.4	3.6	43.0
s-share)	2008	2.8	34.2	37.0	33.3	3.7	37.0
CHANGE	units	-0,3	-7,7	-8,1	-7,5	-0,6	-8,1
1999 to 2008	(%)	-11%	-18%	-18%	-18%	-14%	-18%

Note: The table maps out the VOLUME, SOCIAL SHARE and the SOCIAL IMPACT (which is the volume*s-share) for four categories of viewing. The two first are the single and multi-person household gathered in the columns of viewing by household. The two latter are gather in the columns viewing by interaction and depicts the viewing undertaken by resident household members and guests, respectively. Please note that the four categories are mutually exclusive as pairs single/multi respectively residents/guests. * The unweighted SUM does not carry any significant information. If weighted it becomes identical to the SUM of social impact (45.1 … 37.0).

The table illustrates that the over time displacements in relative volumes of television viewing have contributed to the decrease of social viewing. From 2005 to 2008 the television viewing in multi-person households decrease in relative volume (from 70 to 65 percent) as single person households occupy a larger part of the television viewing (from 30 to 35 percent). Meanwhile, guest viewing is decreasing marginally in both single and multi-person households. By default, more socially dense television viewing behaviours – guest viewing and viewing in multi-person house-

holds – is exchanged into less social viewing behaviours. Taken together, this is an unambiguous reinforcement of solitary viewing practices when shares of social viewing of 52-83 percent are lowered to 8-10 percent (the span of the s-share levels in multi and single person households during the period).

The resident members of multi-person households have a large impact on the total volume of social viewing. These households produce around 90 percent of the total social viewing and changes in multi-person households accounts for a total of 7.7 units out of the total decrease of 8.1 units of percent. The resident household members represent 7.4 and guests 0.4 of these units. This means more than 90 percent of the total decrease in social viewing is due to behaviours of resident household members of multi-person households. The multi-person household is consequently the most adequate site of exploration when digging deeper into the dynamics of change in social viewing undergo within the audience (see Social audience). Multi-person households encompass, among other social constellations, families, which mean the tracking of a possible roaming death of family viewing is a natural part of these analyses.

Two direct conclusions can be drawn concerning the impact of the displacement of volumes. The first regards what the displacement can explain and second how much of the total decline that can be an effect of changes in volumes of viewing. The depicted change is most likely an important causal factor driving the demise of social viewing, but as the table above illustrates displacements in volumes of viewing have an explanatory scope delimited in time. Displacements fits as explanation of the drop at the end of the time span, from 2005 to 2008, but cannot contribute to explanations of the entire shape of the curve.

During the period of 1999, 2002 and 2005 the *volumes* of viewing are, conversely the *shares* of social viewing, characterized by stability. The relative volume of multi to single person households does not move at all and the only change visible is a small drop in guest viewing (a tendency reversed by 2008). Meanwhile, shares of social viewing drop from 1999 to 2002, after which, it lays stable and slightly increases until it drops heavily from 2005 to 2008. The shape of the curve of social viewing from 1999 to 2005 cannot be explained by displacements of volumes of viewing since there are none, but as displacements occur between 2005 and 2008 they become one of the influential causal factors heading the fall of social viewing.

So how much of the fall in social viewing can be attributed to these displacement between 2005 and 2008? If the discrepancy between the *expected* outcome in 2008, would the volumes and s-share have remained

on the level of 2005, and the *factual* outcome 2008 is calculated, it is possible to arrive at a conclusion. It turns out; a total of 35 percent of the decrease in social viewing from 2005 to 2008 is explained by the change in volumes of viewing. The rest of the fall must be attributed to other factors affecting the social viewing negatively. The first field researched for plausible explanations is the changing television technology. Digitalisation of the terrestrial network is the major technological transformation occurring 1999 to 2008.

Digitalisation as a Social Impetus

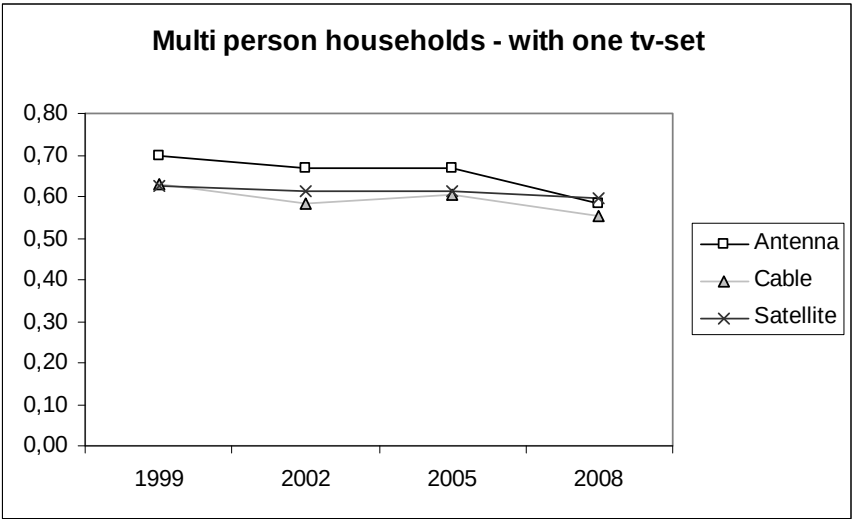
The Swedish television landscape has changed radically in the last decade due to the process of digitalisation of the terrestrial network. During the staged process of close down of the analogue terrestrial network (initiated 2005 and finished autumn 2007) the remaining part of Swedish three channel households (around 20 percent) were turned into multi-channel settings. The process started out with a decision in the end of the 1990s and since the start of the new millennium the share digital television households had been increasing gradually from none around 2000 to 35 percent in 2007 (Engblom & Wormbs, 2007).

An interesting suggestion is that abundance of choice, especially in the beginning of this transition from analogue to digital terrestrial television, was paired with scarcity of household technology. This scarcity might have brought about a temporary break in the individualization process of television viewing in some households and have induced a reverse tendency of increased social viewing. The hypothesis is based on the assumption that people did not purchase digital set-top boxes to all of their television sets, but to begin with only to the main one. Alternatively people purchased one main full service box to the main television set, supplying the rest of the televisions of the household with free-boxes less attractive for television viewing. This technology scarcity is expected to be temporary, disappearing over time as households increased their number of set top boxes and updated their arsenal of television technology.

This hypothesis is not taken out of the air but is to some extent sustained by the trend of set top box ownership of Swedish households. A certain amount of scarcity in set top box ownership seems to have ruled before 2005 and during the wave of digitalisation of the terrestrial network. It has in any case been levelled out later as the number of set top boxes in 2007 approached the number of television sets per household (MMS: Basundersökning 2007).

If the hypothesis has any bearing, this could, to some extent, explain why social viewing is growing momentary from 2002 to 2005, after which it reassumes a trend of decrease. If there is any substance to this hypothesis, it would show up as diverging patterns of social viewing in single respectively multi-set households with aerial. The levels of social viewing can be followed below for three ways of receiving the television signal: aerial, cable and satellite.

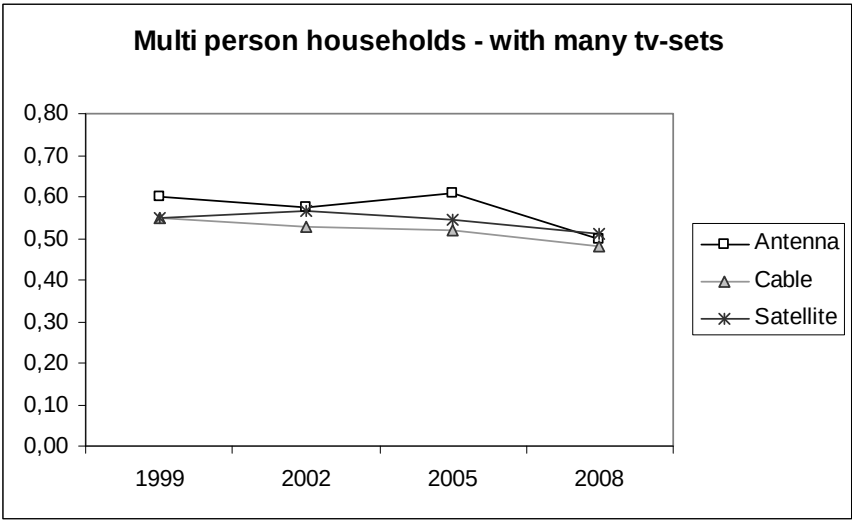
Figure 23. Social viewing in multi-person households with one TV-set receiving the television signal via aerial, cable or satellite (percent of viewing time).



The expectation is that from year 2002 to 2005 there would be a difference in levels of social viewing in the households with antenna while households with cable and satellite follow more or less the same pattern regardless they are single and multi set environments. The test could be seen as a quasi-experimental situation where the households with aerial are the group exposed for change. In single TV-set environments, social viewing remains stable for aerial and satellite 2002 to 2005 while the amount is increasing in cable households (figure above). In multi TV-set environments, social viewing decreases marginally for households with cable and satellite while it is increasing for households with aerial, in line with the expectation (figure below).[58]

[58] The table underlying the figures are found in APPENDIX - Tables and Figures (table 49). It presents also the total numbers for all multi-person households (the result of merging the two graphs).

Figure 24. Social viewing in multi-person households with multiple tv-sets receiving the television signal via aerial, cable or satellite (percent of viewing time).



The development in households with aerial is firmly aligned with the hypothesis and strengthens it. Social viewing is growing in the households with aerial and multi set environments while remaining stable in the corresponding single set environments. What is harder to fit into the picture is why cable households with one television, show a different trend than households with many television sets. A plausible explanation would be that the rising competition would make cable and satellite operators boost their services leading to increased viewing and following this social viewing. However, the main option to digital terrestrial television has not been cable, as distributed locally, but satellite. Even if this oddity runs short of explanation the hypothesis is sustained at large.

The conclusion must be that digitalisation of the terrestrial network momentary induced decreased individualization due to scarcity in household technology. It is a highly plausible partial explanation of the momentary increase in social viewing around 2005. That digitalisation, in this way, momentarily boosted social viewing behaviours is an exception to the rule. The general conclusion is that digitalisation of the terrestrial network first, and foremost, has induced a strong and broad impetus to individualization.

Social Viewing of Different Channels

In order to find out if changes in social viewing are tied to specific changes on the content level, social viewing can be mapped out on the level of singular channels. A descriptive mapping out provides a picture of how social viewing is distributed over channel and which channels do and do not gather large social viewing. With departure from this descriptive frame, it is then possible to identify *where in channel space the decline in social viewing has taken place* and *which changes have had largest impact at different point in time*.

In the following, the social share of viewing is outlined for the 25 television channels biggest in 2008. For every channel, the share of social viewing in conjunction with the size of the channel will decide the impact exerted on the total amount of social viewing. Big channels exert a greater impact than the small channels and even small changes in big channels have in most cases more impact than big changes in small ones.

The *social share of viewing,* in table 18 on next page, illustrates which channels and which type of channels that gathers a social audience. Shaded channels represent a social share of viewing greater than the mean value for all channels and the *social rank* establish the position of different channels in terms of share of social audience. A general pattern is that the levels of social share of viewing remains comparatively stable 1999 to 2005 dropping on a broad front thereafter. Much of the changes is social viewing is due to the over time changes in size following audience fragmentation.

The largest shares of social viewing are held by channels specialized in child programming, by big mainstream channels carrying mixed programming and by some of their affiliated niche and complementary channels. Examples of these channels include, for child programming, Playhouse Disney (not in table), Disney Channel, Nickelodeon and Cartoon Network and Disney TOON, for mixed programming, SVT1, TV4 and SVT2, and for affiliated niche and complementary channels, SVT's Barn/Kunskapskanalen, SVT24, TV400, TV4 Fakta and TV4 Film. Canal+ Sport 1, with the social ranking of 3 yaer 2008, is the only exception to this rule.[59]

A search at the lower end of the ranking, discloses an array of different types of channels with a low share of social viewing such as Hallmark, MTV, Viasat Sport 1, Kanal Lokal, Eurosport Nordic, Kanal 9, The Voice, Discovery and TV4+. These channels represent a social share of

[59] This was before TV4 purchased Canal+ in June 2008.

viewing, reaching from 20 to 30 percent and they encompass a broad range of genre specializations. Some are affiliated to TV4 – TV4+, TV4 Guld and TV4 Sport. What units these channels are, rather than any content specialization, their size – as smaller – and that they do not represent child or mixed Public Service programming. Comparatively bigger channels fitting the same description are TV3, Kanal5 and TV6, which air an entertainment mix composed to attract younger male and female viewers.

Table 18. The changes in social viewing and total viewing over channels 1999-2008 (social share and total rating (market share) in percent).

	SOCIAL RANK	SOCIAL SHARE				SHARE OF VIEWING			
Channel:	2008	1999	2002	2005	2008	1999	2002	2005	2008
TV4	11	46	44	43	40	27.3	26.0	23.5	20.9
SVT 1	6	50	47	50	44	22.2	27.5	24.4	19.1
SVT2	13	47	43	43	36	25.9	16.7	15.1	12.6
TV3	16	40	37	40	34	9.9	10.0	10.7	9.0
KANAL 5	20	40	38	41	32	6.0	7.2	9.1	8.2
TV6 (ZTV)	23	35	36	35	31	1.0	1.4	2.1	4.2
TV4+	26			39	31			1.5	3.5
Barn/Kunskapskan.	10		*	46	40		0.0	0.3	1.8
SVT24	12		25	40	38		0.1	0.3	1.8
DISCOVERY	27	41	32	34	31	0.2	0.6	1.4	1.8
Kanal 9	29				28				1.2
Disney Channel	4			55	47			0.5	1.2
MTV	33	26	27	31	21	0.7	0.8	0.8	1.0
Eurosport Nordic	30	39	25	26	26	0.1	0.9	1.2	0.9
Sport Expressen	24				31				0.8
TV4 Film	14			44	36			0.2	0.8
TV8	17	30	24	33	34	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.8
NICKELODEON	5	*	38	53	46	0.0	0.1	0.3	0.6
Animal Planet	21	*	39	30	32	0.0	0.1	0.4	0.6
TV400	8		*	53	41		0.0	0.1	0.6
TV4 Fakta	9				40				0.6
Canal + Sport 1	3	*	*	50	48	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.5
CARTOON NETWORK	7	41	41	36	41	0.3	0.4	0.7	0.4
Viasat Nature/Crime	15	43	37	36	36	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.4
Disney TOON	1				52				0.3
Other		34	39	38	31	5.0	6.2	5.3	4.4
SUM:		*45*	*42*	*43*	*37*	*100*	*100*	*100*	*100*

Note: The table is sorted due to *share of viewing (size)* of 2008 and encompass the 25 biggest channels this year. An additional nine channels are illustrated in APPENDIX – Tables (table 50). The *social rank* expresses the rank of the channel, had the sorting of the totally 34 channels been carried out following *social share of viewing*. Shaded channels, of social rank 1-14, find themselves above the mean value of social share, most years. * Social share is not reported for channels with a share of viewing below 0,1 since they run risk of being estimated on a too small amount of panel members.

The latent missing link to explain the share of social viewing of different channels is the composition of their respective audiences. The composition of the social audience will be thoroughly treated in the next section

of this chapter but some basic structure indicated by content can be given here. Social viewing is comparatively higher in the group of children and the group of senior viewers. These age groups are both heavy consumers of child and mixed public service programming. The mixed and broader programming of the two main Public Service channels and TV4 gather household residents around the television to a higher extent than do more specialized channels. Most of the affiliated channels of SVT and TV4 seem to inherit this ability to summon social audiences.

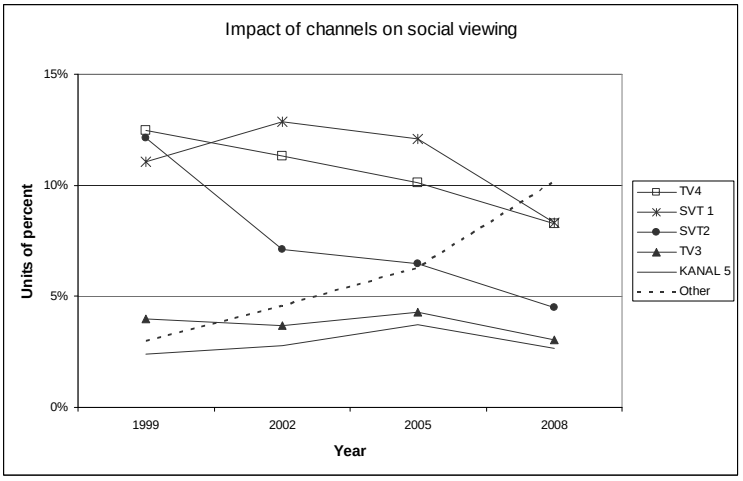
The Impact of Channels on Social Viewing

The delimited impact of each single channel can be calculated from the table above (social share of viewing * share of viewing). Lining up these products of different channels by year, illustrate what goes on under the surface and how the average change in social viewing 1999 to 2002 to 2005 to 2008 from 45.1 to 42.3 to 43.0 and 37.0 percent is distributed on the level of channels.

The bigger the channels, the larger impact they are likely to exert on social viewing. What matters most for the variation over the different time points is the contribution of the big established channels to the social viewing. Seen from this perspective, large channels carrying mixed programming, and in particular Public Service channels, have a central role in the demise of social viewing. The presentation will focus these channels concentrating on the five biggest channels (SVT1, SVT2, TV3, TV4 and KANAL 5 – in television jargon denoted as the BIG5). This is the ground most likely to show influential tendencies. The figure 25 illustrates how many units of percent each channel contributes to the total share of social viewing 1999 to 2008.

The Public Service channels SVT1 and SVT2 host together the most negative trend in social viewing at all time points. The largest drop of any single channel is the step down of SVT2 at the turn of the millennium. This SVT2 drop of 5 percent is caused mainly by a falling audience size 1999 to 2002, but is reinforced by a falling level of social viewing. The fall in audience size is in large parts self-inflicted as a consequence of the rescheduling of SVT1 and SVT2 of 2001, in part to make SVT1 regain from TV4 the pole position as the largest Swedish television channel. The strategy was in retrospect a short-term success (TV4 is since 2006 once again the largest Swedish channel followed by SVT1) at the expense of an overall loss of public service audience and, as can be seen here, of social audience.

Figure 25. The impact of the five biggest channels on social viewing 1999-2008 (units of percent of the total social share of viewing).



TV4 represents the largest negative impact on social viewing following the two main Public Service channels. Though, with a growing number of channels on air, TV4 has been more successful in covering up the loss of the main channel TV4 with new and upcoming complementary channels – TV4+, TV400 and TV4 Film in 2002 to 2005 and TV4+, TV4 Sport and TV4 Fakta in 2005 to 2008 (a development that will be addressed soon). A reverse tendency is represented by the smaller channels of TV3 and Kanal 5. From 1999 to 2005, the audience for both channels grow and so do their positive impact on social viewing. For Kanal 5, the impact is raising all the time while TV3 had a momentary small drop 2002 to 2005. The two smaller channels show consequently a totally diverse pattern of change than the three biggest till 2005. From 2005, they fall in line with the all-encompassing drop in social viewing.

The only line in the graph showing a steadily rising and, from 2005, accelerating contribution to social viewing is the composite line of all other channels. This composite construct is rising as a result of being the line that covers all other smaller channels together with new channels entering the television landscape increasing their audience, and thereby also their social audience. This line is corresponding to other rising lines depicting the many few that rise in size at the expense of the few big as a consequence of audience fragmentation.

Some of the explanation to the curvilinear fall of social viewing can be hidden in this composite category. Splitting the composite curve into four sub groups following their impact on social viewing might prove fruitful. The four groups are *existing channels with positive* respectively *negative impact* and *new* respectively *cancelled channels*. Two of the groups are by definition positive and two negative in term of impact. By following the development of these four groups, an explanation to the shape of the curve of social viewing can be accessed.

Table 19. The impact on the share of social viewing 1999 to 2008 of channels split according the four groups of existing with positive respectively negative impact and new respectively cancelled (units of percent and number of channels).

			1999 –		2002 –		2005 –	
IMPACT:	1999	N	2002	N	2005	N	2008	N
Positive			3.8	45	3.6	52	4.1	46
Negative			-7.0	41	-3.7	41	-11.5	51
New (+)			0.5	46	1.1	30	1.6	141
Cancelled (-)			-0.0	43	-0.4	41	-0.2	27
SUM (N) (%)		*138*	*-2.7*	*135*	*0.6*	*127*	*-6.0*	*241*
Total (%)	45.1		42.3		43.0		37.0	

Note: Year 1999 form starting point and baseline. Individual impacts of sub groups of channels express the units of percent change in social share of two consecutive time points (e.g. 1999 to 2002). N-figures denote the number of channels of each group each year.

Variation over time is greatest in the group of existing channels with negative impact. The groups of existing channels with positive impact and the cancelled channels comparatively remain stable while the group of new channels increases in importance. [60] The most apparent irregularity in the over time development is that the impact of the negative group momentarily diminishes 2002 to 2005. The group is arriving from a higher negative level (-7.0) dropping radically (-3.7) to then retake a most forceful negative level heading the decline (-11.5). The level of decline 2002 to 2005 is consequently unexpectedly low and one plausible explanation is that the drastic fall of SVT2 from 1999 to 2002.

An interpretation is that the rescheduling forestalled an oncoming decline by self-inflicting the damage in this way making decline less radical the consecutive period. If SVT1 and SVT2 are studied in detail their fall is remarkable small 2002 to 2005 (-0.8 respectively -0.7) in respect to both earlier and later during the period. Their respective falls represent each a less steep trajectory than TV4, which give support to this interpretation as

[60] A corresponding table identifying the channels of largest impact within each sub group is available in APPENDIX – Tables (table 51).

a plausible explanation. Applied on the television viewing situation, rescheduling temporarily dislocated socially grounded viewing habits that where initially disturbed taking on new more individualized forms while later between 2002 and 2005, in many cases, finding their way back.

This explanation presumes that would the rescheduling of Public Service not have taken place, inflicting loss of audience, the fall from 1999 to 2002 would have been less radical. Following this, the total share of social viewing would have been higher in 2002, making the over time fall closer to linear. This explanation does not contradict digitalisation as a temporarily constrictive condition to individualization.

To sum up, the change in social viewing the last decade has been negative for the big mainstream channels while it has been positive for their affiliated niche channels and for smaller channels carrying child programming. The negative side of the balance is though much heavier than the positive making the drop of SVT1, SVT2 and TV4 host the major decline of social viewing: The biggest channels of the social audience has gotten smaller in the same time as their levels of social viewing has been decreasing.

The audience lost of SVT2 as a consequence of the rescheduling of SVT in 2001 caused the substantial drop in social viewing from 1999 to 2002. This is not to say that this development would not have come anyway, but rather to question if it would not have been less radical had the rescheduling not taken place. The more modest decline of SVT1 and SVT2 between 2002 and 2005 may indicate that this could be the case. When the most radical demise of social viewing takes place from 2005 to 2008, the big channels are taking the lead but are followed on a broad front by an almost all encompassing drop in the levels of social shares of viewing. This coincides with the point in time when the abundance of channels peaks.

Social Audience

The television audiences consist of actors that, on a daily basis, under varying conditions, in different contexts under a number of pretexts, choose to watch television. It is an audience under constant short-term change as stimulated or bored, motivated or distressed, attentive or distracted, preference driven or subjected to domestic power. But it is also an audience, or a number of audiences, that undergo long-term changes.

The long-term change in the centre of this chapter is the social interaction around the television. As have been shown above, the amount of social viewing has decreased on average among the general audience, in parallel to this development. This decrease in social viewing must be assessed further in order to outline if this is a trend that encompasses all segments of the audience, and if the pace of breakdown is fast in some environments while slow, unaltered or even opposite in other. Outlined below, are the factors that are interconnected with the decrease of social television viewing at the level of the household and at the level of the individual.

For the purpose of the below inquiry into the social audience, social viewing has been treated as an individual characteristic of the viewer. Instead of describing the viewers' 'socialness' based on the amount of time spent on social viewing (a number of minutes), this amount of social viewing is compared in relative terms as a part of the total viewing.[61] From this perspective an individual's viewing is consisting of a certain percentage of social viewing. Viewing can be totally social (100% or 1.00) or totally solitary (0% or .00) or something in between these extremes.

What now follows is a mapping out of factors with impact on patterns of social viewing.

The Four Sets of Factors

If we would like to predict if television viewing is to be undertaken alone or socially – at a certain time for a specific viewer – the two central pieces of information are the point in time (day of the week and hour of the day) and if the viewer lives in a single or multi-person household. With these two pieces of information at hand, a lot can be said about social television viewing. This fact was illustrated at the descriptive onset of the chapter.

[61] The two alternatives are discussed more thoroughly in Chapter 5 - Socialness as Social and Solitary Viewing.

The question addressed here is which other pieces of information tied to characteristics of the individual and life setting surrounding the individual could further advance our ability to explain and predict social viewing.

The factors tied to television viewing as a social behaviour can be split into four different sets. The first set is *the social setting* as the social stage, at which all behaviours within the household are performed. A distinction between single and multi-person households is identified as primary, but there are additional factors tied to the social setting that may influence social viewing. The second set is the *individual demographic* characteristics of the individual such as gender, age and education. The third set is the household as a *technological setting*, representing a specific availability of media devices and television channels. The fourth is an array of *individual behaviours* of television consumption representing reasonable connections to social television viewing.

Social Setting

The social setting is the scene upon which social interaction are staged and acted out. Social interaction within the household is tightly interwoven with, and interdependent of the social setting as constituted by a number of persons, in specific constellations as singles, couples, or families, with children. The social setting is also a physical space as a form of dwelling that could enhance interaction or not.

As outlined in the description of social viewing, a crucial split in social settings is that between single and multi-person households. The single person household constitutes a default solitary setting and is in this respect highly different from the multi-person household as default social. Social television viewing is in the single person household dependent on both visiting friends and their devotion to television consumption. Social television viewing is on the other hand in the multi-person household a natural everyday site for interaction among household members.

In multi-person households, on average 54 percent of an individual's viewing time is invested socially. The corresponding amount for single person households is only five percent. The decrease in social viewing 1999 to 2008 is less linear in single than in multi-person households. The absolute difference in units between the two social settings is substantial, considering the ratio of social viewing range from 0 to 1. The difference decreases over time from .54 to .49, which means that the difference is in 2008 still involving half of the total viewing of individuals. Television

viewing, in single and multi-person settings, is two different practices in term of how they are socially constructed.

Table 20. The impact of type of household on social viewing – ANOVA (mean values and Eta).

TYPE OF HH				
	1999	2002	2005	2008
Single person HH	0.06	0.04	0.05	0.05
Multi-person HH	0.61	0.58	0.58	0.54
Range	0.55	0.54	0.53	0.49
Eta	**.668**	**.659**	**.629**	**.631**

Note: Take notice that the mean values of the ratio of social viewing are slightly higher for multi-person households and lower for single person households than the means treated earlier on in this chapter (cf. table 12). The formerly treated means were based on *viewing time* while the means of this section are based on *individuals* and their respective ratio of social viewing.

The value of Eta, depicted in the table above and in other tables to come, expresses the bivariate correlation ratio between social viewing and the treatment factor, in this case type of household. Following the level of Eta over points in time, is to follow the (bivariate) over time impact of the factor. Higher value of Eta means the factor has stronger impact on social viewing. The difference between means is statistically significant (at the 99.9 percent level) when bolded and (at the 99 percent level) when italic.[62]

The following analysis of the social audience will, from here on, be focused on the multi-person households. The multi-person household is when it comes to social viewing a more fruitful research object than the single person household. As a default social setting multi-person households account for a stable 93 percent of the social viewing and 65-70 percent of the total volume of television viewing. Changes in patterns of television viewing of multi-person household members will thus have broad consequences for television viewing at large.

Digging deeper into the dynamics of social viewing and the influencing factors of the social setting the following questions call for answers: What is the effect of the number of persons living in the household, and if children are part of the household or not? Do social viewing patterns depend on the form of dwelling the viewers inhabit? The analysis of social viewing will proceed in the same form as presented above: through com-

[62] A more statistically accurate description of the ground for appreciating statistical significance of Eta is that the significance is based on the variance in values of social viewing *within* and *between* the categories of the independent variable. The methodological principles of ANOVA are developed in Appendix – Methodology.

parisons of means (ANOVA) and tracing of their impact over time (trends in Eta).

Table 21. The impact of social setting on social viewing – ANOVA (mean values and Eta).

SOCIAL SETTING				
	1999	2002	2005	2008
GRAND MEAN	0.61	0.58	0.58	0.54
# PERSONS IN HH				
2	0.62	0.59	0.59	0.56
3	0.53	0.52	0.53	0.47
4	0.59	0.59	0.57	0.55
5	0.66	0.60	0.61	0.54
6 or more	0.68	0.71	0.65	0.64
Range	0.15	0.19	0.12	0.17
Eta	**.157**	**.162**	**.114**	**.143**
# CHILDREN IN HH				
0	0.63	0.60	0.59	0.56
1	0.49	0.49	0.52	0.50
2	0.60	0.59	0.57	0.52
3	0.65	0.61	0.60	0.51
4	0.63	0.64	0.63	0.66
5 or more	0.69	0.68	0.57	0.65
Range	0.21	0.18	0.11	0.16
Eta	**.212**	**.161**	**.109**	**.130**
FORM OF DWELLING				
Flat/Apartment	0.59	0.54	0.54	0.52
Semi detached	0.57	0.58	0.55	0.51
Villa/Bungalow	0.63	0.62	0.61	0.56
Other	0.66	0.56	0.56	0.47
Range	0.09	0.08	0.07	0.09
Eta	*.092*	**.144**	**.115**	**.090**

The social constellation of the household has an effect on the practicing of social viewing. The general pattern is that the denser the social environment in terms of number of persons, the more common is the practice of social viewing. This pattern generally applies for the number of persons and children. The two exceptions are the two-person household and the childless household. The means of these respective categories makes the relationship between numeric size of households and social viewing departs from linear. The explanation to why these categories represent significantly higher mean values is that they largely coincide with the demographic factor of age. Many of the two-person households that are childless consist of an older couple – as will be illustrated soon, one of the constituencies of the social audience.

Regarding the change in impact over time, there is no clear tendency for the number of persons in the household, but a weakening tendency for the number of children. In other words, the range of the mean values from different categories shrink for number of children while it is oscillating year to year for number of persons. An interesting observation to make is that families with one child do not follow the general decrease in social viewing. On the opposite, in these families' social viewing behaviour remains stable or slightly increases.

In sum, the composition of the household in terms of number of persons and children exert strong influence on social television viewing behaviour. The most prominent distinction is that between single and multi-person households (distinguishing the a priori more social from the a priori less social setting), followed by the less influential but still important numeric size of households in terms of individuals and children.

An additional aspect of the social setting of a more moderate influence is the form of dwelling. People living in villas cultivate a more social viewing behaviour than people resident in apartments or semi-detached houses. Over time, the form of dwelling and numeric size of the household lose some of their explanatory power in relation to social viewing – read as a decline in the value of Eta.

Demographics

An interesting question is whether the classic demographic factors like gender, age and education influence social patterns of television viewing. These factors have, in the field of audience research, time and time again, shown explanatory power in relation to the amount of invested time and the content consumed when watching television. But, do they bear any significant explanatory power when it comes to social television viewing?

The correlation between the demographic factors and social viewing is strongest for age followed by education while gender gradually has lost its significance. The pattern of social viewing is apparently clear in relation to different age groups. The oldest – of age 65 years and above – and the youngest – of age 3-14 years – are the most engaged social viewers. Least involved in social television viewing are the young adults (age 15-24), while the groups of people aged 25-64 find themselves on an intermediate level, slightly below the grand mean.

Table 22. The impact of demographics on social viewing – ANOVA (mean values and Eta).

DEMOGRAPHICS	1999	2002	2005	2008
GRAND MEAN	0.61	0.58	0.58	0.54
GENDER				
Male	0.58	0.57	0.57	0.53
Female	0.63	0.61	0.58	0.55
Range	0.05	0.04	0.01	0.02
Eta	**.103**	.074	.027	.030
AGE				
3-14	0.68	0.66	0.63	0.57
15-24	0.49	0.45	0.48	0.46
25-34	0.54	0.56	0.55	0.52
35-44	0.58	0.58	0.57	0.54
45-64	0.59	0.57	0.56	0.52
65+	0.74	0.70	0.67	0.64
Range	0.25	0.24	0.19	0.18
Eta	**.299**	**.274**	**.198**	**.176**
EDUCATION I				
Ground school < 8 years	0.70	0.67	0.67	0.61
Ground school 8-9 years	0.60	0.59	0.58	0.54
High school 10-12 years	0.58	0.57	0.55	0.51
College >12 years	0.62	0.59	0.58	0.56
Student	0.55	0.52	0.51	0.51
Below school age (0-6)	0.76	0.71	0.68	0.65
Range	0.21	0.20	0.16	0.15
Eta	**.241**	**.219**	**.195**	**.149**
EDUCATION II				
Low	0.65	0.62	0.62	0.57
Medium	0.58	0.57	0.55	0.51
High	0.62	0.59	0.58	0.56
Range	0.07	0.05	0.06	0.06
Eta	**.114**	.081	**.100**	*.091*

The over time decline in the level of social viewing encompasses all age groups but is more radical among the old and young – the groups spending the most time together with others around the television. The young adults represent the only decline in social viewing that is irregular over time. For this group, social viewing reaches a temporary higher level year 2005 and declines only marginally in comparison to the overall change pattern 1999 till 2008. The reason for this occurrence is probably due to the initial low level of social viewing this group represents in relation to other groups, leaving less space for a-socialisation. The young

adults represent from the onset of the period a high degree of individualized television viewing behaviour.

The relationship between age and social viewing is thus U-shaped, with its peaks at the lower and higher ends of the age spectrum. If the age group of 3-14 year olds are lifted out the relationship between social viewing and age becomes linear. The explanatory power of age is falling over time, as do the explanatory power of most factors. Age is still an important factor that is strongly correlated to patterns of social television.

Some clear interaction effects can be found between the social setting of the household and the demographic factor of age. One such interaction effect is the two-person household found to be far more social than could be expected from the sole perspective of "numeric" social density. The explanation is that a comparatively large amount of these two-person households consist of people aged 65 or more (33% in 2008) and people aged 45-64 (34% in 2008), which results in a comparatively high ratio of social viewing. This is an interaction effect between age and number of persons living in the household.

A similar interaction effect is the one between the number of kids per household and the age of the kids. The childless households represent a high ratio of social viewing since they are populated by a comparatively large share of older people, but when it comes to the families comprising children, the age of the children interact with the size of the family. The effect on social viewing of having a child of a specific age in the household is the following:

Table 23. The effect of having a child of a specific age 2008 (mean values).

	All household members			Children
	Mean	Grand mean	Effect*	Mean
Age 0-2	0.54	0.54	0.00	X **
Age 3-6	0.59	0.54	0.06	0.64
Age 7-9	0.57	0.54	0.03	0.65
Age10-12	0.53	0.54	-0.01	0.51
Age 13-15	0.50	0.54	-0.04	0.45
Age 16-18	0.48	0.54	-0.06	0.42

Note: * The effect of having at minimum one child in the actual age span, compared to the Grand mean. ** The viewing of the group aged 0-2 years are not measured within the People Meter system. The youngest are not judged reliable enough to report their viewing within today's People Meter system that rely on active participation. Should kids of the age 0-2 years be measured they would surely represent some substantial part of television and DVD consumption – especially for kids of the age of 2 and kids with older siblings. The mean value of the households with kids aged 0-2 can accordingly be regarded as under estimated since a great part of the unmeasured viewing of 0-2 year old kids would be social.

The table illustrates the social viewing effect of having children of different ages at home. The second column of mean values relates to *all the*

family members of families with kids within the delimited age span, whereas the fourth column depicts the level of social television viewing of the *kids* of those families. Household members in families with newborns (aged 0-2) spend less time watching television together than do members of families with small children (aged 3-9 in the second column). This is probably due to a combination of temporarily shrinking leisure time in family life[63] and the not yet fully-fledged awakened interest in the television of the new family member (the child is counted a family member but not yet a television viewer). Initiated the practice of television viewing (awakened a personal interest and registered technically by audience measurement practices) [64] there is a positive net effect (0.06) on social viewing of having a small child in the family. This positive effect is sustained by parents in the form of a need to monitor (that requires togetherness) and by siblings watching together.

The effect on household members social viewing is linearly related to the kids' age: from positive for kids ages 3-9, over no effect for kids ages 10-12, to a negative effect for teenagers. The contribution to the social viewing behaviour of the children themselves is fairly strong and straightforward: from positive (.64 for small children) to negative (.42 for teenagers) following the rise in age. The interaction effect between the number of kids and their respective age results in a strengthening of the positive effect of numeric size of families with kids in the age range of 3 to12, while the corresponding effect for families with teenagers disappears.

Education is the second demographic factor with influence on social viewing. As operationalized above, it coincides heavily with age. The maximum ratio of social viewing is among those below school age (with no formal education) and among older people (with a low formal education – inferior to 8 years). The minimum ratio of social viewing is found within the groups of students, which is place into a category comprising everything from primary school pupils to who knows what types of student; the age span is 6-68 years and the average age of the group is 17 years. A more adequate and effective way to judge the influence of education on social television viewing would be to exclude the three above discussed categories and to asses the influence of the remaining four, split

[63] Members of multi-person households comprising kids have a lower ratio of social viewing than do households without kids (in most cases married or cohabitant couples). This is a relationship present in the most common age groups of parents: Ages 25-34, kids no/yes ,53/,51; Ages 35-44 kids no/yes ,56/,53; Ages 45-64 kids no/yes ,53/,51. This underlines once again the importance of the couple as a social television viewing unit.

[64] Measurement of the television viewing is today delimited to the viewers aged 3-99.

into low (1-9 years), medium (10-12 years) and high (>12 years) education, controlling for age.

Table 24. The impact of education on social viewing under the control of age 2008 – ANOVA (mean values and Eta).

EDUCATION	15-24*	25-34	35-44	45-64	65+
Low	0,25	0,54	0,53	0,51	0,64
Medium	0,44	0,48	0,50	0,52	0,65
High	0,59	0,55	0,57	0,53	0,62
Range	0,34	0,07	0,07	0,02	0,03
Eta	*0,29*	*0,13*	***0,13*** **	*0,03*	*0,04*
N	64*	315	336	625	338

Note: * Small n values. ** Significance on the 95 percent-level.

Performing this type of analysis in 2008, the influence of education on social viewing dissolves in all age groups except the 35-44 years old. Within this age group, high education coincides with the highest ratio of social viewing, a medium level of education with the lowest ratio of social viewing, and a low educational level with an intermediate ratio of social viewing. This form of relationship between education and social viewing is replicated all years 1999-2008. On the overall level, this pattern is found significant in 1999 and 2008, but if the relationship between education and social viewing is controlled for age, as above, it disappears in 1999. The overall conclusion is that education – found an influential factor when it comes to how much time people spend on television – has a weak to insignificant influence on social pattern of television viewing.

Gender, as the third demographic factor examined, seems to have lost its influence on social viewing. From the perspective of traditional roles of gender roles and family affairs – who is traditionally occupied with the children of the family and home chores – females could be expected to spend more time on social viewing as a consequence of more television viewing together with children. Such an expectation could be supported by the data for year 1999. The data for that year depicts women as more social viewers than men. After 1999 though, the range of the differences in mean values between male and female viewers gradually shrink, and the once significant relationship between gender and social viewing of 1999 is being dissolved.

In sum, of the demographic factors, being age, gender and education, only age represent a clear cut significant relationship with social viewing. The youngest and the oldest view more television together with others than the rest of the audience. If disregarded the youngest (aged 3 to14), the relationship between age and social viewing is positive and linear: The

higher the age, the higher the ratio of social viewing. Age interacts with the numeric composition of the social setting. The old couple and families with children 3 to 9 year olds are strong units of social viewing while families with teenagers are weak social viewing units.

The explanatory power of age decreases over time. This is due to age groups becoming more similar in their social viewing behaviour. Increased similarity is illustrated by declining differences between means and by a falling level of Eta. Gender has over time lost its influence over social viewing and the effect of education is in most cases disappearing when controlled for age. When not dissolved, the effect of education is weak and in most cases, U-shaped and difficult to interpret.

Technique Availability

The increasing technologically loaded and connected household promise a steadily growing availability of different channels of discourse via television, radio and the Internet. The classic mass media as the newspaper, radio and television exist, in parallel to their classic distribution via mail or other, also on the web reachable through new portable platforms like mobile phones and other portable to handheld multimedia devices. The move of television onto increasingly mobile platforms carries the seed of a future time geographic transformation. What today is homebound and tied to leisure time might tomorrow be practiced continuously at all places through the itinerary of the day.

Leaving the future for now, a basic hypothesis of this thesis is that individualization of the objective life situation of the viewer (and the context of the household) will change the individual's way to think, identify, believe, value and act. Environmental transformations that bring about individualization are presumed paralleled by individualization of the subjective mentality of the individuals living these new conditions. In the case of television viewing, the individualization of the objective life world consists in an *increased availability of technique* making it possible to consume television individually together with an *increased array of choices of content* following segmentation principles increasingly narrowed and individualized. To catch this development in description and explain in dynamics is the scope of this thesis. In order to succeed, we have to proceed in two consecutive steps.

The individualization of the objective life situation can be analytically split into two parts: One quantitative part consisting of a number of receivers and a number of available television channels and another more

qualitative part encompassing the transformation of the way the audience is addressed, invited and segmented displayed in how the content is scheduled and organized. The consequence of the more qualitative aspects of change of character in mediaspace will be assessed in the next chapter – as changes in individual patterns of movements in referential space.

Table 25. The impact of technique availability on social viewing (ANOVA).

TECHNIQUE AVAILABILITY				
	1999	2002	2005	2008
GRAND MEAN	0.61	0.58	0.58	0.54
# TV-SETS				
One	0.66	0.62	0.62	0.58
Two or more	0.56	0.55	0.55	0.50
Range	0.09	0.07	0.08	0.08
Eta	**.172**	**.122**	**.136**	**.148**
# CHANNELS USED WITHIN HH				
1Q few	0.66	0.62	0.61	0.57
2Q	0.62	0.60	0.56	0.52
3Q	0.58	0.55	0.54	0.55
4Q many	0.54	0.56	0.58	0.51
Range	0.12	0.06	0.08	0.06
Eta	**.168**	**.100**	**.097**	**.086**
WAY OF RECEIVING THE SIGNAL				
Antenna	0.65	0.63	0.63	0.55
Cable	0.58	0.55	0.55	0.51
Satellite dish	0.60	0.60	0.59	0.55
SMAT TV *	0.55	0.57	0.50	0.55
Range	0.10	0.07	0.13	0.04
Eta	**.128**	**.115**	**.135**	.065
AVAILABILITY OF VIDEO/DVD				
No	0.63	0.58	0.59	0.53
Yes	0.60	0.59	0.57	0.54
Range	0.03	0.00	0.01	0.01
Eta	.048	.002	.011	.011
AVAILABILITY OF PC AND INTERNET ***				
No PC	0.59	0.62	0.65	0.59
PC without Internet	0.62	0.56	0.68	0.58
PC with Internet	0.49	0.58	0.56	0.53
Range	0.13	0.06	0.13	0.06
Eta	.071	.062	**.143**	.063

The quantitative part focusing on availability to television is being addressed here assessing the impact of *technique availability* as TV-sets, time-shifting technology (VCR, DVD and DVR) and internet and *channel availability* as number of channels and way of receiving the signal.

The number of television sets defines the spatial limits of television viewing within a home. One television set excludes parallel consumption of television within the walls of the household, while two or more sets opens up the option of consumption in different rooms at the same time – a spatial differentiation of viewing. As is illustrated, the availability of several television sets has a negative impact on social television viewing. The ratio of social viewing is higher in single television set environments than in multi-set environments. This relationship between the availability of television technique and social viewing is stable over time and does not decrease in impact following the general decline in social viewing.

The number of channels used within the household is an effective approximation of availability of channels on the household level.[65] The television viewers have at each time point been split into four equally big groups (Quartiles) in accordance with the number of channels used in the household. Every quartile represents around one-fourth of the audience. The limits between the four quartiles are transposed over time following the development of the audience (e.g. the upper limit of Q3 from 13 channels in 1999 and in 2002, to 17 channels in 2005, to 30 channels in 2008). This technique, to present continuous variables in the form of quartile, will be practiced below, in the coming analyses.

The relationship between availability of channels and social viewing was originally linearly negative and in 1999 and 2002 social viewing was more practiced the fewer the channels available in the household. This relationship, over time, is losing its clear linearity. In 2005 and 2008, the level of social viewing is not in any simple way following the number of television channels available. The households with the least channels available, the first quartile, still coincide with most social viewing, but the levels of social viewing of the other three quartiles are hard to align to the availability of channels. The Q4 represents a higher level of social viewing than Q2 and Q3 in 2005 and Q3 a higher level than Q2 in 2008. As a consequence the number of channels available to the household loose in

[65] The number of channels used within the household is assumed to coincide strongly with the most common measurement of penetration – conscious penetration. Conscious penetration is the channels an individual can identify or name when asked about which channels she can access from the household. Channel penetration is in Sweden estimated by MMS several times a year employing this measure. (See www.mms.se).

explanatory power in relation to social viewing. This can be seen in the over time drop of Eta values.

A similar drop in explanatory power applies to the way households are receiving the signal: via aerial, cable or satellite. This factor has since the launch of satellite and cable television in Sweden in the 1980s been strongly tied to distinct channel environments representing few (aerial) or many channels (cable and satellite). Digitalisation of the terrestrial network has smothered out these differences. Scarce channel availability was then to some extent abolished.

Receiving by aerial coincides with a larger social viewing than does by satellite. Satellite households are, in their turn, exceeding the level of social viewing in cable households. The cable household represents the least social reception environment at all time points. The impact of way of receiving the signal vanishes in 2008. Other factors found insignificant are the availability on the household level of VCR and DVD technologies and alternative media platforms as the Internet. A negative Internet effect is present in year 2005, but neither before nor after.

As pointed out earlier, there is more to channel abundance than the numeric size. Underlined should be that what is dealt with here is the *availability* of technique and channels at the household level, and *not* the patterns *use* on the individual level. Channel use, among other things below, will be treated as viewing behaviour to examine if a pattern, similar to that of availability actually occurs.

Viewing Behaviours

The last set of factors is viewing behaviours with possible ties to social patterns of television viewing. The behaviours are of different families. The first is the *volume* of television viewing and the volume of time invested in other activities bound to the television set, like video consumption and gaming. The second is the *amount of channels used* by the individual – a use that characterizes the viewer's movements in channel space. The third is the *pace of movement* the television viewer takes on setting off into channel space. This velocity of the viewer within the television flow is measured as the average length of viewing sequences. In sum, the first behaviours deal with time management while the second and third characterize aspects of movements on different levels – range of movement over channels and pace of movement over flows.

Table 26. The impact of television viewing behaviours on social viewing in multi-person households – ANOVA (mean values and Eta).

VIEWING BEHAVIOURS	1999	2002	2005	2008
GRAND MEAN	0.61	0.58	0.58	0.54
MOVEMENT IN FLOWS				
1Q Shortest	0.50	0.49	0.48	0.47
2Q	0.58	0.57	0.57	0.54
3Q	0.67	0.62	0.63	0.58
4Q Longest	0.69	0.66	0.61	0.57
Range	0.18	0.17	0.15	0.10
Eta	**0.28**	**0.24**	**0.21**	**0.16**
# CHANNELS USED BY INDIVIDUAL				
1Q Few	0.68	0.65	0.62	0.60
2Q	0.63	0.59	0.59	0.51
3Q	0.58	0.56	0.54	0.53
4Q Many	0.54	0.54	0.56	0.51
Range	0.13	0.10	0.08	0.08
Eta	**0.20**	**0.14**	**0.12**	**0.12**
TV VIEWING TIME				
1Q Low	0.64	0.60	0.59	0.56
2Q	0.61	0.62	0.58	0.55
3Q	0.59	0.58	0.56	0.53
4Q High	0.59	0.55	0.57	0.51
Range	0.05	0.05	0.03	0.06
Eta	0.07	**0.11**	0.04	*0.08*
VIDEO VIEWING TIME				
1Q Low	0.58	0.59	0.57	0.53
2Q	0.60	0.57	0.58	0.54
3Q	0.60	0.58	0.58	0.54
4Q High	0.60	0.56	0.58	0.51
Range	0.03	0.02	0.01	0.03
Eta	0.05	0.03	0.02	0.04
GAMING TIME				
1Q Low	0.57	0.52	0.58	0.52
2Q	0.53	0.60	0.39	0.53
3Q	0.60	0.52	0.59	0.51
4Q High	0.63	0.55	0.53	0.46
Range	0.10	0.08	0.21	0.07
Eta	0.15	0.11	0.30	0.10

Time management around the television have less effect on social viewing than do aspects of movement, over channels and within flow. The *television viewing time* represents a none to a very weak relationship with social viewing. When the relationship is significant, as in 2002, it is close to linearly negative: The more extensive the viewing time the less social the viewing.

This absence of relationship is important to keep in mind.[66] It shows that the size of social viewing is a behavioural pattern that is different from the size of television viewing, even if the curve of social viewing on the level of the audience covariates with the curve of total television viewing. Other factors than the factors traditionally used to explain the size of television viewing will come to the fore, explaining who is the more and less social viewer. Time allocation to other television set centred activities like VCR, DVD, DVR use and gaming, show no correlation to social viewing.

The relation between social viewing and *amount of channels used* is straightforward in 1999 and in 2002. The greater the number of channels an individual uses, the less social the practice of television viewing. But, the simple linearity disappears from 2005 and the same pattern as for availability of channels, treated above, occurs. The individuals using the least channels, the first quartile, still coincides with the most social viewers, but the levels of social viewing of the other three quartiles are harder to align to the amount of used channels.

The Q4 represents a higher level of social viewing than Q3 in 2005 and Q3 a higher level than Q2 that has the same level as Q4 in 2008. As a consequence, the number of channels used by the individual loose explanatory power in relation to social viewing over time. This can be seen in the over time drop of Eta values. Moreover, from the level of the Eta values can be seen that the *individual use* is much stronger related to social viewing than it is to *availability*. The individual behaviour of use carries more explanatory power than does the contextual factor of availability.

The faster the viewer moves over the television flow the less social is her television viewing likely to be. The relationship between velocity in movement over channels when watching television and social television is linear and strong. The over average fast (Q1 and Q2) and especially the fastest moving viewers (Q1) distinguish themselves as less social in their television viewing. This is either because the social interaction around the television implies inertia in movement and pace or because velocity in movement excludes the social dimension of viewing – fast moving as a practice of individual inclination. The levels of social viewing of the two groups Q3 and Q4 (the under average fast viewers) differs only marginally from each other. Following the levels, these two groups should maybe be merged together as the category of low pace, meanwhile Q2 would be

[66] This absence of relationship between television viewing and social television viewing is even stronger when self estimated. Self-estimated viewing time, split into low, medium and high consumption, is the traditional variable available in MMS data files.

treated as medium and Q1 as fast pace. The values of Eta decline over time but find themselves on a very high level close to that of age.

The Dynamics of the Social Audience

The mapped out sets of factors have shown the underlying dynamics of social viewing. Some singular factors have turned out to be more important than others in explaining individual differences in levels of social viewing. Other factors seem to bear close to none explanatory power in relation to the phenomenon of social viewing. What has been studied this far are the bivariate relationships (between social viewing and one factor at a time) that in some cases have been controlled for influence of other closely related factors. In this conclusive part on the social audience, the found bivariate dynamics is elaborated on a multivariate level merging the most influential factors from the different sets together in one model.

The bivariate relationships found are summarized in the table on next page (figure 27). A first overarching observation to make is that all singular factors lose in explanatory power over time. This can be seen in the falling Eta values and the resulting negative differences of over time development. The only exception to this rule is television viewing time, but this is on the other hand most years a non significant factor in relation to social viewing.

This trend of factors of diminishing explanatory power in relation to social viewing means that diverging structural constraints (as the social setting and technique availability) and individual characteristics (demographics and viewing behaviour) in 2008 play a minor role in deciding who is less and more social a television viewer than it used to play ten years earlier. The consequence of this development is that social viewing over time is getting increasingly difficult to explain and predict from contextual circumstances as well a from group characteristics such as demographics. Social viewing behaviours have over time become more variable from individual to individual. Social viewing behaviour has become individualized.

This trend of individualization is due to a broad change of the audience behaviour whereby social viewing, to some degree, can be said to fall all over the line. All of the audience is simultaneously moving in this direction. That the levels of Eta are falling is a consequence of that the difference between different groups are becoming smaller and smaller. Differences between age groups still exist but are diminishing over time, difference due to gender and education that used to exist are now dissolved,

and so on and so forth. The only set of factors remaining significant and relatively stable is the social setting crucial to a social behaviour like social television viewing.

Table 27. The over time change in the bivariate relationships between social viewing and demographics, social setting, technique availability and viewing behaviour, in multi-person households – ANOVA (Eta values and differences in Eta values 1999 to 2008).

	YEAR				DIFFERENCE 1999 - 2008	
FACTORS:	1999	2002	2005	2008	(ABS)	(REL)
Type of hh (single/multi)	***.668***	***.659***	***.629***	***.631***	-.037	-6%
D E M O G R A P H I C S						
Gender	***.103***	*.074*	*.027*	*.030*	-.073	-71%
Age	***.299***	***.274***	***.198***	***.176***	-.123	-41%
Education II	***.114***	*.081*	***.100***	*.091*	-.023	-20%
S O C I A L S E T T I N G						
# persons in hh	***.157***	***.162***	***.114***	***.143***	-.014	-9%
# children in hh	***.212***	***.161***	***.109***	***.130***	-.082	-39%
Form of dwelling	*.092*	***.144***	***.115***	***.090***	.002	-2%
T E C H N I Q U E A V A I L A B I L I T Y						
# TV-sets	***.172***	***.122***	***.136***	***.148***	-.024	-14%
# channels used within hh	***.168***	***.100***	***.097***	***.086***	-.082	-49%
Way of receiving the signal	***.128***	***.115***	***.135***	*.065*	-.063	-49%
Availability of vide/DVD	*.048*	*.002*	*.011*	*.011*	-.037	-77%
Availability of pc and Internet	*.071*	*.062*	***.143***	*.063*	-.008	-11%
V I E W I N G B E H A V I O U R S						
Movement in flows	**.278**	**.239**	**.211**	**.155**	-.123	-44%
# channels used by individual	**.196**	**.144**	**.116**	**.118**	-.078	-40%
TV viewing time	.070	**.107**	.039	*.076*	.006	8%
Video viewing time	.047	.034	.022	.040	-.007	-13%
Gaming time	.151	.115	.299	.103	-.048	-32%

Technology is especially interesting since it is here that the greatest change in the objective life situation of the viewer takes place from 1999 to 2008. What the increase in number of available channels seem to have caused is a smothering of the effects of the households as a constringing contexts of viewing. Digitalisation was a step whereby all Swedish television households were turned into multi channel settings. The effect of this macro level technological change has been that the households have become more similar in terms of situational context of viewing. This development can be seen firstly as a drop in impact of technology factors such

as channel availability and way of receiving the signal, but secondly as the falling impact of viewing behaviours such as movement in flow and channel use. As the objective life situation of the television viewer has become more similar household to household in terms of television availability viewing, behaviours that used to be tied to abundant viewing milieus are becoming more broadly diffused and normalized. That the above described condition of individualization rule contemporary television viewing will be further sustained by the analysis of individualization of consumption behaviours in television following in the next chapter.

A Comprehensive Model of Social Viewing

To proceed from the bivariate to the multivariate level, a model of the most influential factors can be composed. The factors in question for a multivariate model would be the significant ones. The most significant is, as have been underlined all through this chapter, the distinction between single and multi-person households. This primary distinction of social setting dwells on a unique level, in terms of explaining social viewing behaviour. If we would like to explain the total dynamics of social viewing, it would be necessary to set up distinctive models for single person, and respectively multi-person households. In this chapter, the multi-person household, as the more fruitful of the two, has been chosen.

The factors significant for all year that could make up the model of multi-person households are: *age* (demographics), *number of persons* and *number of children in household* (social setting), *number of TV-sets* and *number of channels available* (technique availability), *movement in flow* and *number of channels used by individual* (viewing behaviour). One of the two factors, number of channels available and used, has to be chosen since they depict more or less the same information. Based on the level of bivariate covariance, the individual use is more fruitful than the estimated availability on the household level. The same situation applies for number of persons and kids where number of persons is selected accordingly.

The resulting multivariate model of five factors is illustrated in the table below. The first column of Eta values describes their respective correlation with social viewing from the analyses above. New are their multivariate corresponding values of Beta. Beta values are controlled for all other factors in the model and their levels are adjusted accordingly. As can be seen the effect of number of persons and TV-sets per household have been adjusted upward while the opposite is the case for all other factors.

The multivariate model changes only marginally the relative impact of the singular factors.

Table 28. A multivariate model of the factors guiding social viewing in multi-person households 2008 – ANOVA-MCA (Eta and Beta values, R and R^2).

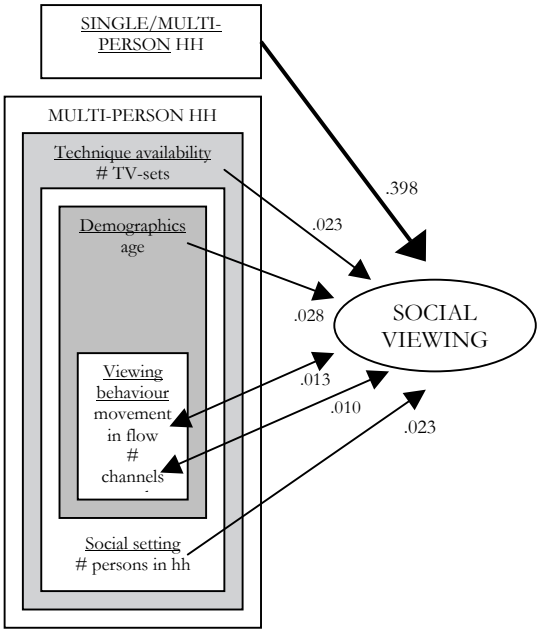
FACTORS:	Eta	Beta (adjusted)	Beta squared
Age	.176	.167	.028
# persons in hh	.143	.151	.023
# TV-sets	.148	.151	.023
Movement in flows	.155	.114	.013
# channels used	.118	.101	.010
R^2			.098
R			.312
N=2478			

Note: *Eta* values derive from bivariate relationship, while *Beta* values are adjusted for all other factors of the multivariate model. *Beta squared* is the individual effect of each factor, and as summed for all factors it forms the *Model Goodness of Fit* value of R^2 (the variance explained by the model).

The conclusion we can draw from the model concerns, and this must be emphasised, only multi-person households. In the mapping out of the dynamics of social viewing this, by default social, type of household has been in focus. A conclusive model could incorporate the effect of the distinction between single and multi-person households together with the individual effects of the factors guiding social viewing in multi-person households.

The distinction between single and multi-person household is central to the explanation of different levels of social viewing. Its effect is on a totally different level than the effects of the factors mapped out within multi-person households. The reason for this large discrepancy is the one identified at the onset of this chapter: social behaviours are built on social grounds. If the model would be set up for single person household, the whole set of factors aligned to the social setting would be missing. Single person households constitute, in this respect, another universe compared to multi-person households, and following this, a diverse social dynamics dependent on guests coming from the outside.

Figure 26. A comprehensive model of the dynamics of social viewing (factors and their impact as Beta-squared and Eta-squared).



Some more specific and important conclusions about the social dynamics can be drawn from the study of multi-person households. The first, concerns the overarching question *if technique availability and the amount of channels available in the household have an individualizing effect on television viewing behaviour*. The answer based on the model would state that it has. Individualized television viewing is more comprehensive in multi-person households with more than one TV-set and for individuals using a broader spectrum of channels. The composed effect of these two factors is .033 and is as such slightly more influential than the effect of age (.028) or the number of persons in the household (.023).

The second conclusion is that individual viewing behaviours play a role guiding patterns of social interaction around the television. Individuals with a stronger mobility over the channel flows show a higher degree of individualization in their viewing, or the other way around, the social audience move slower.[67]

[67] This conclusion does in fact contradict a finding deriving from U.S. research on cable television viewers from the end of the 1980s (Heeter and Greenberg, 1988)

A third conclusion, of no minor dignity than the first two, is all the factors that did not show any or weak interrelations with social viewing. Weak or unstable interrelations, where represented by gender and education – as demographics – availability of video and PC and Internet – as technique availability – television viewing together with video and gaming time – as viewing behaviours. An intermediate position of fairly strong connections to social viewing are held by form of dwelling – influential to a varying degree – and by the way of receiving the signal – that lost its significance as all Swedish television households turned into multi-channel settings.

Individualized Viewing Behaviour

The broad fall in explanatory power of group affiliation and contextual factors means that we today face an individualized audience. Audience behaviour is harder to explain and predict from the information regularly used in audience analysis. This transformation of the audience can be followed for social viewing behaviour as the multivariate model set up at the four different points in time 1999 to 2008. The explanatory power of each factor is illustrated by the adjusted Beta values while the total explanatory power of the model is indicated by R-square.

Table 29. The multivariate model of social viewing fit 1999 to 2008 (adjusted Beta-values and R^2).

SOCIAL VIEWING	adjusted BETA values			
	1999	2002	2005	2008
Age	**.240**	**.244**	**.163**	**.167**
Household size	**.148**	**.184**	**.138**	**.152**
# TV-sets	**.168**	**.124**	**.130**	**.153**
Movement in flow	**.193**	**.172**	**.166**	**.119**
# channels used	.070	*.081*	.075	**.092**
R2	.181	.153	.103	.096

Note: **Bold** values are significant at the 0.001-level and *italic* at the 0.01-level.

Explanatory power of the whole model is halved during the decade. Substantial is the fall from 1999 to 2005 and age is the specific factor playing a decreased role in discriminating less social from more social viewing individuals. The over time fall of the model depends on two trends depicted in this chapter. The first is the broad decline of social viewing, leaving less variation to explain. The second is an audience more alike each other, in

using survey methodology to estimate movement within flow. My suggestion is that the validity of that enterprise is low.

terms of social viewing behaviour. At least when explained from the variables usually applied in audience analysis.

Conclusions on Social Viewing

Two tasks have been accomplished in this chapter. The first is a description of social viewing and its structure in relation to time, channels and the audience. The second is an outlining of its causal dynamics. Winding up this chapter, the conclusions within these two fields will be summed up ending with the implications in terms of individualization.

Social viewing is declining over time – from a proportion of 45 percent of total viewing time in 1999 to 37 percent in 2008. The decline encompasses the whole audience as well as their guests and the most substantial part of the decline takes place in multi-person households. The distinction between multi-person households (as by default social) and single person (as by default asocial) is a seminal base line guiding social viewing. The amount of social viewing that is in single person household is a mere 8-10 percent of the total viewing while 53-60 percent in multi-person households. A major dislocation of volume of viewing from multi to single person household is factor explaining 35 percent of the decline in social viewing 2005 to 2008. This means that 65 percent of the fall is due to other factors. Factors of minor effect on social viewing behaviour are in multi-person households: the number of TV-sets, channel availability, the number of persons living in the household, age, and pace of mobility within the channel flow.

The second seminal base line of social viewing is time. The amount of social viewing is varying in time in more or less the same way as the amount of total viewing. When the television audience is largest so is social viewing. Peaks in social viewing coincide with peaks in rating, and large audiences are built on social grounds.

Social share of viewing is largest for channels carrying mixed programming (SVT1, SVT and TV4) and child programming. The decline in social viewing has struck channels all over the line although the decline is more powerful for channels with both large social and total audience.

The over time decline of social viewing is curvilinear, representing a higher level in 2005 than in 2002. The effect of two temporarily available causal factors is identified as a possible explanation to this unexpected line of fall. The first factor is substantial rescheduling of SVT in 2001 that seems to have induced an impetus to social viewing decline around 2002.

SVT2 then lost an enormous amount of social viewing time never regained and not compensated for by the comparatively larger social audience of STV1. The fall of the consecutive period 2002 to 2005 was unexpectedly small. The second factor is digitalisation of the terrestrial network that momentary increased the level of social viewing in the affected households around year 2005. The initial scarcity of set-top boxes in Swedish households seems to have been the cause. Viewing was temporarily concentrated to fewer TV sets with increased social viewing as consequence.

Individualization of television viewing has been a supported a notion, and is throughout the chapter expressed in a number of ways. Firstly, television viewing is becoming more solitary a practice following the broad decline in social viewing. Television viewing is a socially disembedded practice. This is a development that takes place within the homes of the viewers involving their closest social relationships and everyday life situations. Social viewing is in this way an important indicator of individualization. Secondly, individualization has been encountered in an audience that is becoming more and more difficult to explain and predict over time. The models set up to explain social viewing has, over time, lost half of its explanatory power, as do all group affiliations and contextual factors. Viewers are turning increasingly alike each other as they get individualized.

The findings of the chapter illustrate the effect of putting social leverage to audience analysis. By outlining the social dimensions, television viewing behaviour is induced with nuance meaning. This opens up for granular insight into television viewing as an act and the television viewer as an actor. Social patterns of behaviour emerge as tangible factors that can be related to patterns of television viewing and its dynamics. The audience, the channels and the technique is provided with a social face that can be seen, recognized and examined. This is the social outcome of thickening People Meter data.

What has been assessed, here, are patterns of interaction in a shared physical place. What has been found is that sharing is in a process in decline. To pursue the conclusive step of enquiry into individualization, physical space has to be abandoned in order intake the mediated referential space in search of what is shared there.

8

REFERENTIAL SPACE

With the introduction of broadcasting, space was doubled. The *physical* domestic space got doubled by a *mediated* space. This new space was made up of *point of reference*, eventually readily available from a laid back coach position at the push of a finger. Every mind undertakes its own unique and single journey into this *referential space*. The itinerary is tying together a number of spaces visited frequently with a number of spaces seldom experienced. Each itinerary unfolds over time, resulting in a unique web of individual experiences grounded in mediated points of reference.[68]

In this chapter, itineraries through referential space will be firmly outlined for the Swedish television audience. The frame of analysis is *uniqueness* (degree of similarity) in content consumption. Individual uniqueness results in a *degree of heterogeneity* on the social level of the household and society. The path and extension of itineraries are mapped out and accumulated into channel repertoires. A *channel repertoire* is the set of channels the viewer regularly considers an option and chose when viewing television. When accumulated on the level of the individual, channel repertoires become referential fingerprint loaded with information that can be put into broad use in audience analysis. Individual patterns of consumption can be put into comparison with each other within the whole audience or within subsets of the audience such as singular households or age groups.

Immanent to referential space is the centrifugal force of individualization. Spaces of individualization are opened up due to the steadily increasing amount of channels and growing volumes of content to consume. While individualization in physical space (mapped out in chapter 7) takes the form of an increased amount of solitary behaviour at the site of

[68] No itinerary is the same, since it is highly unlikely that two individuals travel the same paths at the same pace, always. Dissimilar referential grounds are part of the explanation we carry different experiences. The rest of the explanation lies both inside and outside of the individual. Experiences are moulded psychologically, socially and put to meaningfulness against the fond of significance of contemporary culture.

consumption, individualization in referential space shows up as behavioural patterns of choice marked by increased 'heterogeneity'. The hypothesized relationship is that the more common the social constellation of the 'monad' (one person) in physical space, the more unique the individual itineraries into referential space. Following this, increased individual uniqueness ought to feed into increased heterogeneity of the overall consumption patterns of the audience. The chapter outlines whether this interrelation between behaviour in physical space and referential space exist and how it develops. As such, it constitutes the last corner stone of the explanation of individualization in television viewing and furnishes a ground for reasoning about how individualization is structured causally. Is it media driven or a social trend expressed in media consumption as well as in other areas of socially embedded individual agency?

When accessed from People Meter data channel repertoires are overloaded with stories of audience transformation. A specific selection of these stories is told here while others are indicated as future fields of scientific enquiry. The story of individualization will find its conclusive ending right here – in referential space.

Channel Repertoire Size

In the following section, the *size* and *form* of channel repertoires are mapped out. At focus, is how channel repertoires have developed over the last decade and how channel repertoires differ for different segments of the television audience. In order to form channel repertoires, all television viewing of an individual is gathered channel-by-channel and ranked according to the volume of viewing invested on each channel. The most viewed channel is ranked highest in order and, accordingly the least viewed channel ranked the lowest.

A suitable allegory of *ranked individual viewing* is the viewer as a glass and viewing time as coloured liquid. Whenever watching television, the viewer pours liquid (viewing time) into his or her glass (the accumulated viewing). Depending on the amount of viewing time of individual viewers, the glass will be full to varying degrees. If the liquid takes on a different colour for each channel and form layers ordered according to size, the glass is becoming a representation of ranked individual viewing. The most viewed channel is ranked highest (at the top of the liquid) and the least viewed channel lowest (at the bottom of the glass).

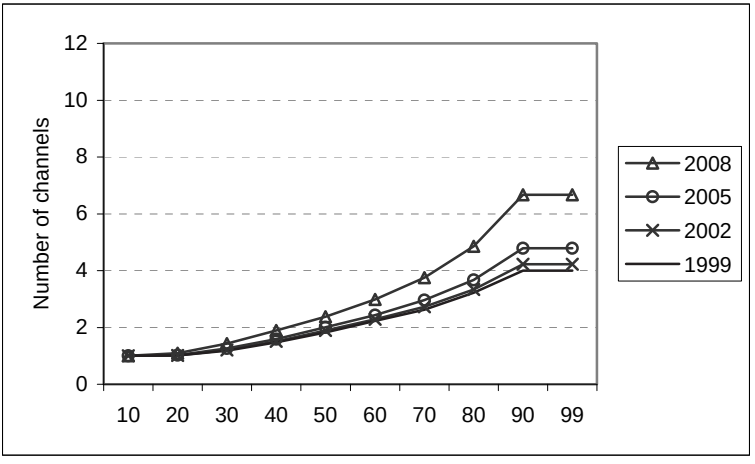
In the exposition below, the *size* of the average channel repertoires of the Swedish television audience can be followed year by year. First, for the

whole audience, and afterwards, for the first and the last deciles – which is the median value of the 20 percent of the audience with the smallest respectively the largest channel repertoires. The size of the channel repertoires is in the following three diagrams illustrated in relation to ranked individual viewing which means that the x-axis is the above depicted glasses of individual viewers: 0 percent being the surface of the liquid and 100 percent the bottom of the glass.

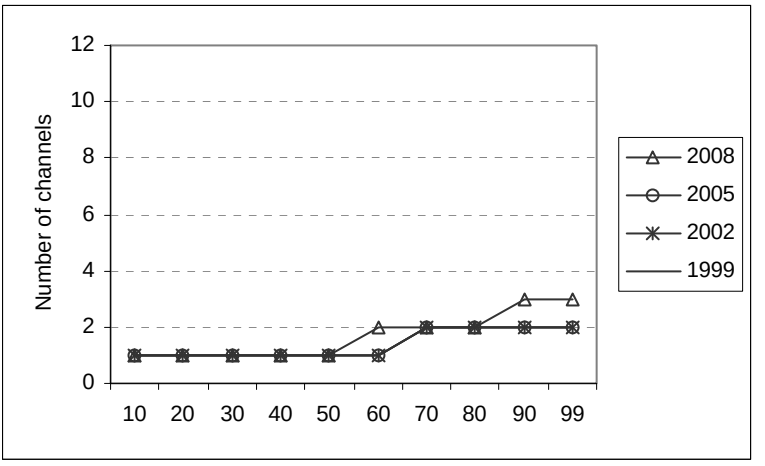
Values found at 50 percent describe the average number of channels required to swallow the top half of the ranked individual viewing. Following the average values of 1999 it takes 1.8 channels to swallow the top half of the viewing and 4 channels to swallow the top 90 percent. In 2008, the corresponding numbers are 2.4 for half and 6.7 channels for 90 percent of the television viewing. The increased availability of television channels has consequently induced a viewer response of increased diffusion of viewing over a steadily larger number of channels.

Figure 27. The average size of channel repertoires in relation to ranked individual viewing 1999-2008 – the whole television audience, the first and the last deciles (mean values).

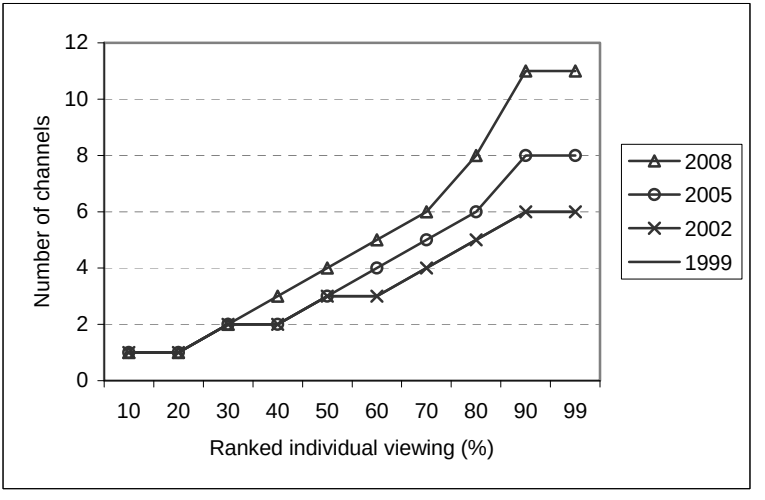
TOTAL AUDIENCE



FIRST DECILE



LAST DECILE



Note: The x-axis depicts the *ranked individual viewing* of the total television audience. A threshold mechanism imitating a *reach* criteria has been applied estimating the top limit of the channel repertoire limiting total viewing to 99 percent. This mechanism cuts out the channels of miniscule viewing that is the result of People Meter registering every minute of viewing. What is cut of is the last 1 percent of viewing at the end of the ranked individual viewing of each viewer (the percent being located on the bottom of the glass) in order not to make 1 minute of hazardous consumption result in one channel more in the depicted diagram encompassing data from 56 days. All viewing is consequently in these graphs and the following section read at 99 percent of the viewing.

* Value of first and last deciles has been chosen in a frequency performance for the 10-12 variables constituting the *Amount of an individual's viewing*. For each variable is given the median value of the 20 percent of the audience representing the lowest (first decile) respectively the highest (last decile) values on the specific variable (Description valid for the first and the last deciles graphs).

The diagrams constitute illustrations of audience fragmentation read on the level of individual action. The two most obvious signs of fragmentation are: First, *deconcentration* of viewing making dominating channels gather steadily smaller audiences (the curves are rising closer to the right over time), and second, *spreading* of viewing over a steadily larger amount of channels (the level of the curve is rising each year). This trend of development, the curves rising earlier to the right and taking of with a steeper slope over time, is steady over time until it takes a leap 2005 to 2008 due to the digitalisation of the terrestrial network bringing about unprecedented growth in availability of television channels in the households receiving terrestrial television.

Will this development of fragmentation continue? Or is there some kind of "natural" limitation to fragmentation activated on the level of the individual? This line of reasoning over limitations of human faculties was elaborated theoretically above on the grounds of cognitive psychology. Delimited cognitive resources and availability of time could make it impossible to diffuse ones individual viewing beyond a certain limit. Such limits could rise from either how small proportion of the television viewing that can be concentrated to a viewer's favourite channels or from how extensively a single person's television viewing can be spread. If these two natural limits exist, they ought to be visible in the channel repertoires.

A first step would be to study the part of the audience with the largest channel repertoires (last decile graph) in order to search for some kind of natural proportions in diffusion of viewing and a top limit in channel repertoire size. This would in terms of the diffusion of innovations theory (Rogers, 1983) be to focus the innovators and the early adopters – two groups that in a second step could be contrasted to the late adopters and laggards (first decile graph).

The curves, describing the part of the audience with largest channel repertoires (last decile), follow the curves of the total audience in terms of form, slope and growth. The main difference is that the curves evolve on a higher level. The part of the curve that is constant from year to year is of prime interest when searching for some form of natural proportions of concentration of viewing to favourite channels. The values at 10 to 30 percent of an individual's ranked viewing are constant over time. It illustrates that even if the total viewing of the individual is diffused over steadily more channels, the channel most viewed still summons a constant proportion of viewing. Deconcentration of viewing seems to have a limit currently making one fifth of the viewing concentrated to one channel and one third of the viewing to two channels.

To tell if the maximum limit in channel repertoire size is reached for Swedish television audience in 2008 is harder. Based on the picture of the audience with the largest channel repertoires, there is still room for more channels to spread the viewing across for large parts of the audience. But, has this group of viewers reached a tip limit in spread of viewing over channels? A top limit would result in a curve with a less steep slope over time. This tendency is visible all years but only for the last tenth of viewing. The rest of the curve climbs steeper from year to year, which would indicate that there is still room for more channels to spread viewing over. This type of top limit cannot be found even if the search is restricted to an even smaller group owning the largest repertoires. The extension of the channel repertoires is consequently getting larger and larger for the audience at large and for the ones with the most spread viewing.

Among the audience with the least extensive channel repertoires the changes in viewing over time are smaller. There are in fact no visible changes from 1999 till 2005 and viewing is neither deconcentrated nor split over more channels until digitalisation of the terrestrial network changes the channel settings within these households. Important to acknowledge is that digitalisation is changing the last viewers of the first decile from being marked by scarcity till 2005 to being marked by scarce channel use in 2008. Viewing is, in this part of the audience, highly concentrated to one favourite channel accounting for more then half of each individual's viewing and a second channel accounting for an additional 40 percent of the viewing. More than 90 percent of the viewing is until 2005 concentrated to two channels. The high level of concentration remains just slightly altered 2008, as significantly more channels are available. Half of the viewing time is in 2008 concentrated to one channel, 80 percent to two channels and 90 percent to 3 channels. That there is no change visible at 99 percent of the viewing is explained by that the viewers of the group change from marked by channel availability to marked by scarce channel use.

The depicted change in channel repertoires outlines how television viewing is changing as an individual practice. Viewing is deconcentrated from a few big channels and is increasingly spread over many channels. This is a development under go and when it comes to the number of channels merged into everyday television viewing there is no signs of top limit visible so far. But does this change, in practice, encompass all parts of the audience regardless of age, gender or education or do some move slower and other faster meanwhile some remain stunned?

The Demographic Dimension of Channel Use

On which theoretical grounds could we expect channel repertoires to diverge between separate groups of the audience? The theoretical considerations made above identified the cognitive dimension as central to channel repertoire as individual strategies to cope with information abundance in choice situations. This cognitive ability is individual and not simply physical but moulded by technological and cultural conditions, and accumulated experiences resulting in habitual patterns of behaviour. From the perspective of *lived experience,* the younger part of the audience regard multi-channel availability as the normal situation while older age groups have additional experiences of more limited media systems – from pre-television environments (the oldest) over totally Public Service dominated and slightly deregulated to highly deregulated television landscapes. While young individuals establish their viewing *habits* in today's multi-channel environment, older individuals established their viewing habits in a less abundant channel environment to later make them evolve in order to suit new over time evolving media environment. Different viewing behaviours between generations could be an expected outcome of diverging points of entrance into the media system. Once established, habits change gradually and often comparatively slow – habits nurture inertia in behaviour change.

This *generational difference* could also coincide with a biologically guided *cognitive ability* – that grows, reaches its peak in order to start decline, in a biological sense – or a cognitive ability such as some kind of *media literacy* linked to the flow content structure – that grows cumulatively or gradually. An enabling media literacy linked to multi-channel use is multitasking. Multitasking allow an individual to follow channel flows in parallel and to keep a broader horizon of possible channel choice open. To consciously move between temporal flows and to keep a broader horizon of possible choice open demands a certain degree of cognitive ability in conjunction with practice. A difference in age is a difference in lived experience that could result in differences in cognitive ability and media literacy. But, they do not have to since individual differences on all levels (cognitive, experiential, and practical) induce complexity into these relationships. So, what line of differences can we find when it comes to the size of channel repertoires and age?

There are differences in channel repertoires of different age groups of which some could be interpreted as generational differences. The levels of concentration in table 30 shows the average number of channels it takes to gather 30, 50 or 80 percent of an individual's ranked viewing. Size is the average number of channels of the total channel repertoire. The youngest

and the oldest possess the most concentrated viewing and the smallest channel repertoires both 1999 and 2008. In parallel with the increase of channels available, leading to twice as large channel repertoires, the age group of older have although distinguished themselves at bottom place when it comes to both size and deconcentration of channel repertoires. In 2008, the viewers of age 65+ perform a television viewing far more concentrated and with a use of significantly fewer channels than do all other age groups. The generational gap between this group and other groups are consequently enlarged over time.

Table 30. The size and concentration of channel repertoires in different age groups 1999 and 2008 (average number of channels).

	Concentration						Size	
	1999			2008			1999	2008
Age	30%	50%	80%	30%	50%	80%	99%	99%
3-14	1.1	1.6	2.9	1.3	2.2	4.5	5.2	11.1
15-24	1.2	1.9	3.4	1.4	2.3	4.8	6.3	11.2
25-34	**1.3**	**2.0**	**3.6**	1.6	2.6	5.2	**6.4**	12.1
35-44	1.2	1.9	3.3	**1.6**	**2.7**	**5.6**	6.1	**13.5**
45-64	1.2	1.9	3.2	1.5	2.5	5.1	5.6	12.4
65 +	1.1	1.7	3.0	1.3	2.1	3.8	4.8	9.3

Note: *Concentration* is the average number of channels it takes to summon 30, 50 or 80 percent of the *ranked individuals viewing*, while *size* is the total number of channels used by an individual – read at 99% of an individual's viewing in order to cut of channels marginally used (see Note Figure 26).

In 2008, the most deconcentrated viewing spread over the largest array of channels is performed by the 35 to 44 years old. They distinguish themselves as holders of the front position within the broader age group of 25-64 years old that all posses bigger and more deconcentrated channel repertoires. An interesting fact is that in 1999 a similar relationship between a leading and a broader group exist, but with another distribution in age. In 1999 the age group of 25 to 34 years old held the largest and most deconcentrated channel repertoires within the broader group of 15-44 year old. What seems to have happened during the period of ten years is that the behaviour of multi-channel use has followed the age groups (or generations) that had the largest channel repertoires in 1999. Meanwhile, multi-channel use has been comparatively weakly enveloped among the younger and especially the group of young adults 15-24, in regard to the line of expectancy. The result is that extensive channel use is moving upwards in age due to absence of recreation in the lower age groups. Whatever media literacy a multi-channel environment requires, it is consequently not a set of brand new ones.

Having considered the differences in channel repertoires following age, gender and education shall be briefly scrutinized. Emphasised here, must be that this analyses does not fall back on any well grounded theories, if existing, about diverging cognitive abilities in relation to television viewing between males and females or low and high educated.

Table 31. The size and concentration of channel repertoires in groups of gender and education 1999 and 2008 (mean values of number of channels).

	Concentration						Size	
	1999			2008			1999	2008
	30%	50%	80%	30%	50%	80%	99%	99%
Gender:								
Male	1.2	1.9	3.4	1.5	2.5	5.3	6.0	12.5
Female	1.1	1.7	3.1	1.4	2.2	4.5	5.4	10.8
Education:								
Low	1.2	1.8	3.1	1.4	2.3	4.5	5.4	10.7
Medium	1.2	1.9	3.3	1.5	2.5	5.3	5.9	12.8
High	1.2	1.8	3.2	1.4	2.4	4.8	5.5	11.3

Note: *Concentration* is the average number of channels it takes to summon 30, 50 or 80 percent of the *ranked individual viewing*, while *size* is the total number of channels used by an individual – read at 99% of an individual's viewing in order to cut of channels marginally used (see Note Figure 27).

Males produce less concentrated viewing and larger channel repertoires than do females, while education is reflecting underlying patterns of age. Viewers holding a medium level of education distinguish themselves by more extensive channel repertoires and less concentrated viewing than viewers of low and high education. This is however an effect of age as young people are over represented in the group holding a medium level of education. The range of difference between age, gender and education groups is growing slightly over time but is both 1999 and 2008 larger for age than for gender and education.

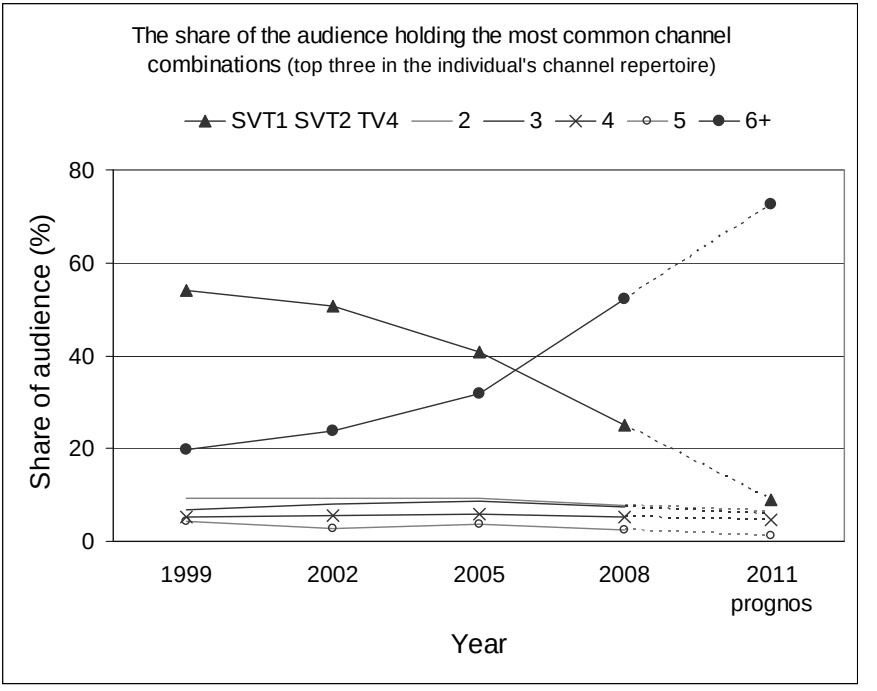
The Content of the Channel Repertoires

Channel repertoires, when fully developed and explored, can deliver detailed accounts on individual television viewing. When these accounts are later on put side-by-side and related to each other, they furnish a pathway towards precise description of the trend of individualization that rule television viewing today. Thus far, the changing channel repertoires have illustrated how the viewing of individual viewers is increasingly spread over more channels. The falling of market shares of the bigger players of the television market is, on the level of the individual action growing

channel repertoires carrying viewing less concentrated to the top of the repertoire. Size and concentration is describing the *form* of the channel repertoires and it is now time to proceed onto the level of the specific *content* within the channel repertoires.

To illustrate the development of the content of the channel repertoires the *combinations* of channels that are ranked highest by each individual viewer can be tracked. It opens up a possibility to map out which channels that are most frequently combined, and which combinations that dominate the viewing of different groups of the audience. In the graphs following through this section, the most common combinations of three channels are outlined. Each viewer can only have one top ranked combination encompassing the three channels receiving most of her viewing time. The first graph illustrates how large share of the audience that held the five most common combinations respectively other combinations than these five.

Figure 28. The share of the audience holding the five top ranked combinations of three channels versus the share of the audience holding alternative combination 1999-2008 (percent of the audience).



Rank:	1999	2002	2005	2008
1	SVT1 SVT2 TV4	SVT1 SVT2 TV4	SVT1 SVT2 TV4	SVT1 SVT2 TV4
2	TV3 TV4 Kanal5	SVT1 TV3 TV4	TV3 TV4 Kanal5	SVT1 TV3 TV4
3	SVT1 TV3 TV4	TV3 TV4 Kanal5	SVT1 TV3 TV4	TV3 TV4 Kanal5
4	SVT2 TV3 TV4	SVT1 TV4 Kanal5	SVT1 TV4 Kanal5	SVT1 TV4 Kanal5
5	STV1 SVT2 TV3	SVT1 TV3 Kanal5	SVT1 TV3 Kanal5	SVT1 TV4 TV6

Note: The lines in the graph depict the percentage of the audience holding a combination of three specific channels as their most viewed. The combination is three channels regardless of their internal order so every line could be composed of six theoretical orderings (3!) since each of the three channels can be first second or third. The number one combination is SVT1, SVT2 and TV4 for all of the period 1999-2008 meanwhile the next combinations vary in content year to year. The last combination (6+) is a composite category containing all remaining combinations represented within the panel. The six lines add up to 100% at every point in time. The top five ranking can be follow from year to year beneath the graph. (see APPENDIX – Tables (table 52) for the content and share of audience of the ten highest ranked combinations year to year).

Illustrated is the massive growth of differentiation in the choices of channels among the audience. In 1999, more than half of the audience, and 2002 half, held as the three most consumed channels STV1, SVT2 and TV4.[69] The concentration around this most common combination has been weakened over time and was in 2008 encompassing but one forth of the total audiences. Three of the other top four ranked combinations decline while one remains comparatively stable. The exact combinations holding the top positions have, except for the first, varied from one time point to another. Which channels constitute the combinations are outlined in the table below the graph.

What happens over time is that top combinations get exchanged into a larger array of varying combinations. This trend can be followed in the rising curve encompassing all alternative combinations (6+). The growth of this curve is a composite effect of an increased availability of channels and an increased spread of viewing. A broader range of channels takes central positions in the everyday consideration sets of the audience in 2008 than ten years earlier. How comprehensive this differentiation of the audience is can be followed more precisely in the table below. It outlines the relative proportion of the audience holding top combinations of a specific range in the overall ranking of all combinations. As can be seen four fifth of the audience held one of the five most common top channel combinations in 1999 compared to less than half of the audience in 2008.

[69] The top ranking ten combinations and their relative size over time can be followed in APPENDIX Tables: table X.

Table 32. The share of the audience holding ranked combinations of three channels ranked according to overall commonality within the audience 1999-2008 (percent of the audience).

RANK:	1999	2002	2005	2008	Diff.	Change
1-5	80.2	76.3	68.2	47.7	*-32.5*	-40%
6-10	6.7	5.2	6.8	8.8	*2.1*	31%
11-20	2.8	3.1	4.6	8.9	*6.1*	219%
21-100	8.2	10.2	12.2	17.3	*9.1*	111%
101+	2.1	5.3	8.2	17.3	*15.2*	718%
TC	161	222	278	514		209%
*TC (adj)**	*205*	*286*	*366*	*514*		151%
n (valid)	2392	2366	2313	3048		

Note: The top combination (TC) is the total number of unordered combinations present in the audience (see Note Figure 28 above). * The adjusted value of TC takes account of the fact that a greater number of individuals in the panel will create a greater number of combinations. It adjusts the value in relation to n following the model: TC (adj) = TC * (n[2008 as baseline] / n[year in question].

The direction of change is the same over the whole period but the pace is getting radicalised from 2005 to 2008. Between these years, the top five combinations fall faster as the frequency of alternate combinations grows considerably. The growth in combinations is to some extent a consequence of a new array of possible combinations coming to life. The estimated number of combinations of the viewer panel was 205 in 1999 compared to a 514 in 2008 which means that a considerable amount of new combinations of channels have made it to the top of the consideration set of the viewers.[70]

A highly illustrative aspect of individualization is that the growth is stronger in the lower ranked combinations than in the higher. The lower a combination is ranked, the fewer viewers hold it and the more unique and individual it is. The relative proportion of the audience holding lower ranked combination has exploded during ten years. The single largest growth is due to combinations ranked lower than 100 that accounts for 15 units of percent growth during the period. The second largest is constituted by the array of combination ranked 11 to 20, which over time triple their proportion of the audience. These high- but not top-ranked combinations are consequently taking a firmer grip of the audience as the top-ranked are loosing ground. In 2008, the half of the audience not holding

[70] The analysis of combinations of channels is more sensitive to the size of the MMS panel than other analysis undertaken before. The more individuals the panel include the more likely is it that they will represent a larger absolute number of combinations. The adjusted TC controls for this effect of panel growth over time. Unadjusted the growth in number of combinations are 209 percent, adjusted 150 percent, which means that there is a slight overestimation of a growth that is anyhow massive.

the five top ranked combinations is split into three equal parts: one part with ranking combination 6-20, one with 21-100 and a last part holding combinations ranked 101 or lower. To get a perspective: 1999 one fifth of the audience had combinations ranked accordingly (6+).

The table depicting the growth of channel combinations is a clear illustration of the individualization of the television audience under go. The overarching trend is an increasing complexity in viewing patterns. A comparatively homogeneous choice structure is at a fast pace turning heterogeneous. This development of individual level choice could be thought of in terms of head and tail (cf. Anderson, 2006). The top ranked combination of channels studied here is the *head* of the channel repertoires of every individual viewer. These are the three channels of each viewer that gather most of their viewing time, on average 85% of the viewing time in 1999 and 70% in 2008. The head is still of an uttermost importance in terms of impact on general patterns of television viewing, although this importance is shrinking over time.

Heads of channel repertoires are, apart from central to viewer choice and representing the largest volumes of viewing time, the part of the channel repertoires that are expected to be subject to least change. If change is radical in the head, what must it not be in the tail of steadily growing length? Both head and tail carries loads of information on *individual viewer choice* and on the ongoing *changes in television viewing practices*. The analysis will therefore be further deepened in both camps. A first step will be to look closer into the head of the channel repertoires to specify which combinations of channels that are making up the heads at different points in time and how these specific channel combinations are diffused over different sub segments of the audience? The following channel combinations have been on the top ten lists 1999 to 2005 or are the most common year 2008 (table 33).

The four most common top combinations of channels are fairly stable over time. They are different combinations of the "big five" channels of Swedish television: The two public service channels SVT1 and SVT2 and the private channels TV4, TV3 and Kanal5. SVT1-SVT2-TV4 is the combination that has remained in first position over the whole period. With a little bit of hindsight we have to remind ourselves that channel repertoires exceeding two channels was not an option for half the Swedish television audience before 1992 when TV4 entered the terrestrial broadcasting network as a third channel. Yet, afterwards when TV4 had reached a 98 percent penetration some years later, the possibility to form a channel repertoire alternative to SVT1-SVT2-TV4 was still limited to the 55-60% of the audience using satellite and cable. This was a technical limitation in chan-

nel availability of the terrestrial network until digitalisation was brought about. From that time point and on the top combination of SVT1-SVT2-TV4 became for the entire audience just one of many possible combinations within reach. The radical decrease of this combination between 2005 and 2008 should be looked upon in the light of digitalisation.

Table 33. Top combinations of channels in the audience channel repertoires 1999 to 2008 (rank of on average placement).

	1999	2002	2005	2008
SVT1 SVT2 TV4	1	1	1	1
SVT1 TV3 TV4	3	2	3	2
TV3 TV4 Kanal5	2	3	2	3
SVT1 TV4 Kanal5	8	4	4	4
SVT1 TV4 TV6*	75	20	18	5
TV3 Kanal5 TV6*	35	9	8	6
SVT1 TV4 Barnkanalen/Kunskpsk.	X	X	28	7
SVT1 SVT2 TV3	5	6	6	8
SVT1 TV3 Kanal5	6	5	5	9
TV4 Kanal5 TV6*	80	32	19	10
TV3 TV4 TV6*	22	22	14	11
SVT2 TV3 TV4	4	10	9	12
SVT1 TV4 TV4+	X	X	21	13
SVT2 TV4 Kanal5	7	8	17	14
SVT1 SVT2 Kanal5	10	7	7	15
SVT2 TV3 Kanal5	9	X	16	37
SVT1 TV4 CARTOON Network	31	21	10	61

Note: Från fil: Repcombo2 1999 till 2008.xls Every combination could be composed of six theoretical orderings (3!) since each of the three channels can be first second or third. X= not available.
* TV6 is a composite of MTG owned ZTV and TV6. In 1999, 2002 and 2005 this channel space was occupied by ZTV until TV6 substituted it when launched 9 May 2006. TV6 is designed to attract a young male audience and is not the same as TV6 launched by MTG during the 1990's designed to attract a young female audience.

The second and third position have been alternately upheld by SVT1-TV3-TV4 and TV3-TV4-Kanal5 while SVT1-TV4-Kanal5 has established itself as the fourth most common combination since 2002. Two other fairly stable channel combinations in use over time are SVT1-SVT2-TV3 and SVT1-TV3-Kanal5. The two combinations used to occupy position 5 and 6 until 2005 but are in 2008 ranked 8 and 9. The shift in the ranking is created by the new and upcoming channels TV6 (launched in May 2006) and SVTB (launched in December 2002). Position 5 to 7 is in 2008 occupied by SVT1-TV4-TV6, TV3-Kanal5-TV6 and SVT1-TV4-SVTB and position 10, 11 and 13 by two other combinations containing TV6 and one with the third upcoming channel of TV4+ (launched in March 2003). The change in ranking seems to fall back on two different factors: First, new channels entering into the heads of channel repertoires creating new

top ranking combinations and second, old top combinations containing SVT2 falling back as SVT2 halve in size from being the biggest public service channel, in 1999, to being slightly bigger than TV3 and TV5, in 2008.

Who is the Proprietor of Which Channel Repertoire?

Having established the over time top ranked combinations of channel and the size of the audiences they encompass at different time points, a remaining question is who is the owner of the different combinations. By focusing on age and gender, a first overarching picture of to which extent individual channels and top combinations are general or delimited to specific audience groups. By performing this type of analysis we are closing in on the main theme of individualization. If a movement versus a specialization in the consumption patterns of channels follow age and gender, this would be a movement of individualization in the general audience that would have individualizing effect on what we share and experience in referential space. Over time development of decreased similarity between groups and heterogeneity is thus central to the reasoning here while the discussions of specific channel movement will be down played.

Before approaching the over time development, the table below presents a momentary picture from 2008 of similarity in channel consumption. In the table the average ranking of the 13 largest channels in Sweden in 2008 is assessed for different age groups. The ranking is based on the place individual channels hold in the channel repertoires of the viewers of these channels.

Marked in the table 34, are groups holding a comparatively higher ranking of the respective channels than do other age groups. The resulting pattern shows that age plays a significant role and many channels are tied to a specific segment of age of the audience. Based on the picture the channels can be split into specific and general in relation to age. General is first and foremost TV4 that catches nearly all age groups and TV4+, Kanal 9 and Discovery channel. Into this group qualifies also the largest Public Service channel SVT1 that represent a comparatively small range of variation in ranking. SVT1, TV4 and SVT2 are by carrying mixed programming representing a content structure of broad character.

Table 34. Average ranking of the 13 biggest Swedish television channels 2008 in different age groups (average ranking).

	All	3-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-64	65+
TV4	2,9	4,1	3,2	**2,7**	**2,7**	**2,4**	**2,7**
SVT 1	3,2	3,3	4,7	3,9	3,4	**2,8**	**2,1**
TV3	5,2	6,2	**4,1**	**4,0**	5,3	5,3	5,8
SVT2	5,6	9,0	8,0	6,6	6,2	**4,2**	**2,6**
Kanal 5	5,7	6,2	**4,1**	**3,7**	**4,9**	6,8	7,6
TV6	8,0	8,1	**5,6**	**6,9**	8,3	8,8	9,1
TV4+	9,0	11,8	9,4	**8,9**	9,4	**8,4**	**7,2**
SVT24	10,5	13,2	12,1	11,7	11,2	**9,8**	**7,9**
DISCOVERY	10,5	**10,1**	**9,0**	**8,9**	**10,2**	11,5	12,2
Kanal 9	11,2	12,6	**10,7**	**10,9**	11,3	11,3	**10,6**
Barnkanalen/Kunskaps TV	11,5	**7,1**	12,3	12,1	13,1	13,6	**10,3**
MTV	13,5	**12,3**	**9,2**	**11,8**	14,6	16,1	15,5
TV8	13,6	13,7	13,8	12,9	14,4	14,0	**12,2**

Note: The marked and bolded are consequently the most prominent viewers of the channels. Important to consider is that the ranking is based on viewers of the channels answering: among viewers of channel X, what ranking does it get? Likewise important to keep in mind is that the size of channel repertoires vary with age (table 30). The n-values underlying the table are falling with the size of the channel and their ranking. A channel ranked 2-5 are represented in the channel repertoires of most viewers while the opposite situation is valid for a channel ranked more than 9.

Highly specialized in terms of consumption are the Public Service channels of SVT2, STV24 and Barnkanalen/Kunskapskanalen as appealing most to the older audience. The latter has also a specialized young audience because it is split in time airing child's programming till 8 pm. Another highbrow profiled channel reaching the older is TV8. Specialized with a higher ranking among the younger audience are Kanal 5, TV3, TV6 and MTV airing content of an entertainment profile.

The pattern described shows that there is a large spread in the orientation of viewing related to the dimension of age. This analysis can be further developed if age is combined with gender as the development over time is taken into account. In the table that follows (table below) the audience carrying the most common channel repertoires of 1999 and 2008 are described as age-gender groups.

The table 35 gives a fairly, clear-cut representation of the specialization of viewing under go in the audience. Based on the specificity of the age-gender composition of the audiences of the different channel combination, they are in the table categorized in line with the audience holding each channel combination. In 1999 most audiences for individual channel combinations were based on age only. This is especially valid for the channels combinations drawing large crowds as can be seen from the rankings of 1999. The channel combinations that appealed to an audience specialized, in terms of both gender and age, have a

comparatively smaller audience and are ranked from 9th place and below. Year 1999 represented a low specialization and constituted a television environment that was less specialized in terms of both content and channel provision.

Table 35. The composition of the audience holding the top combinations 1999 and 2008 (mean values of age, gender and average share of individual viewing).

	1999						2008					
	RANK	n	AGE	GEN	Share		RANK	n	AGE	GEN	Share	
SVT1 SVT2 TV4	1	1306	46	0.52	93	Middle aged	1	782	59	0.53	80	Mature
SVT1 TV3 TV4	3	171	24	0.55	77	Young	2	247	43	0.57	66	Middle aged
TV3 TV4 Kanal5	2	206	29	0.56	74	Young	3	211	32	0.70	68	Young females
SVT1 TV4 Kanal5	8	32	24	0.49	80	Young	4	154	36	0.63	67	Young females
SVT1 TV4 TV6	75	-	-	-	-	-	5	69	32	0.29	75	Young males
TV3 Kanal5 TV6	35	-	-	-	-	-	6	67	28	0.41	70	Young
SVT1 TV4 SVTB	X						7	64	13	0.53	81	Children
STV1 SVT2 TV3	5	106	40	0.49	80	Middle aged	8	55	55	0.55	70	Mature
SVT1 TV3 Kanal5	6	49	18	0.51	77	Teens	9	49	36	0.61	68	Young
TV4 Kanal5 TV6	80	-	-	-	-	-	10	43	28	0.31	65	Young males
TV3 TV4 TV6	22	-	-	-	-	-	11	40	26	0.35	62	Young males
SVT2 TV3 TV4	4	120	40	0.49	75	Middle aged	12	37	57	0.76	70	Mature females
SVT1 TV4 TV4 +	X						13	32	54	0.78	62	Mature females
SVT2 TV4 Kanal5	7	33	51	0.56	72	Mature	14	27	41	0.51	65	Middle aged
SVT1 SVT2 Kanal5	10	25	37	0.34	78	Young males	15	25	40	0.61	71	Middle aged
SVT2 TV3 Kanal5	9	27	39	0.44	71	Middle aged	37	9	38	0.42	63	Middle aged
TOTAL		2392			85			3048			70	

Note: RANK is set following the proportion of the audience holding the top combination. The proportion is mirrored by n-Figures. AGE is the average age of the group. GENDER is the proportion that is female in percent. SHARE is the average proportion of viewing time spent on the three top channels expressed in percent. The AGE-GENDER groups are based on the AGE and GENDER information and the order of age groups is children, teens, young, middle aged, mature, elderly. Age groups are formed to roughly express phases of the life cycle. X=not available and is followed by absent information. When top combinations are ranked low representing only a few individuals, information has been omitted (-).

Another picture emerges in 2008, when the audience composition of the top ranked channel combination is much more specialized. Totally six of the ten top-ranked combinations are tied to audiences composed of an age-gender composition. New is also an increased specialization in age discriminating combination tied to children and older besides the earlier young, young adults and middle aged of 1999. The two tendencies of deconcentration and spreading of viewing over time can be followed in the table by falling average shares of viewing for the individual channel combinations (Share) and falling n-figures.

The pattern revealed is a clear pattern of individualization as viewing gets specialized in accordance with individual characteristics of age and gender. The nurturing ground of this process of individualization is a growing specialization in television content and channel provision and a

social impetus for individuals to build their referential space and identity around items that are not grounded in their immediate local social surrounding and that is shared locally with family members.

Or, is it really so that the mediated referential space is decreasingly shared within the household with the family and partner, among the ones standing closest? Many things discovered this far indicates that it might be the case. The increased spreading of viewing in time and decrease of social viewing together with the tendencies of specialization in content consumption are three tendencies sustaining a comparative conclusion. If this is the case, it would be the ultimate expression of individualization in television viewing. So, let us see what the data tells us.

Heterogeneous Patterns of TV Consumption

In order to take the investigation into individualization a step further and reach full precision, consumption of individual viewers will here be studied in relation to the consumption of other members of the same household. This mapping out of *uniqueness* in content consumption stands in the centre of this last section of the chapter. The previous section of the chapter illustrated how preferential combinations of television channels are multiplied and increasingly diffused over the audience same time harder aligned to groupings of age and gender. In this respect audience transformation appear to follow the changing character of mediaspace. Content is over time more firmly organized to appeal to predefined segments of the age-gender matrix.

The mapping out of uniqueness below, takes full advantage of people meter data. It profits from its social dimension as well as its longitudinal dimension allowing over time accumulation of parallel viewing behaviour. In terms of data use, this section is a full expression of what *thickening* of people meter data can promise. The question addressed is from now on to which extent individuals of the same household consume the same television content, or to use the spatial term launched in this thesis: to which extent do household members *share* the same *referential space* – mediated through television?

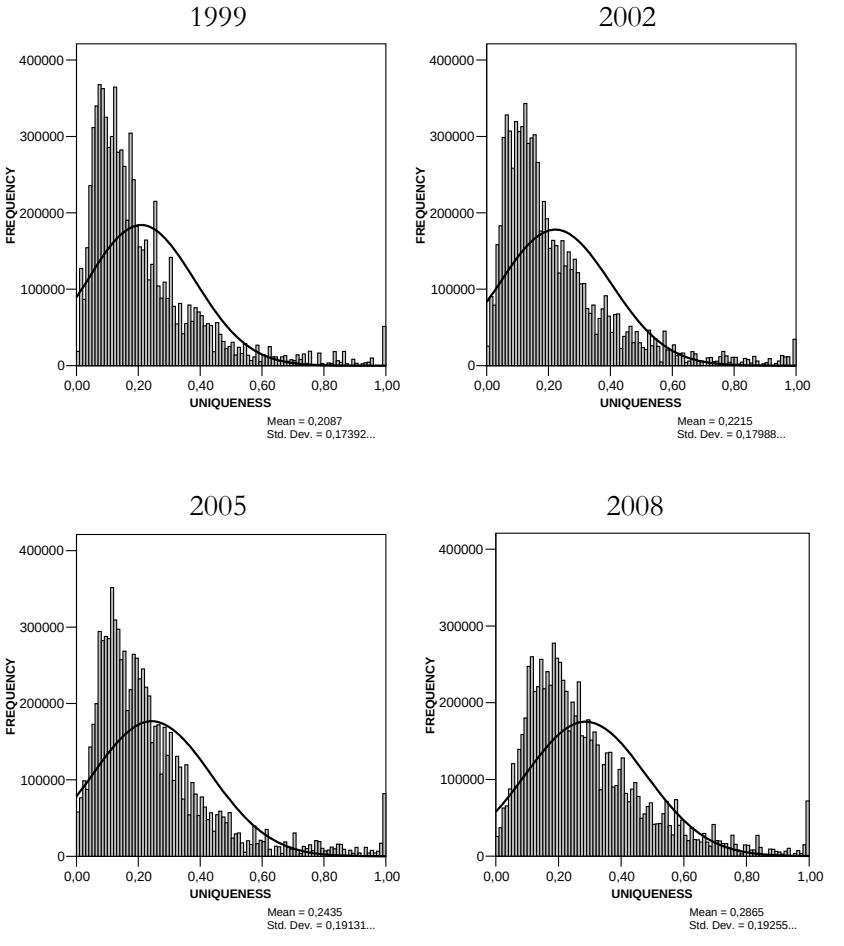
Uniqueness in Television Consumption

A prerequisite for mapping out uniqueness on the household level is that the household consist of more than one individual. This means uniqueness must be searched out within the social setting of the multi person household (with an exclusion of the single person households as a consequence). To map out uniqueness, a measure has been created that delineates an individual's pattern of consumption in relation to the patterns of other individuals of the same household. The measure takes account of how divergent channel repertoires of different household members are from each other. It is a continuous measure that reaches from 0, representing absence of uniqueness, to 1, representing total uniqueness in television consumption.

At 0, the channel repertoire of the individual coincides totally with the channel repertoires of other household members. At 1, the individual's viewing is totally divergent from other household members viewing.

These two end positions of the continuum of uniqueness are quite rare and most viewers take on a value somewhere between 0 and 1 given that channel repertoires of household members in most cases overlap. The distribution of uniqueness 1999 to 2008 exhibits that the uniqueness in television consumption is growing.

Figure 29. The uniqueness of television consumption within multi-person households 1999 to 2008 – distribution of the audience in histograms.



The four distributions show how the audience living in multi person households slowly move from left, representing low uniqueness, towards the right. In the same time the audience is getting more equally spread over the spectrum of uniqueness, seen as a levelling out of the height of

the curves over time. Superimposed in the graphs is the curve of a normal distribution with its top centred at the mean value each year. The mean value rises from 0.21 in 1999, over 0.22 and 0.24 to 0.29 in 2008. The distribution of uniqueness takes over time on a form closer and closer to a normal distribution.

From this overarching picture of all multi person households the conclusion can be drawn that individualization is under go in television viewing. What other household members consume of television has less and less influence on individual viewing consumption. The household, including the family, play a diminishing role in guiding television viewing. But is this really a true picture? Is family viewing becoming an increasingly obsolete television practice, for all, everywhere? It is now time to answer this question, on how the *social setting* influences uniqueness, together with a decipher of the role of *demographics*, *technology* and different *viewing behaviours* in deciding who ends up to the left, right or in the centre at the continuum of uniqueness. Two new viewing behaviours can be added to the picture from the previous two chapters: habitualness and social viewing.

Social Setting

The social setting of the multi person household is expected to exert strong influence on patterns of uniqueness. The denser the social environment, the more persons you can *share* your viewing repertoire with. A reasonable expectation is consequently that viewers living in larger households are less likely to produce unique patterns of viewing than viewers of smaller households. But, as was the case of social viewing the interrelation between social setting and uniqueness turns out to be more complex than simple numeric linearity. To give the full picture, the presence of different household, constellations with or without children and in different forms of dwelling, have to be taken into account.

As table 36 illustrates, there is a linear relationship between uniqueness in viewing patterns and the size of the household. The greater the number of individuals the smaller the uniqueness they represent in their viewing. Exception to the rule is the two-person household that represent a slightly smaller degree of uniqueness than the three-person household all years but 2005. However, there is a natural demographic explanation to this discrepancy. The two-person households comprise many elderly couples with stable consumption patterns that to a high extent are shared. The relationship between household size and uniqueness is consequently when

controlled for age negatively linear. Age is loosing some of its impact on uniqueness over time illustrated by falling Eta-values.

Table 36. The impact of social setting on uniqueness in television consumption patterns – ANOVA (mean values and Eta).

SOCIAL SETTING	1999	2002	2005	2008	ABS	REL
GRAND MEAN	0.21	0.22	0.24	0.29	0.08	37%
NUMBER OF PERSONS IN HH						
2	0.24	0.26	0.28	0.31	0.06	26%
3	0.26	0.27	0.27	0.34	0.07	28%
4	0.18	0.18	0.21	0.25	0.07	41%
5	0.13	0.16	0.17	0.24	0.11	81%
6	0.12	0.11	0.14	0.18	0.06	55%
Range	0.15	0.16	0.14	0.16		
Eta	**.289**	**.279**	**.237**	**.221**	-.068	
TYPE OF HH						
No children	0.23	0.25	0.27	0.30	0.07	28%
Children	0.19	0.20	0.22	0.27	0.08	43%
Range	0.04	0.05	0.04	0.02		
Eta	**.112**	**.123**	**.114**	.060	-.052	
FORM OF DWELLING						
Flat/Apartment	0.23	0.25	0.28	0.32	0.08	35%
Semi detached	0.21	0.21	0.22	0.26	0.05	22%
Villa/Bungalow	0.18	0.19	0.22	0.26	0.08	43%
Other	0.18	0.23	0.26	0.32	0.14	81%
Range	0.06	0.06	0.07	0.06		
Eta	**.139**	**.143**	**.165**	**.140**	.001	

Note: Bold Eta-values are significant on the 0,001-level, italic on the 0,01

Whether a household comprise children or not is a difference that has had effect on the patterns of uniqueness over the years. Year 1999 to 2005 households without children represented a higher level of uniqueness than households comprising children, but this impact is dissolved over time turning insignificant 2008. Stronger and lasting is then the influence of different forms of dwelling. People living in apartments have more unique viewing patterns than people living in other forms of dwelling and especially villas. This difference is however strongly connected to the facts that villas are on average larger households with more inhabitants than are apartments. If controlled for household size the effect of form of dwelling disappears for all households but the two-person household. Underlying these differences in level of uniqueness in viewing of the two-person household is although, as can be seen below, discrepancies in age between

the older residents of villas to the comparatively younger residents of apartments.

Demographics

In the first part of this chapter, the ongoing audience fragmentation was encountered. Channels are increasingly specialized in content provision aimed at specific targeted audience segments and the consequence is, on the aggregate level, that the audience is becoming increasingly differentiated (fragmented) over channels over time. The question to address here is to which extent this specialization of content provision, in most cases designed for age and gender segment of the audience, has made some demographic parts of the audience individualize faster than others. Are some ages, gender or educational groups individualizing their viewing behaviour faster than others?

Table 37. The impact of demographics on uniqueness in television consumption patterns – ANOVA (mean values and Eta).

DEMOGRAPHICS						
	1999	2002	2005	2008	ABS	REL
GRAND MEAN	0.21	0.22	0.24	0.29	0.08	37%
AGE						
3-14	0.15	0.17	0.19	0.25	0.10	66%
15-24	0.27	0.28	0.27	0.31	0.04	15%
25-34	0.25	0.24	0.27	0.30	0.06	23%
35-44	0.19	0.20	0.22	0.29	0.10	53%
45-64	0.24	0.24	0.27	0.31	0.07	31%
65+	0.17	0.18	0.21	0.23	0.07	40%
Range	0.12	0.12	0.08	0.07		
Eta	**.252**	**.216**	**.168**	**.152**	-.100	
GENDER						
Male	0.22	0.22	0.24	0.29	0.08	36%
Female	0.20	0.21	0.24	0.27	0.08	38%
Range	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.02		
Eta	.050	.029	.021	.048	-.001	
EDUCATION II						
Low	0.20	0.22	0.25	0.28	0.09	44%
Medium	0.23	0.24	0.25	0.31	0.08	37%
High	0.21	0.21	0.24	0.27	0.06	26%
Range	0.03	0.03	0.02	0.04		
Eta	.064	.066	.034	.087	.023	

Of the three factors age, gender and education only age turn out as significant when it comes to uniqueness in patterns of television viewing. The levels of uniqueness are during the whole period significantly lower among the youngest (3-14) and the oldest viewers (65+) compared to

viewers of intermediate age groups (15-64). There is no clear-cut answer to which part of the intermediate age group that represents the highest uniqueness in viewing. The 15-34 year olds represent a higher uniqueness than the viewers of age 35 to 64 year 1999, 2002 and 2005. At the time, the 35-44 year olds seem to represent a lower uniqueness than the viewers of age 45-64. But all these differences in levels have levelled out and disappeared year 2008 when all four age groups find themselves at about the same average level of uniqueness.

The relationship between age and uniqueness is thus u-shaped and curvilinear with its dips at the ends of the age spectrum. If the youngest and oldest viewers are lifted out there is still no simple linearity between age and uniqueness, even if the levels of 15-34 year olds are on average higher than the levels of 35-64 year olds 1999-2005. As age groups with initial low levels of uniqueness 1999 (3-14; 35-44 and 65+) increase their levels more than do age groups with high initial levels, age looses explanatory force in relation to patterns of uniqueness. This development can be followed in the falling levels of Eta.

As with social viewing, there is an interaction effect between age and social setting due to the number of persons per household. The household of the old couple (2 persons at 65+) that represent high levels of social viewing also represents a comparatively lower level of uniqueness in their viewing. As was acknowledged above, these couple often dwells in villas.

Illustrated above was that levels of uniqueness 1999-2005 was dependent on the presence of children or not in households. This relationship has weakened over time and turns insignificant in 2008. There is anyhow all years 1999 to 2008 a relationship between the specific age of the children and the levels of uniqueness in viewing of the household members. The older the children, the higher the levels of uniqueness of the viewers of the household.

This relationship between children's age and uniqueness is valid for the viewing child as well as for other household members. The values in the table column "children" depict the mean values of children of the actual age span, while the table column "all household members" is the composite mean value for all household members of a household with at least one child of the specific age span. The level of uniqueness is highest for the families with infants (0-2 years). The reason for this is however technical rather than factual: infants are not registered as viewers within the people meter system and do not contribute to the measurement of uniqueness. Should infants have been registered, they would most likely have represented very low levels of uniqueness bringing down the average

level of these households below all other family households. Families with infants disregarded, the levels of uniqueness are highest for the households with kids of age 13-18 years, and the only child viewers achieving a level of uniqueness above the average of the audience in multi person households (the grand mean) are the 16-18 year olds. The "effect" columns show smaller effects for all age spans 2008 than 1999, which means that the effect of having children decreases over time.

Table 38. The effect of having a child of a specific age 2008 (mean values).

	1999			2008		
	ALL HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS		CHILDREN	ALL HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS		CHILDREN
	Mean	Effect	Mean	Mean	Effect	Mean
GRAND MEAN	0.21 (0.19)			0.29 (0.27)		
0-2	0.21	0.00	X	0.27	-0.01	X
3-6	0.16	-0.05	0.15	0.24	-0.04	0.25
7-9	0.14	-0.06	0.12	0.25	-0.03	0.23
10-12	0.16	-0.05	0.15	0.25	-0.03	0.26
13-15	0.18	-0.03	0.20	0.25	-0.03	0.27
16-18	0.20	-0.01	0.23	0.29	0.00	0.30

What can be seen in the Figures of uniqueness rising with age, are children forming an increasingly independent pattern of viewing. At the age of 16 children become net contributors to the individualization of television viewing within the household. That the effect levels are smaller 2008 compared to 1999 means that children form their independent viewing earlier in life in 2008 compared to ten years earlier. This is a consequence of first that children in 2008 are given increased space to form their individual television viewing within the realms of the family, second that child programming, moving into separate channel spaces, have provided new and comparatively safe spaces of television consumption for children. The growing referential space devoted to child programming is increasingly shared among young viewers but less within families. Family viewing is losing ground.

One interesting fact related to family viewing is that the factor of education is gaining explanatory force over time. On the overall level, for all groups, it is not significant during the time period, but if the audience is split according to age one interesting exception is disclosed. The highly educated 35-44 year old residents of multi person households represent a significantly lower level of uniqueness in the television consumption patterns than do resident of lower amount of education.

Table 39. The impact of education on uniqueness under the control of age 2008 – ANOVA (mean values and Eta).

EDUCATION II	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-64	65+
Low	0,40	0,28	0,32	0,32	0,25
Medium	0,33	0,32	0,33	0,31	0,21
High	0,28	0,29	0,24	0,30	0,22
Range	0,12	0,04	0,09	0,02	0,04
Eta	.155	.117	**.229**	.035	.085
N	63	315	336	625	338

Of this age group of 35-44 years old, a 91 percent are parents living together with at least one child. If family viewing is sustained a pattern, it is consequently among highly educated. The same group represent, as was acknowledged earlier, a comparative anomaly when it comes to patterns of social viewing – social viewing is comparatively higher among families of highly educated parents.

Technique Availability

The hypothesis that technique availability and content abundance is a driver of individualization is fundamental to this thesis. When testing the impact of technique availability on patterns of uniqueness in television viewing, a number of fundamental questions can find their answers. Such questions are: if the numbers of television sets and channels available to the household have effect on the uniqueness in television consumption that the household members develop? In which way does the way of receiving the signal, through antenna, cable or satellite dish affect uniqueness in viewing? The questions boil down to: to which extent technology and content provision over time sets limits to individualization? If these technological aspects would not cause differences in levels of individualization their impact has simply been overstated. More interesting, if their explanatory power changes over time, this is expressing an increased or decreased importance of technology as driver of individualization.

Out of the three aspects, number of television sets turns out to be of insignificant impact while the number of channels available and way of receiving the signal impacts the levels of uniqueness 1999 to 2005. In year 2008 however, all technology aspects have lost their impact on uniqueness. This overarching pattern of over time change is a consequence of the technological transition from analogue to digital terrestrial television realized fully between 2005 and 2008. During this shift, the effects of the different ways of receiving the signal were diminished. Following this, the difference in terms of the amount of channels available to consume was

levelled out as the minimum number of channels available was raised to about 11 for all Swedish household with antenna. Elsewhere in this thesis, this shift has been described as a "lifting off of the lid of individualization". It has had the consequence that the audience of formerly low levels of individualization (with antenna and a scarce amount of channels available) has individualized their television viewing faster than the ones living the condition of channel abundance. From 2005 to 2008, the difference in pace of individualization due to technology has been wiped away, or more eloquently put, the earlier differences in levels due to technique availability has been removed.

Table 40. The impact of technique availability on uniqueness in television consumption patterns – ANOVA (mean values and Eta).

TECHNIQUE AVAILABILITY	1999	2002	2005	2008		ABS	REL
GRAND MEAN	0.21	0.22	0.24	0.29		0.08	37%
NUMBER OF TV-SETS							
One	0.20	0.22	0.25	0.28		0.08	39%
Two or more	0.21	0.22	0.23	0.28		0.07	35%
Range	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.00			
Eta	.017	.017	.045	.004		-.013	
NUMBER OF CHANNELS USED WITHIN HH							
Q1 few	0.18	0.19	0.21	0.28		0.11	60%
Q2	0.20	0.22	0.26	0.29		0.09	43%
Q3	0.23	0.24	0.24	0.28		0.05	22%
Q4 many	0.23	0.24	0.25	0.29		0.06	25%
Range	0.05	0.05	0.04	0.01			
Eta	**.127**	**.125**	**.100**	.029		-.099	
WAY OF RECEIVING THE SIGNAL							
Aerial	0.17	0.18	0.19	0.27		0.10	61%
Cable	0.23	0.24	0.25	0.30		0.07	30%
Satellite dish	0.21	0.22	0.25	0.28		0.06	28%
Satellite SMAT TV	0.22	0.23	0.26	0.27		0.05	23%
Range	0.06	0.06	0.07	0.03			
Eta	**.159**	**.143**	**.127**		.061	-.098	

The directions of the relationships between uniqueness in television consumption and channel availability and way of receiving the signal are in 1999 to 2005 positive. The more channels are available, the more uniqueness the household members produce. The decreasing number of households using antenna over time is in mirrored by the fact that the two first quartiles take on about the same value of uniqueness 1999 but from year 2002 the second quartile is moving closer to the level of the last two quartiles. This development can also be seen as a growing discrepancy of the

level of uniqueness in antenna households and the quartile representing the ones with the scarcest amount of channels available (Q1).

To sum up, digitalisation of terrestrial television induced an impetus to individualization of television viewing. The households affected by this transition in technology have individualized their television viewing faster than the remaining part of the television audience. Technique availability seems to have passed a critical level between 2005 and 2008 allowing individualization to accelerate all over the line. Ever since all Swedish television households were turned into multi-channel households, and scarcity in channel provision was expelled an option, individualization rules television consumption.

Viewing Behaviours

The far most efficient set of factors explaining the differences in levels of uniqueness in television consumption patterns turn out to be other viewing behaviours. The identical factors tested above in relation to social viewing, movement in flow, number of channels used by individual and viewing time, will be related to uniqueness below. But added are also habitualness and socialness in viewing as two new derived dimensions of viewing behaviour. The first three factors treat *volume* of viewing (viewing time) and *movement* in viewing (its velocity within the flow and its extension over channels. Since there is a parallel between volume of viewing and habitualness in viewing, the presentation will start with movement, proceed with volume and end with social viewing.

Both velocity in movement within flow and the extension of the movement over channels have lost their relationship to uniqueness over time. Patterns of individualization could to some extent be explained from movement in 1999 and 2002 but they gradually loose their explanatory force 2005 (when velocity turns insignificant) and 2008, as both factors turns insignificant. The relationship is, when existing, the faster and more extensive the movement in flow over channels the more unique the patterns of television consumption.

Table 41. The impact of viewing behaviours on uniqueness in television consumption patterns – ANOVA (mean values and Eta).

VIEWING BEHAVIOURS	1999	2002	2005	2008	ABS	REL
GRAND MEAN	0.21	0.22	0.24	0.29	0.08	37%
MOVEMENT IN FLOW						
1Q fast	0.25	0.26	0.26	0.31	0.06	25%
2Q	0.20	0.22	0.25	0.28	0.08	40%
3Q	0.20	0.19	0.22	0.26	0.06	33%
4Q slow	0.19	0.20	0.24	0.29	0.10	52%
Range	0.06	0.06	0.05	0.05		
Eta	**.127**	**.133**	**.086**	.085	-.043	
NUMBER OF CHANNELS USED BY INDIVIDUAL						
1Q few	0.19	0.19	0.23	0.28	0.09	51%
2Q	0.19	0.21	0.24	0.28	0.10	52%
3Q	0.22	0.22	0.24	0.28	0.07	31%
4Q many	0.24	0.25	0.25	0.29	0.05	22%
Range	0.05	0.06	0.03	0.01		
Eta	**.128**	**.124**	.050	.016	-.112	
VIEWING TIME						
1Q little	0.24	0.25	0.29	0.31	0.07	31%
2Q	0.19	0.19	0.20	0.26	0.07	35%
3Q	0.18	0.20	0.22	0.26	0.07	41%
4Q much	0.22	0.24	0.25	0.31	0.09	41%
Range	0.06	0.06	0.09	0.06		
Eta	**.129**	**.156**	**.166**	**.141**	.012	

Underlying the lost explanatory power of aspects of movement in viewing is the decreased differences in availability of technology touched upon above. Availability of channels have been levelled out during the researched time period, and availability follows the same development of declining explanatory power as do extension of movement over channels.[71] Diminishing level of difference in technique availability had the same effect on velocity in movement within flow. As technical viewing environment (structure) of the households have become more alike (or have at least passed a kind of critical threshold of abundance), differences in movement decline. The consequence is that both these factors of indi-

[71] The reason individual action (movement) explains less than structural conditions (availability) in relation to uniqueness is to some extent connected to how the measure of uniqueness is constructed technically. A high level of availability means that at least one of the household members of the actual household is using this amount of channels. A large extension for one individual means a higher average amount of uniqueness for all members of this household. In sum: the larger the discrepancies of the extension of channel repertoires between household members the higher the average level of uniqueness.

vidual viewing behaviour connected to *movement* that held a pivotal role in explaining individualization in *physical space* (in the form of social viewing) do not serve in the explanation of individualization in *referential space* (in the form of uniqueness). The opposite is although valid for viewing behaviour connected to the *volume* of consumption.

Viewing time had an insignificant role in the explanation of social patterns of viewing, but as it turns out, it plays a significant and stable role in relation to uniqueness in television consumption (all years). The form of the relationship is curved giving that the viewers with the least and largest viewing time represents a higher uniqueness in their viewing. The explanation to the form of relationship is that uniqueness in viewing derives either from poor or excessive consumption, making the specific individual's pattern of viewing unique in relation to other household members. There seem to be a tendency to that the highest levels of uniqueness are to found in the group of viewers with the smallest amount of viewing but this is only visible year 1999 and 2005. A way to specify the relationship between the volume in viewing and patterns of uniqueness is to give the viewing time a further qualitative dimension through the use of habitualness.

Habitualness is not the same as viewing time, but it is closely related in the way that it splits the television viewing into subcategories depicting the degree of repetitive character of the viewing in relation to time. Through the use of habitualness a more nuance picture of volume of viewing could be achieved. In the following table habitualness is depicted as the number of minutes of irregular viewing an individual produce. The higher the amount of irregular viewing the weaker the habitualness in viewing and the first quartile represent the weakest while the fourth quartile represent the strongest habit.

Habitualness turns out to have a stronger relationship to uniqueness than do viewing time (table 42). It is stable and seems to be strengthened year 2008 in relation to earlier years. The form of the relationship is u-shaped. The viewers with the strongest habitual viewing behaviour constitute the exception to the overall positive direction in the relationship. This group has a higher level of uniqueness in their viewing than the second quartile, comparative to the level of the third quartile. If this group of viewers are disregarded there is a linear relationship giving that the weaker the habitualness in viewing the greater the level of uniqueness in viewing.

Table 42. The impact of habitualness in viewing on uniqueness in television consumption patterns – ANOVA (mean values and Eta).

VIEWING BEHAVIOURS	1999	2002	2005	2008	ABS	REL
GRAND MEAN	0.21	0.22	0.24	0.29	0.08	37%
HABITUALNESS						
1Q strong habit	0.20	0.20	0.25	0.27	0.07	34%
2Q	0.17	0.19	0.20	0.23	0.06	37%
3Q	0.20	0.21	0.23	0.27	0.08	39%
4Q weak habit	0.26	0.28	0.29	0.35	0.10	37%
Range	0.09	0.09	0.10	0.12		
Eta	**.187**	**.187**	**.184**	**.233**	.046	

The exceptional standing of the group of strongest habitual viewing (Q1) reflects, to some extent, the dynamics described for viewing time. Uniqueness in television viewing is created either from poor or excessive television consumption, and this group overlap to a large extent with the excessive television consumers (Q4 viewing time), which raises the group's level of uniqueness. Except for this overlap, habitualness in viewing adds another dimension to television viewing that in the case of explaining uniqueness is more efficient than plain viewing time. It is also a category of viewing behaviour that is stable to growing over time, and comparatively unaffected by the technological transition that wiped away the differences in behaviours of individual movements in flow.

Furthermore, efficient explaining patterns of uniqueness in consumption behaviour is although the patterns of interaction in social space. Introducing social viewing as a factor explaining uniqueness is putting the two main dimensions of individualization in relation to each other and depicting the relationship between action in physical space and consequences in referential space. Or could it maybe be the other way around: action towards referential space that moulds consequences in physical (or social) space? Later on the form, direction and strength of this relationship is addressed to later on proceed towards the central question of causality.

Social viewing holds an exceptional standing as an explanatory factor of uniqueness in relation to all earlier encountered factors (table 43). The relationship is of another dignity when it comes to its clear-cut linear direction and its level of strength. The factor of social viewing represents a stable factor that is growing in explanatory power over the years. The reason for the strong interdependence between social viewing and uniqueness is of course first and foremost that they depict the same phenomenon – individualization – but within different realms – physical

respectively referential space. The strong interrelation is subsequently on theoretical basis expected, and if missing, the validity of the whole research effort would be at stake.

Table 43. The impact of social viewing on uniqueness in television consumption patterns – ANOVA (mean values and Eta).

VIEWING BEHAVIOURS						
GRAND MEAN	0.21	0.22	0.24	0.29	0.08	37%
	1999	2002	2005	2008	ABS	REL
SOCIAL VIEWING						
1Q little	0.34	0.37	0.42	0.47	0.12	36%
2Q	0.20	0.21	0.23	0.29	0.09	48%
3Q	0.15	0.15	0.17	0.20	0.05	35%
4Q much	0.14	0.14	0.16	0.18	0.03	24%
Range	0.20	0.23	0.26	0.29		
Eta	**.462**	**.505**	**.545**	**.591**	.129	

The direction of the relationship is negatively linear, giving that the greater the amount of social viewing the smaller the uniqueness in television consumption. The viewers with the smallest amount of social viewing 1999 (Q1) represent a higher degree of uniqueness in viewing than the average level of the audience 2008 (grand mean 2008). This is the group of viewers that discriminate the hardest from the rest of the audience and their substantial higher degree of uniqueness remains stable over time and growing in relation to the segment of the audience representing most social viewing behaviours, as can be seen in the growing range between two end quartiles. Over time, the second quartile is the part of the audience that increase their uniqueness most (48%) moving from a level slightly below the grand mean 1999 to a level slightly above the grand mean 2008. The social viewing behaviour constitutes in this way a clear watershed in relation to individualization (the level of uniqueness) making a divide of the audience in three approximate parts: one fourth of the audience with levels of uniqueness above the mean, one fourth around the mean and one half with levels of uniqueness below the mean.

The reason social viewing behaviour grows in explanatory power over time is that this category of physically based viewing behaviour play a significant role in guiding the heterogeneity in patterns of viewing on the household level. What is consumed socially, together, is per definition shared television viewing and creates a common referential space. Whether the individual consumption of household members then follows the same paths in referential space is the question mapped out by the measurement of uniqueness in patterns of television consumption. It

turns out individual viewing to a high degree follow in the steps of social viewing making physically grounded social viewing behaviour a neat predictor of uniqueness in television consumption.

The Dynamics of Heterogeneity in Content Consumption

The display above has shown which factors influence the levels of uniqueness in television viewing of the audience. So far the analysis has been delimited to bivariate relationships (between uniqueness and one factor at a time). The over time developments of these bivariate relationships are reiterated in the table below. The table provide basis for a multivariate comprehensive model merging the most important factors together. Significant influence is marked by bold Eta values.

Three overarching conclusions can be drawn from the table. First, the factors aligned to social setting, demographics and technique availability remain stable or loose explanatory power over time. This is especially evident for technique availability factors that affected levels of uniqueness 1999 to 2005 after which this role in guiding levels of uniqueness disappeared. The demise of technique availability in guiding levels of individualization is a clear effect of the digitalisation of the terrestrial television network. Digitalisation levelled out channel availability wiping away the significance of technology as discriminating factor. Second, individual viewing behaviours, like social viewing, habitualness and the amount of viewing time, increase their explanatory power in relation to uniqueness. Some viewing behaviours like channel use (closely related to the channel availability) and movement in flow loose their explanatory power over time, but the general picture is that viewing behaviours increase in importance in guiding levels of uniqueness over time. Third, social viewing is a factor found on a totally different explanatory level than the rest of the factors and it is also the factor representing the steepest increase in explanatory power.

The six factors that have had significant influence on patterns of uniqueness during the whole time period 1999 to 2008 are the *number of persons per household* and the *form of dwelling* (social setting), *age* (demographics) and *viewing time*, *habitualness* and *social viewing* (viewing behaviours). Of these six factors number of persons per household and age has lost explanatory power, form of dwelling remains stable while the three latter viewing behaviours has gained explanatory power. These six factors represent the highest explanatory power in relation to uniqueness all years except 1999 when viewing time would be exchanged for way of

receiving the signal. The six factors could consequently be merged together into a multivariate model that control the (bivariate) influence of the factors vis-à-vis each other and be tested over time.

Table 44. The over time change in the bivariate relationships between uniqueness and social setting, demographics, technique availability and viewing behaviours, in multi person households 1999 to 2008 – ANOVA (Eta values and differences in Eta values).

FACTORS:	1999	2002	2005	2008	ABS	REL
SOCIAL SETTING						
# PERSONS IN HH	**.289**	**.279**	**.237**	**.221**	-.068	-24%
HH WITH CHILDREN	**.112**	**.123**	**.114**	.060	-.052	-47%
FORM OF DWELLING	**.139**	**.143**	**.165**	**.140**	.001	1%
DEMOGRAPHICS						
AGE	**.252**	**.216**	**.168**	**.152**	-.100	-40%
GENDER	.050	.029	.021	.048	-.001	-3%
EDUCATION II	.064	.066	.034	.087	.023	37%
TECHNIQUE AVAILABILITY						
# TV-SETS	.017	.017	.045	.004	-.013	-77%
# CHANNELS USED WITHIN HH	**.127**	**.125**	**.100**	.029	-.099	-78%
WAY OF RECEIVING THE SIGNAL	**.159**	**.143**	**.127**	.061	-.098	-62%
VIEWING BEHAVIOURS						
MOVEMENT IN FLOW	**.127**	**.133**	**.086**	.085	-.043	-33%
# CHANNELS USED BY INDIVIDUAL	**.128**	**.124**	.050	.016	-.112	-88%
VIEWING TIME	**.129**	**.156**	**.166**	**.141**	.012	9%
HABITUALNESS	**.187**	**.187**	**.184**	**.233**	.046	25%
SOCIAL VIEWING	**.462**	**.505**	**.545**	**.591**	.129	28%

What must be asked before setting up the model is if there is some reason to remove some factors because they are too similar to other factors thereby being an expression of the same phenomenon (what in statistical terminology is called multicollinearity). Addressed above, was the fact that the different levels of uniqueness due to form of dwelling is an indirect expression of the size of household and the age of residents in different dwellings. Form of dwelling can on these grounds be removed from the model. Addressed above was also the similarity between viewing time and habitualness that are two factors expressing habitualness in television viewing in relation to time in two different ways. Of the two ways, habitualness is more efficient in explaining uniqueness – as depicted by the higher levels of Eta. Habitualness represents on the other hand a viewing behaviour that is more complex in its construct than plain amount of viewing time that is a regularly used category sustained by audience research tradition. This said it is reasonable to try out three different

models: the first with viewing time, the second with habitualness and the third encompassing both. In this way the statistical procedure will tell to which extent each factor carries unique explanatory power in relation to patterns of uniqueness in viewing.

On theoretical and empirical grounds, a technique availability factor ought to be merged into a model and tried for the entire time period. The most adequate factor would in this case be way of receiving the signal that exerted greatest influence on patterns of uniqueness in viewing 1999 to 2005 – the period technique availability mattered. When this is done, technique availability as expressed through way of receiving the signal turns insignificant in the multivariate model. Technique availability is in other words indirectly caught represented by differences in the factors aligned to social setting and viewing behaviour already in the model. To fit this model over time without technique availability factors is consequently not deficient.

The third of the models turns out to be the best from the perspective of greatest explanatory power. The model encompasses both plain viewing time and habitualness besides social viewing, household size and age. The relative impact of the five factors is summarized in the table below. The bivariate interrelations expressed in Eta values are in the table complemented by Beta values expressing the corresponding strength of the interrelation when controlled for all other variables present in the multivariate model.

Table 45. A comprehensive model of the factors guiding individualization in multi person households 2008 – ANOVA-MCA (Eta and Beta values, R and R^2).

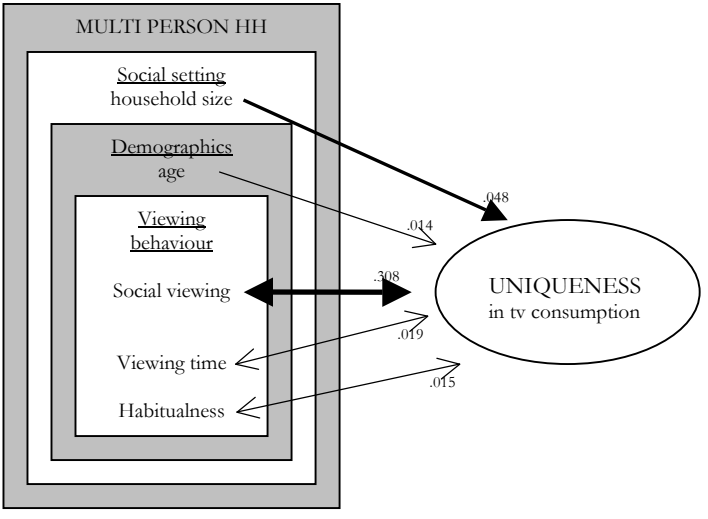
FACTORS:	Eta	Beta (adjusted)	Beta squared
AGE	.152	.119	.014
HOUSEHOLD SIZE	.221	.219	.048
SOCIAL VIEWING	.591	.555	.308
VIEWING TIME	.141	.138	.019
HABITUALNESS	.233	.123	.015
R^2			.422
R			.650
N=2476			

The greatest effect on levels of uniqueness is exerted by the degree of socialness, an individual show in television viewing. The more social the individual in her viewing the less unique is her pattern of consumption of content in relation to other household members. What can be seen here is a strong interrelation between patterns of social interaction in physical space and sharing of mediated referential space. When controlled for other factors the influence of social viewing is slightly played down (.555), but remains a factor of uttermost importance in affecting uniqueness.

The second most influential factor is the size of the household. The larger the number of persons, the less unique the patterns of consumption. There is consequently a strong interrelation between the density of social setting and sharing of mediated referential space and uniqueness shows in this aspect analogous to social viewing that is more encompassing in socially dense environments. However, when controlled for the other factors in the model the effect of household size remains fairly stable (.219).

Fairly stable when controlled for other factors is viewing time, as the third most influential factor (.138). Viewing time represents a curvilinear interrelation with uniqueness. Individuals watching little or much television represent more unique patterns of television consumption. A similar curve of interrelation is viable for habitualness as both weak and strong habits produce higher levels of uniqueness. The difference in the case of habitualness is that weak habits produce higher levels of uniqueness than do strong habits. When controlled for other factors, the influence of habitualness is heavily down played (.123) in the model. The influence of age lastly is also down played in the multivariate model (.119). The interrelation is u-curved with the youngest and the oldest representing the lowest levels of uniqueness. Translated to boxes and arrows, the model could be given the following format.

Figure 30. A comprehensive model of the dynamics of uniqueness in television consumption (factors and their impact as adjusted Beta-squared).



Two conclusions can be drawn from the model. The first is that the factors of the model find themselves at three different levels when it comes to strength of influence. Social viewing represents a major influence, of a unique magnitude. Household size dwells on a significantly lower level of influence, while still minor influence is exerted by viewing time, habitualness and age. The two main dimensions of individualization – social interaction and uniqueness in television consumption – are strongly correlated. This is also a relationship that is strengthened over time. What this means in terms of causality, and how this correlation should be interpreted in terms of individualization, are fully developed in the conclusive chapter.

The second conclusion has to do with the relative importance of different sets of factors. Apart from household size and age[72], individual viewing behaviours are the only factors with discriminating effects on levels of uniqueness in television consumption. Contextual factors have over time lost significance and especially technology, that used to exert some influence, has evaporated from the model. Individual viewing behaviours move against the flow and gain impact on television viewing over time – as characteristics based on the level of the individual and not in the context or group. Television viewing is, in other words, individualized a practice.

This transformation of the audience was illustrated for social viewing in chapter 7 and has been illustrated again for the patterns of uniqueness in television consumption treated in this chapter. The broad fall in explanatory power of demographic and contextual factors means that we 2008 face an increasingly individualized audience compared to 1999. Fitting the multivariate model year by year makes a clear illustration of this trend of individualization. Explanatory power of each factor is in the table illustrated by the adjusted Beta values while the total explanatory power of the model is summarized by R-square.

From 1999 to 2008, age and household size lose, while social and habitual viewing behaviours gain, explanatory power. The explanatory power of the total model rises over time, only as a consequence of social viewing playing a stronger role in explaining differences in levels of uniqueness. Social viewing and uniqueness are intimately connected as indicators of individualization. Individuals that share physical place in order to consume television share also to a higher extent similar referential worlds

[72] The special standing of household size and age follows from their covariation with social density of environment and stability. Household size, as a clearly social aspect of dwelling, and age, as an expression of stability in behaviour - the older the more stable - and family life - children are embedded in families.

mediated through television. While social viewing and habitualness in viewing grow in importance over time the opposite trend is seen for volume of viewing time. Evident from this result is a fact that is also supported in relation to social viewing: Amount of viewing time is a viewing behaviour of weak explanatory power in relation to other viewing behaviours.

Table 46. The multivariate model of uniqueness fit 1999 to 2008 (adjusted Beta-values and R^2).

UNIQUENESS	adjusted BETA values			
	1999	2002	2005	2008
Age	**.140**	*.113*	**.122**	**.119**
Household size	**.327**	**.288**	**.253**	**.219**
Social viewing	**.414**	**.455**	**.518**	**.555**
Viewing time	**.195**	**.148**	**.203**	**.138**
Habitualness	**.087**	*.073*	**.100**	**.123**
R^2	.332	.341	.391	.422

Note: **Bold** values are significant at the 0.001-level and *italic* at the 0.01-level.

Underlying the decline in social viewing and the rise in uniqueness, is individualization within the walls of the household where traditional television viewing takes place. That social viewing and uniqueness explain each other better over time is a consequence of that sharing declines both in physical and referential space. Individuals are increasingly physically separated from each other at this site of consumption leading to a decreased sharing of referential spaces mediated through television among household members. The two behaviours are intimately interconnected as two practices of sharing.

Conclusions on Referential Space

The outlining of patterns of content consumption in television viewing has provided a clear image of individualization. The first part of the chapter illustrated how television choice is transformed over time while the second part concentrated on how uniqueness in television content consumption is developing over time. Both aspects are intimately tied to individualization and the chapter has firmly established that transformations in content consumption follow patterns of individualization.

The channel repertoires of the audience have, as choice structures over time, been extended to encompass more channels, same time containing viewing less concentrated to favourite channels. If the channel repertoire is thought of as composed of head and a tail, the head is over

time decreasing in size (volume) as the tail expands both in terms of extension over channels and in proportion of viewing time. The structure of television choice is in this meaning reflecting the on going development of mediaspace as increasingly abundant of channels to consume.

Audience fragmentation, on the overall aggregated level leading to lost market shares for the major channels, is seen on the level of individual viewer as increasingly heterogeneous content consumption. The number of combinations of preferred channels (the three most consumed) increase, and channel preferences go from common to unique. In the same time these combinations are increasingly tied to specific viewer segments aligned to an age-gender matrix instead of as before being layered following age only, in most cases. The content consumed is reflecting the changing character of mediaspace as increasingly specialized and more firmly addressed to specific targeted audiences.

Within multi-person households, uniqueness in consumption of television content rises over time (the second part of the chapter). This trend of individualization brings about increasingly heterogeneous patterns of content consumption making household and family members share less mediated referential grounds over time. Decline in sharing of physical space, mapped out as raised solitary viewing practices (chapter 7), is highly interrelated to a corresponding decline of sharing of referential space. The viewers are over time getting socially disembedded from the household context which results in heterogeneity in patterns of television consumption. These two sides of individualization are tightly interwoven. Together they portray an audience increasingly solitary and unique representing a television viewing marked by increased mobility and futility paired with asocialization and heterogeneity.

Reached is the vantage point from where all these aspects of individualization can be seen, lifted, and merged into a composite picture of transforming audiences.

PART IV

CONCLUSIONS

9

TRANSFORMING AUDIENCES

The scope of this final chapter is to tie together the theoretical, methodological and empirical threads, lined out in previous chapters. There is no doubt a process of individualization is about to change television viewing as we know it. The audience is transformed by television, while simultaneously transforming television itself. Evidence is secured in habitual behaviour and social interaction as well as in patterns of content consumption. Trends of individualization are within each of these three research fields and expressed on several levels. The conclusive chapter delivers a composite picture of transforming audiences materializing theoretical and methodological implications for future audience research and audience making.

The chapter starts out with a conclusive part for each empirical chapter ending up in an outline of the pace and the scope of individualization. Individualization is outlined in relation to the three continuums (common-unique, social-solitary and homogeneous-heterogeneous), identified by the analytical model ending part one. Issued, were a number of research questions addressing states of conditions and change in television viewing. Provided with answers empirical evidence is here integrated and lifted to higher-level conclusions.

Following this, a discussion of how we are to perceive the causal dynamics of individualization in physical space in relation to individualization in referential space. This is, to some extent, a classical question of media effects: whether it is the content that changes behaviour or if content is following behaviours (and viewer needs). Ending the chapter is a tripartite discussion using the conclusions drawn to adapt media theory, develop research methodology and establish the consequences of the condition of individualization to contemporary audience making. These are three areas within which the contribution of the thesis is materialized.

So, what can be said to be a viable description of the contemporary transforming audiences? The established overarching trends are habitual television viewing spread over hours, turning solitary a practice and heterogeneous an experience.

Habitually Spread Viewing Time

Viewing time is increasingly spread over the day in the same time turning increasingly habitual and recursive. This seemingly paradox development means a change in allocation of viewing time from being concentrated around specific time slots, like prime time, versus being increasingly spread over all hours of the day. That some parts of the audience has established habitual viewing at new hours and regularly come back at these points in time, day after day, means that television viewing is transformed from being collective an habit towards more individual. This is a trend connected to *habitual behaviour* and to *time*. The development of time allocation to television is circumscribed by broader displacements in time geographic patterns of movement. These displacements are increasingly individualized and the trend of individualized television consumption *in relation to time* is expected to grow in parallel with increasingly mobile solutions to services of television consumption – a consumption that is close to by default individual (see Space-shifting below). What is traceable in patterns of traditional linear television during the last ten years is only the seed of a future larger transformation of television viewing, or more precisely of consumption of *video*[73] at large.

Declining Social Interaction Around the TV

An even firmer display of the process of individualization is given by the study of how the social interaction around television viewing decline. Television viewing has always been and to a large extent still is a social practice. In 1999, around 45 percent of all television viewing was undertaken socially, while the corresponding amount ten years later was 37 percent. The centrality of social interaction to television viewing varies heavily according to social setting and over hours. In single person households less than one tenth of the viewing is social while the corresponding amount is more than half for multi person households. When Prime Time at weekends is considered, the average level of social viewing reaches 60 percent in the overall audience and is even higher in the multi person households. Television viewing is consequently still a most social practice in some places at specific times, but regardless of that subject to strong individualization over time.

[73] In the following, *video* is used as a broad category of all types of moving images e.g. traditional media like cinema, VCR and DVD together with all newer forms available for downloading and streaming via Internet.

Individualization of social interaction around the television is a process of transformation in physical space. Individuals gradually change their real world behaviours around television viewing from being performed together versus being performed alone. A complementary dimension to that of physical space is the referential space made up of content mediated through television.

Heterogeneous Television Consumption

The study of sharing of referential space furnishes further evidence of individualization. The referential space mediated by television has been growing during the decennium studied in terms of channels and extended programming schedules. The audience has been increasingly spread in referential space following this growth. On the overall audience level this development can be seen in lost market shares for the largest channels and a flourishing of new smaller competing actors. On the level of individual viewers, the same development takes on the form of extended channel repertoires encompassing more channels. Viewing is deconcentrated to the favourite channels and spread to new or earlier less often chosen channels.

That the overall trend of fragmentation is a strong trend of individualization is supported by the study of uniqueness in television consumption patterns on the level of individual households. The viewing of different household members is becoming more unique from one other over time. The social unit of the household and the comprised family is consequently loosening impact as a guiding agency of individual television consumption. How individuals move in referential space is, over time, less affected by the parallel movements of other individuals of their closest intimate social environment. Family viewing is in no respect dead, but in pace with growing specialization of television content – organized channel wise to appeal to individual family members as target group members – family viewing is loosing ground. This trend of individualization affects the amount of referential points mediated through television household members have in common.

We no longer live in an era where a singular program is summoning the nation and delivering the subject of tomorrow's lunch table discussion at the workplace and school. This era was ended as a consequence of cable and satellite and the last nail in the coffin, if needed, was set into place by digitalisation of the terrestrial network. Central to the diversification of mediated experiences, is the form of the mediaspace as a structural condi-

tion immanent to all situations of television viewing. Its content flow is laid out in one specific way transforming over time. Behaviours related to time (habitualness) and to social space (social interaction) affect how individuals move in this mediaspace and constricts together with technological availability which parts of mediaspace they can reach, regard an option, acknowledge and experience. But, mediaspace is simultaneously a structural condition arbitrarily and always guiding television viewing through content structure. As such it has been given a central position in this thesis: as a referential space of a specific structure affecting real world behaviours in time and space.

To sum up, spread habitual allocation of viewing time, declining social interaction in physical space and more heterogeneous patterns of consumption bear evidence of individualization under go. The last two studies of social interaction and referential space provide the most affirmative answers as tracking down individual action in relation to immediate social surroundings. Individualization is firstly expressed by declining patterns of social interaction around television viewing. The audience members are increasingly turned into monads, undertaking television viewing alone more often than they used to do. Individualization is secondly expressed in increasingly heterogeneous patterns of television consumption on the level of the household. Viewers share less mediated content with other individuals of their immediate intimate social surrounding. The family is losing ground both as a constellation of viewing and as an identity unit within which referential space mediated through television is shared. Individualization is thirdly expressed and its operational viability strengthened through the fact that the actions in physical and social space are related to the patterns of shared consumption of referential space. At home, where everyday life choices are staged and rolled out against a fond of individual and social norms, attitudes, evaluations and identity work, individualization rules television viewing. Television viewing is turning solitary a practice, and heterogeneous, an experience.

At What Pace does the Audience Individualize?

Individualization of television viewing is an all-encompassing trend and on the overall level all segments of the audience move from more collective versus more individual patterns of viewing behaviour. However, some segments of the audience find themselves on a higher *level* of individualization all consecutive years and some segments of the audience individu-

alize their viewing behaviours at a faster *pace* than others. Conclusions about this dynamics of individualization shall here be treated as level and pace.

The most important factors guiding the *levels* of *social viewing* are age, household size, number of TV-sets available and channels used, and the velocity of movement within flow. The singularly most important distinction guiding socialness in viewing is the above-mentioned distinction between single and multi person household. Residents of the, by default less social, single person environment represent a significantly lower level of social viewing than do residents in multi person households. An important explanation of the overall decline of social viewing is that single person household represent a larger relative share of the total television viewing in 2008 compared to ten years earlier.

As is illustrated by the detailed study of multi person households, density of the social environment encapsulating viewers have a linear relationship to socialness in viewing – the larger the number of household members the larger the social viewing. An exception to the rule is the two-person households. The two-person households include a large proportion of elderly couples representing stable social viewing behaviours. Social viewing is more developed in older age groups and is linearly related to age. Children deviate from the pattern of linearity and represent together with the oldest viewers the highest shares of social viewing. The number of television sets is the only technological aspect of significant effect on social viewing and social viewing is smaller in multi set environments. An extended use of channels and fast movement within the channel flow are two viewing behaviours connected to lower amounts of social viewing.

The most individualized viewers of multi person households are young adults living in two person households with more than one television set and zapping through an extensive amount of channels. The least individualized viewers are young children in large families, respectively old couples, with one television, making use of few channels, which are seldom switched between.

The most important factors guiding *levels* of *uniqueness in patterns of television consumption* are closely related to the factors identified as guiding social viewing. The level of social viewing itself is as an interaction factor of individualization the single most important factor setting the level of uniqueness – the higher the share of social viewing the smaller the uniqueness in viewing patterns. The logical background to this strong relationship of interaction is that what is socially shared in physical space provides the fundament of what is shared in referential space. There could subsequently be expected to be some overlap between the factors guiding

the levels of socialness and the levels of uniqueness in viewing. This is the case for age and household size. Children and the elderly represent lower levels of uniqueness and the larger the number of residents in the household the lower the levels of uniqueness.

The additional factors of minor impact on the levels of uniqueness represent no overlap with those guiding social viewing. The larger the amount of viewing and the weaker the habitualness in viewing, the higher the produced level of uniqueness is in viewing. These relationships are negatively linear with the exception of the groups representing the smallest viewing time or the strongest habits. These groups produce comparatively high uniqueness in their consumption. In the case of viewing time, the logical explanation is that both great and small amount of viewing result in differences in viewing patterns in relation to other household members. In the case of habitualness however, an obvious explanation to the form of the relationship is harder to get at. Logical would be, the more habitual the viewing the less unique the consumption pattern. Habitualness, do not entirely follow such a logic expectation and for now has to be regarded efficient on the aggregated level but less clear-cut when applied on the level of singular individuals explaining level of individualization.

Most individualized is a young adult living in a two-person household who watches television very much or very little on an irregular basis, and most importantly, watching for most parts alone. The least individualized viewer is a young child in a large family respectively an old person living in a two person household, with an intermediate amount of viewing on a fairly regular basis, and most importantly, watching mostly together with others.

The distribution of the absolute levels over groups described, it is now time to treat what happens with the levels over time: at what pace different parts of the audience individualize their viewing behaviour.

Pace and Levelling Out

The overall trend in *pace* is that groups with a low initial level of individualization individualize faster than those found on a comparatively higher initial level. The trend encompasses both individualization of patterns of social interaction and patterns of uniqueness and its consequence is a *levelling out* over time making the differences between groups disappear. It encompasses all sets of factors but is especially strong for technology factors. The only clear exception to the trend of levelling out is viewing time, habitualness and social viewing. These three individual viewing be-

haviours stay stable (viewing time) or increase their ability to explain differences in levels of individualization over time (social viewing and habitualness).

The levelling out gives contextual factors (such as social setting and technique availability) a decreasing role guiding individual viewing behaviour. The technological availability has lost its role in the course of increased availability to television channels following the digitalisation of the terrestrial network. The part of the audience with a scarce availability to channels got more and has subsequently developed viewing behaviours closer to other audience members. They act less social, move faster over an increased range of channels and establish steadily more unique viewing patterns in relation to other household members. The social setting has in the course of this development lost impact as individual viewers develop individual viewing behaviours more freely. The socialness and uniqueness in viewing is less affected by the default social density of the household than it used to be. The same decrease of impact is viable for demographics. Individual characteristics like age lose impact, as the youngest and oldest are closing in on the behaviours of other age groups.

The consequence of levelling out is that individual viewing behaviour is becoming harder and harder to explain and predict from contextual variations (such as technique and social setting) and group affiliation (such as demographics). Television viewing is individualized a behaviour. What turn out as more efficient in explaining and predicting viewing behaviours are instead other viewing behaviours. In the model of uniqueness, social viewing, habitualness and viewing time are three such behaviours.

A general conclusion from the modelling of individualization of television viewing is that television viewing is more and more an individual issue. Patterns of viewing, or different *viewer styles* to use the terminology of Lull (1980) or Heeter and Greenberg (1988), are increasingly based in individuals and increasingly free from surrounding constraints, may they be social, technological of demographic to their character. The only factor going opposite to this trend of levelling out is other viewing behaviours. Especially interesting in the case of individualization, is social viewing in relation to uniqueness in consumption patterns. These two factors that constitute the strongest indicators of individualization in television viewing is highly correlated and their correlation increases over time meaning that differences in levels of social viewing can better explain uniqueness and the other way around. The question that is to be addressed below is in which direction this relationship is to be thought causally. What comes first, the chicken or the egg when it comes to individualization?

Linking Content and Social Interaction

In this thesis, one aim has been to theoretically develop and empirically investigate the relationship between technique and content development of television and audience transformation. To set up a research design able to cope with such a relationship, it has been necessary to operationalize content development in a more nuance way than a simple description of the content universe (as amount of channels and volume of content) or alternatively the available content universe. Such a description would have represented a static picture, either of a theoretically possible *super flow* or an array of available *channel flows* on the level of the household. Important was instead to set this constantly varying content flow alive as a flowing structural condition. To make this possible, content has been assessed *indirectly* as a *referential space* travelled individually and to a varying degree shared socially.

This grip, to assess content as a referential space that is travelled individually and shared socially, was enabled by longitudinal accumulation of individual viewing behaviours. Viewing behaviours of individual viewers were enveloped and manifested in a number of ways providing information about volumes of viewing over different channels (channel repertoires). What was created was, in other words, new information about which parts of referential space individual viewers travel and which parts they share and with whom.

One important consequence of this methodological grip is that a structural condition, as is the television content in relation to the television viewing behaviour, is assessed indirectly as viewing behaviours. Viewing behaviours are indirect in the meaning that they all bear the immanent *constraints*, *forces* and *effects* of the prevailing content structure, or mediaspace, within them. To give an example, the everyday choices of the television viewer will be affected by a broader array of channels – as was the consequence for the three channel households as the digitalisation of the terrestrial network increased the array of channels to eleven. This structural change in content will be manifested indirectly in the viewing behaviour.

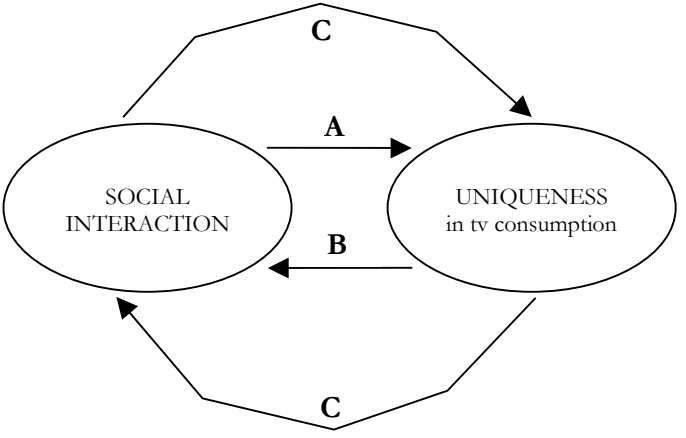
If the channel repertoire is exemplified a manifestation, it will in most cases be extended, lowering the concentration of viewing on the most commonly watched channels, spreading it more evenly over a larger array of channels. Visible in this development is the earlier prevailing constraint of scarcity in channel provision. The resulting distribution of the viewing

of different segments of the audience is an expression of the forces embedded in the new structure and their effects relative the effects of the forces of the earlier prevailing structure. The embedded forces could in this case be the design of schedules in terms of specialization of content following genre (like sports, news or entertainment) or appeal to a delimited audience segment (like young adults or females). The effect could be the restructuring of the viewing behaviour depicted in the channel repertoires – that would be the structure of television choice – or of some viewing behaviour beyond those manifested in the channel repertoire, like patterns of social interaction around the television. Reasoning regarding effect brings us to the field of causality.

Three Causal Explanations

The billion dollar question of causality is whether it is the decreased sharing of referential space that causes the decline of social interaction around the television or if it is the other way around. Rather than a unidirectional arrow, a more plausible suggestion is probably that the causal relationship goes both ways. This section will be allocated to the outline of these causal interrelationships.

Figure 31. Three causal relationships between social interaction and uniqueness in patterns of consumption.



That social individualization – or social disembedding – causes heterogeneous behavioural patterns is something that is treated and outlined in the

theoretical work on individualization of Giddens and Beck, among others. Applied on the field of television viewing this type of reasoning would suggest that individualization prevail as a everyday life condition which to a high extent governs values, attitudes, experiences, expectations, identity work and all related choice acts of the individual. Using the terminology of Beck: the 'subjective consciousness' of the individual is already individualized and when the 'objective life situation' (structure) enables individualization, the individual acts accordingly. The decline of sharing of both social and referential space could grounded in this theory of individualization be seen as an effect of increased space for individualization – e.g. digitalisation enabled a growing referential space that was to be colonized in an individualized way.

Especially Beck's theory is somewhat deterministic when it comes to the individualization process and says, as far as I have acknowledged, little of the structure of causality and the relation between agency (the acting individual) and structure (the surrounding society). Late modern man is simply doomed to individualization, which is driven by something inside both man and structure. In this way, the theory of individualization is a waterproof theory hard to test. An elaborated causal explanation would however suggest that there is some kind of direction of the forces of individualization. The three possible causal directions are agent guiding structure, structure guiding agent or a relationship of 'structuration' whereby agent and structure is interacting cyclically. Applied on television viewing these three causal explanations would run as follows.

From the first more *individualistic position*, individuals work to satisfy their individual preferences in television viewing as in other everyday practices. In a situation where channel abundance come about they deliberately change their patterns of social interaction around the television in order to better fulfil their individual needs and preferences. The growing uniqueness in consumption patterns is following this situation a causal effect of changes in social behaviour. Individual differences, and preferences, are according to this explanation a fundamental human trait which televisions content development work to align to.

From the second more *structuralistic technological position*, content changes are assumed to result in changes of social interaction. According to this position, as channel abundance prevail and professionalized audience making gets effect, viewers of social micro units (like the household and the family) are torn in different directions in referential space with the result of decline of patterns of social interactions around the television. Implied in the assumptions of this causal explanation is that individuals do

not necessarily deliberately change their social behaviour but are forced to comply with the ruling order of things.

The third *structuration position* acknowledges both of the two earlier explanations as viable but raises none of them to a higher order causal explanation. It underlines, instead, that an interactive causal relationship rules television viewing due to the interdependence of broadcasters and producers on the one side and the audience on the other. Broadcasting agencies as content providers (and structure) are dependent on the audience for reasons of business and legitimacy and have to continuously adapt to audience needs and preferences in order to persist. Adoption of the content is continuous and the processes of monitoring and information gathering on audience demands are established to get the system going. All the results of this thesis are based on information deriving from this monitoring process whereby audiences are constructed in order to sustain the business of the television market and to adapt content to audience demands.

I will not, here, end up in a conclusion of which of these explanations that are the most plausible. From my perspective, all three could have empirical bearing on different processes of audience transformations, due to varying technological or content development at different time points and for delimited parts of the audience. To give an example, digitalisation of the terrestrial network consisted securely a deliberation for some parts of the audience and a compulsion for others. That 'structuration' is a viable condition ruling television production and consumption is something the theoretical and empirical outline of this book has stated.

Future in View

The remains of this chapter will be invested into the future of television. The absolute onset of this book made clear that prophecies about future technological development are most likely to fail. In the case of television, the openness of the contemporary situation suggests that prophecies on television viewing are most likely to fail sooner rather than later (cf. Gilder, 1994). Important to remember is that pictures of what lies at the future horizon rest "less on experience than on extrapolation from the past combined with speculation about the future." (Livingstone, 1999:60) This book has provided a more nuance picture of what is under go today in terms of audience transformation. An extrapolation of this picture will possibly allow a correspondingly more nuance picture of tomorrow. To avoid falling prey to the prophecy fallacy, which is close to impossible, the extrapolation can be as firmly grounded patterns of visible change as possible.

The extrapolation will be following three different fields where the contributions of this thesis will be outlined and future research questions formulated. The first field is *theoretical* and focuses on how audience research models have to be developed in order to cope with the ongoing trends of time shifting and space shifting taking an increasingly firm grip on television viewing. What has been in focus empirically is here traditional linearly programmed television viewing. The trends of change found are consequently tied to the specific practice of traditional television viewing but encompass the seed of ongoing change. Can the theoretical model forwarded cope with future development trends? Which traditional audience research concepts and 'figures of thought' have to be exchanged into new ones following the trends lining up in contemporary television viewing?

The second field is methodological and is aimed to put the research effort performed in this thesis into the broader context of audience research and contemporary audience measurement techniques. Central to this discussion is to outline the methodological contribution the process of thickening data can give to future audience research and to more nuance and detailed audience analysis. The fundamental point of departure is that audiences come as numbers and that digitalisation will bring on a development enforcing this truth further in a future "black box society".

The third and final field is closing in on the possible effects of contemporary audience transformation for future audience making, professional audience analysis and audience monitoring. The overarching ques-

tion is how an accelerating trend of individualization in television viewing will transform these three practices surrounding it. One long-term effect of individualization that Ulrich Beck once advanced (2002) was the possible future death of the social sciences as a consequence of dissolving social groupings. The results of this thesis give strong support to individualization but are in the same time illustrating that an audience conditioned by individualization does not melt into air. The audience is layered otherwise, and as contextual and social group factors lose ground, individual viewing behaviours themselves turn out increasingly important explaining other viewing behaviours. The habitual, social and referential spaces are three dimensions where these new individual viewing behaviours can be signed, sealed and delivered.

Adaptation of Audience Analysis

A theoretical aim of the work performed above has been to somehow bridge two stands of contemporary audience analysis. Traditional audience research and professional audience analysis, grounded in American sociology of the 1940s and 50s and developed since, is one strand, while the other is the ethnomethodologically inspired audience research with its advent in the early 1980s. These two stands are, of course, impossible to bridge since the first is focusing the general and the latter the particular, but the way travelled here has been a development of the first and quantitative relying on the insights provided by the latter and qualitative. Thickening should be seen in the light of this strive to bridge the unbridgeable.

The outcome of this marriage has been a stronger pronunciation of time, space and situations as contextual conditions that vary continuously and arbitrarily. Instead of cementing situations in time and space, they have as far as possible been set to live as temporally fluid structures. The analysis performed in chapter 7 on social viewing is the first example of how this is set into practice. Continuously varying social situations are tracked as socialness in viewing. Mapped out is how this socialness is distributed in time and over channels as well as how it is spread among the audience. A second example of how the social situation of television viewing has been put into the centre of analysis is the tracking of uniqueness in consumption pattern in chapter 8 on referential space. The accumulated patterns of television consumption are here compared between

different household members living in the same physical household to assess if heterogeneity in consumption increases over time.

Both examples illustrate how more precise assessment of time and space are used to construct researchable situations of television viewing that are closer to real television viewing than the ones audience research and analysis is usually building evidence on.

Merging Time and Space into Analysis

There has been call for comparative developments and a closer merging of categories of time and space into social analysis from within the field of science (Giddens, 1984). It could be argued; even more urgently calling is the present development of society in general and consuming technologies in particular. Raymond Williams' (1974) private mobilization of the after war years seem at the turn of the millennium to have been exchanged into something of an *individual mobilization*. The break is not due to the increased mobility (that is more of a continuous trend of changing degree), but rather to the specific difference constituted by the decline of the private as a central stage for social everyday life and identity. "The self-sufficient household" has been exchanged into increasingly "self-sufficient individuals".

Television was central to Williams' concept and the results of the empirical research presented above illustrated how this leading media in its most traditional form of use is loosing ground as a hearth around which we gather and build common referential worlds. All analysis performed on the household level sustain in evidence a development through which traditional television viewing is getting a less social practice and a less common experience. Television, in its most traditional form, confined by the walls of the household, is gradually getting increasingly a-social an object. If seen in relation to the broader technological development surrounding television, a-socialization in use of technology is part of a much broader trend.

Two growing platforms for television consumption are the PC and the mobile phone. In year 2009, there are still differences large enough making the distinction between the two necessary. In contrast to the traditional television set, the mobile phone is close to by default used individually. In pace with increased diffusion, the PC strives in the same direction with a steadily larger share of cheaper portable, smaller devices equipped with efficient wireless transmission technology. Setting the limits to the scope of use of these technologies are the developing infrastructures in-

side of the home (different forms of broadband) and outside of the home (broadcasting or narrowcasting networks)[74]. How television viewing evolve on these two sets of platforms is conditioned by the technological development of the devices themselves and the surrounding infrastructure, the services provided through them, purchase decisions and lastly by the related viewing behaviours.

Television consumption has always been, and increasingly is, coexistent with a broader range of video consumption. The wave of the future on the two newer platforms seems to be that television melt together with a broader range of video consumption produced by an larger array of actors, and the comprehensive convergence of different media is a trend that support a corresponding development. More interesting than failing to predict this development in detail is to discuss how the development making viewers decide *what* to watch *where* and *when* is affecting television viewing. What a corresponding discussion is aiming at is the two overarching trends in media use of space-shifting and time-shifting. Are these two trends going to entirely transform television viewing or does the nuance account given here point in some other direction?

Space-shifting

As receiving technology gets more portable, television can be consumed anywhere. The line of change brought about by space-shifting is consequently that television technology goes from home-centred to individual centred, and television viewing from leisure time centred to spread over the day. Even if this development is new for television, corresponding development has transformed newspapers and radio before (cf Weibull, 1995). Individualization is a process intimately bound up with the development of space-shifted viewing. Space-shifting can be both driven by individualization and be a driver of it. When growing in amount space-shifted viewing, as centred to individual consumers, will unanimously enforce individualization.

The result of chapter 6 on Habitualness firmly established that traditional viewing is increasingly spread over the day simultaneously getting more habitually tied to time slots of the day not earlier used for television

[74] The competing forms continuously change name and standards and the overarching trend is this far an increased transmission capacity over time. The important here is the categories of inside/outside home and broad/narrow in terns of casting (where a special broadcasting network for mobile television is the first, and TV via Internet accessed via the device is the second and narrow).

viewing. Habitual viewing is still concentrated to Prime Time (that is being compressed and nudged later into the evening), but parts of the audience establish regular habits of viewing tied to time slots outside Prime Time. These results suggest that the audience is already changing their temporal habits of television viewing in line with what space-shifting offer. There seem to be a readiness for space-shifted viewing.

The adoption of space-shifted viewing is year 2008 in Sweden restricted to specific part of the television audience and small. In surveys, tracking consumption of video at large viewing on portable devices emerged as visible first in 2008 for the 16-25 years old, then encompassing 3 percent of the total video viewing. If compared to the size of the traditional television viewing of this age group, around every 20th minute of viewing is space-shifted, consumed at home or outside of home (MMS – Rörliga Bilder 2008). Important to keep in mind is that this amount of mobile viewing is tied to mobile phone networks or Internet (narrowcasting), since Sweden has not yet in 2008 established broadcasted mobile TV. The experiences from other national contexts where mobile TV has been broadcasted for some years, such as South Korea, Japan and Italy, show that this form of television transmission carry within it the seed for a broader change in time allocation to television viewing, spreading it over the day turning idling, commuting, working places, schools and discotheques into sites of everyday television consumption.

Increased space-shifting is dissolving the household as primary site of consumption, the social situation composed of intimate peers as an influential consumption context and leisure time as the primary time span of consumption. Space-shifting contests in this meaning traditional audience research and audience models established to cope with traditional homebound television viewing. As was illustrated in the theoretical considerations traditional audience research has seldom fully elaborated the social dimension in audience research models – or put more fairly: social situations have been acknowledged but then totally neglected in practice. The present individualization of traditional television viewing and future individualization brought about by space-shifting is going to turn television viewing behaviour into a form in favour of a-social models depicting audience behaviour. What constituted an important residual in all previous explanation, is over time decreasing in importance.

One dimension that has to be developed further and merged into the models is the spatial circumstances (technical, physical, social and cultural) present in all new sites of television viewing lining up during the day. Traditional television channels face, today, the challenge of building television audiences all through the day in a context where television content is but

one of several forms of video coexisting some pushes of a finger away. To follow the development of television within this broader context of video is one challenge of audience research. Regardless of what the future will bring and when we can be sure of one thing: Television viewing will always take place. It will take place in specific spaces, which constitute situations, or more specifically institutionally dependent individual situations. The institutional dependency is when it comes to space-shifted viewing disembedded from the social institution of the home and family and from the household as a context representing a certain availability to television. Mobile situations are instead becoming institutionally dependent on spatially delimited networks of transmission in public spaces, device capacity and the services provided by operators. These three sets of factors hold the future development of space-shifted viewing in their hands forming the constrictive circumstances around the potential future patterns of use.

Time-shifting

If space-shifting means a consumption of television *wherever we like* time-shifting means consumption *whenever we like*. Time-shifting, could be split into household technology and services allowing consumers to view television content whenever they like. Household technology allowing time-shifting was first introduced in the end of the 1970s by the VCR with followers as the DVR and PVR, making it easier to record content in order to consume it afterwards. The time-shifting services (tied to set-top boxes) can either supply the same functionality, to record content in order to consume it afterwards, or allow broader range of choices between programs that can be consumed whenever (examples are on-demand TV and TV via Internet). Services are fast developing as a consequence of the convergence between TV (broadcasting) and Internet (narrowcasting). The important distinction to make from the point of the viewing practice is that between retrospective time-shifting (to record content – which demands a certain amount of planning and is tied to time based programming schedules) and present time-shifting (that allows the viewer to choose between a broader array of content available and freed from time-based scheduling).

Following the diffusion of VCR, aroused voices where aired from left-wing academics praising the VCR technology for finally setting the viewer free from the constraints of the market forces and predefined schedules (Ang, 1991). In 2009, similar voices are raised from the market launched

new sets of services. The substantial difference induced during the two time point, making the academics fail and enhancing the markets chances of being right considerably, is TV via internet implying that a massive range of content can be streamed whenever the individual viewer want. Narrowcasting is inducing time-shifting with unprecedented force to change the everyday practice of television viewing. As the television converges with the Internet turning the set into both television and computer screen broadcasting and narrowcasting is coexistent. From this scenario of present development there is no reason to exaggerate the differences between television, computers and mobile phones in terms of television viewing platforms. Differences in terms of size of screen and mobility will most likely be the axis along which differences should be perceived.

The time-shifted viewing using Internet was in 2008 encompassing 6-25 percent of the total video consumption of different age groups.[75] Generational differences play an important role at this initial phase and the pattern of consumption of downloaded content, shorter web clips and longer web programs follow to some extent a pattern of digital literacy. Of these categories of time-shifted content, the first two may partially consist of television programming, such as downloaded series or shorter clips on Youtube, but it is only the third category, web programs, that can be identified as mainly consistent with television programming. Regardless the actual size of television consumption, the broad range of video consumption gives a clear picture of the future landscape of the television market. Growing are three categories of time-shifted content of which one can be controlled while the other two, from the perspective of how the Internet works in 2009, are out of control and can be only partially concurred.

From a perspective of individualization, time-shifting is much more complex a trend than is space-shifting. The complexity is tied to that time-shifting in itself is not a trend that is paired with individualization. It is easy to make the fallacy of taking an increased space-shifting, that carries consumption based on a large share of time-shifting, as an evidence of that a causal relationship between time-shifting and individualization exists. There is no strict evidence time-shifted viewing, in itself, feed onto

[75] The higher share is due to the 16-25 years old while the lower is due to the 41-65 years old. On an intermediate share of 11 percent is the 26-40 years old. Making up the numbers are downloaded content (13, 5 and 2 percent following age), shorter web clips such as those accessed by Youtube (9, 5 and 3 percent) and longer web programs (3, 1 and 1 percent) (MMS, Årsrapport 2008).

individual consumption or that individualization leads to increased time-shifting.

A more detailed assessment of how playback technology is used socially in traditional television viewing 1999-2008 points in the matter of fact in the opposite direction. If the categories of time-shifted viewing are studied in detail from the perspective of how social they are in use, VCR, DVD and DVR as well as Pay per view (PPV) end up with very high social shares of audience. In relation to the levels of individual television channels (see table 18), they would at all years take a place among the top ten channels when it comes to their social share of viewing.[76] Television viewing connected to time-shifting within the household is consequently more social than is television viewing on average. A plausible explanation is that time-shifted viewing to a higher extent is planned and thereby active to another degree than usual television viewing and when it comes to PPV there is also an economic incitement to lower the cost per viewer, from a rational economic perspective.

That time-shifted viewing is to a large extent social is also supported by research depicting consumption of downloaded content, web clips and web programs. What has to be kept in mind is that the principal place for this consumption is in front of a computer screen sitting on a chair. Time-shifting in front of a computer is a special situation that has a potential of being transformed in line with the time-shifting behaviours tied to traditional television viewing when easily accessible by the television screen.[77] This complexity of time-shifting, that it when coinciding with space-shifting is a-social and when not tend to be highly sustain social patterns of television viewing is a fact that has to be kept in mind when extrapolating future viewing development.

[76] The levels of social share are on the level of 41-52 percent. Important to notice is that the use of time-shifting technologies and PPV are here measured as a composite of *playback* (retrospective viewing) and of *playing* behaviour (e.g. watching a DVD or a buying access to watch live events). PPV could be argued not to be retrospective as closer to how TV is consumed via Internet. The use of Electronic Programme Guide (EPG) is still, in 2008, to small to draw significant conclusions about social use.

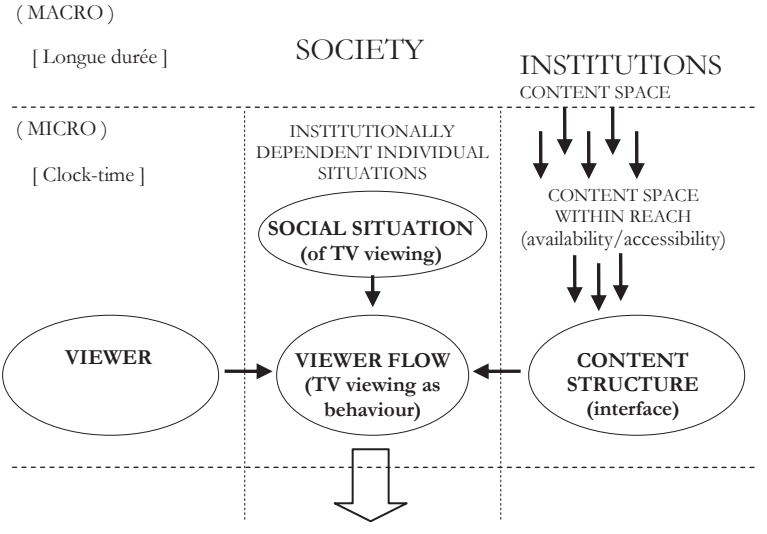
[77] Utveckla här eventuellt vad MMS nyare forskning säger om konsumtionssituationen för nya medier (social eller ensam) downloaded, web program and web clip om det finns med som dimension i Rörliga bilder.

A Future Audience Research Model

Space-shifting and time-shifting holds a potential of transforming future television viewing to an increasingly mobile practice undertaken in more places and during a larger time span of the day. On top of this television content can be consumed whenever viewers like. At the end of this development, the traditional homebound television viewing will be paralleled by new form of television practiced on the go and in alternative public settings. Traditional television as we know it will of course be altered to some extent but the principal change will be that it will be paralleled.

The theoretical model used in this thesis put time and space into the centre of television viewing. Located to its centre is the situation in which television viewing takes place. The model is also shaped in order to cope with how this specific situation of television viewing is affected by institutional structures on the micro and macro level. On the macro level, broadcasting institutions form mediaspace and the structure of content. On the micro level social institutions like the family constitutes a social setting forming continuously varying social situations that influence the viewer situation in the household. This model is however not tied to the household context and what is central to it is that viewing (a viewer flow) is the outcome of merging of a viewer, a content flow and a social situation.

Figure 32. A situation based and time and space sensitive audience analysis model – theoretical model.



The micro level context of viewing does not have to be the household. The scope of the model is broader than that and could be used for the broad array of new spatial circumstances tied to new spaces of television consumption. The model can be used as a ground for analysis of future television consumption. Two adaptation of the model is however necessary, adaptation that point to what time-shifting and space-shifting means to television viewing and which aspects that are the bottlenecks of future television development.

The first adaptation of the model is due to time shifting and is connected to the flow content structure. Time-shifting implies that the immanent structure of 'flow' to television identified by Williams (1973) is broken in the meaning that television viewers are not obliged to turn into an ever flowing structure. Viewers start and stop flows, rather than shifting between them. The consequence for the model is that content flow structure ought to be exchanged for the more allowing category of *content structure*. The content structure is *an array of flows* that can be set into motion but it is also a new type of *interface* that will constitute a new framing condition constringing how future time-shifted viewing comes about (which flows are available and how are they organized). Clock time is following this change a facet of the old model that changes status. Viewer flows have always been and will always be based in time. However, when flow vanishes as a ruling condition in content space, TV is deprived of its role as provider of time-through-the-day and as representing an alternative doubled time structure. Clock time should thus not be removed from the model, but it changes meaning in relation to the content side of the model.

The second adaptation of the model is due to space-shifting and is connected to the need of a broader definition of availability. When viewers consume television during the day in different places the availability will vary according to the infrastructure of transmission networks in different places, reception capacity of the mobile devices and the services available and designed by mobile TV operators. Content space can be reached to varying degrees depending on the *availability* delimited by services consumers subscribe to, but also, and this is the new feature, due to *accessibility* following varying spatial circumstances surrounding television viewers on the go. These two adoptions performed the model is suited for the future.

Audiences Come as Numbers

Everyday life actions take place in an array of settings that we as researchers have no or at least strongly delimited access to. Research methods are continuously developed in order to map out and deliver images (or representations) of these actions in order to describe and explain them. In the case of television viewing this thesis provides one image that is aimed to be nuance and in this way complementary to the existing images of television viewing. The contribution of this thesis lies in the produced image in itself, but also in the way this image is arrived at. In short, something old is taken, reconsidered and used in order to create something new. The actual case of this thesis is People Meter data reconsidered and developed to deliver new granular insights into television viewing as a habitual, social and referential act. This is however just one case showing the outcome of a methodological strategy of broader scope: thickening.

The methodological steps taken to accomplish a fresh perspective on People Meter data and the truths about audiences regularly delivered based on it, was first to analyse its idea, origin and methodology and second its practical use in everyday audience analysis. Such analysis gives a deepened understanding of underlying motives guiding the specific use of People Meter data in audience analysis. From an outside perspective People meter data seemed to promise much more in terms of research material than was exploited in its regular professional use. Especially two unexploited dimensions of the data, the social and the longitudinal, turned out to be keys to new dimensions of television viewing behaviour developed methodologically and then mapped out through the empirical investigations above.

This way of approaching data and reconsidering it, has in this thesis been termed a methodological process of *thickening*. Thickening could be defined as a process by which existing data, extracted and created for a delimited purpose, is reconsidered, from a broader range of scientific purposes, and enveloped (as far as possible and manageable) in a way inducing it with more meaning. By enveloping the social and longitudinal dimension, People Meter data has been thickened and the act of television viewing that it monitors has subsequently been induced with increased meaning as a social and cultural act. The empirical results are the factual outcome of this process of thickening.

Important to point out from a broader and future audience research perspective is however that People Meter data should not be seen as a freak occurrence in contemporary society but rather as the way of the

future. Audiences have and will always come as numbers, and the number of black boxes, gathering information on everyday audience behaviour and consumption is steadily increasing, following the digitalisation of media and society. The worldwide establishment of People Meter technology during the 1980s and 1990s provided the first *direct return-path* from individual viewers to audience measurement agencies. At that time, People Meter was unique in this respect. Today the situation has changed as the households are increasingly abundant in set-top boxes, personal computers and mobile devices that as digital furnish a return path through which information can be accessed on *what* content (that is consumed), *when* and *where*. In this respect, audiences live in what could be termed "a black box society" where action, on the level of the individual and the household, is increasingly monitored and potentially set into use.

Black box society is made possible by digitalisation and a rational response of market actors desiring to deliver the right goods and services to the right segment of the increasingly futile audience is to use the information digitalisation put into reach. That black boxes of information come about, multiply and increase as sources of information is consequently due to the dynamics of consumer society. The interesting question for audience research and for the social sciences is although how research should adjust to this development or more precisely what alignment researchers should have in respect to these data. The data is most often detailed, abundant in size and behavioural, monitoring behaviour at a specific level of resolution and with a specific purpose that is in many cases foreign from the researcher's own interest. Same time, these data can represent a treasure mine depicting dimensions of acts that are out of reach of traditional academic research.

Thickening is, seen from this broader background; an alternative methodological path future research can take. If accessed the data, it can be reconsidered, thickened and reanalysed from the theoretical perspective the researcher chooses to follow, diverging from the purpose originally aimed at when the data came into life. Thickening demands effort in terms of treating data and in terms of critical assessment of what the data can tell at its actual level of resolution, but these efforts have a great potential of being rewarded.

As has been described this thesis has been an effort to somehow bridge contemporary strands of audience research: traditional quantitative and ethnomethological qualitative, to put it bluntly. It seems that the ethnomethodologically inspired strand of Cultural studies have to some extent reached a dead end where multiple specific narratives of individual processes of meaning making run short of explaining broader terms of

cultural change (Ferguson & Golding, 1997). Retrospective biographical interviews and increased coordination of research efforts are two suggestions forwarded to remedy the situation (Tufte, 2001), but over time change and questions of broader political economical development lies outside the reach of the methodology regularly applied in present Cultural studies. Thickening as a form of remedy is a more radical suggestion in terms of methodological change. It should be noted that the thickening is but a complementary methodological solution with potential of covering up some of the weaknesses currently acknowledged in Cultural studies. There is of course the same need for additional methods closing up since there is no magical short cut to individual meaning making. Unnecessary to say, there shouldn't be any 'either/or' when it comes to methodology. And the fact is that cultural everyday life change, as well as audiences, have and will always come as numbers besides qualitative changes in ways to act, think, believe and understand.

Audience Making Under the Condition of Individualization

At the onset of this book, a number of actors involved in the management of television audiences were lined up and identified as especially affected by the audience transformation undergo. These actors were television channels (creating audiences), Media agencies (trading audiences), advertisers (buying audiences) and audience measurement agencies (monitoring audiences). The final part of the conclusions will be treating how the outlined audience transformation will affect these actors or more precisely: how audience making is transformed under the condition of audience individualization.

To reiterate on an overarching level, the ongoing trends: habitual television viewing is spread over a broader range of time slots during the day, viewing is getting less social a practice and the content consumption increasingly divergent from viewer to viewer. Television viewing is individualized as increasing de-concentrated, a-social and heterogeneous. All three trends have been found on the level of the audience but are also firmly established within the walls of the singular households where family members consume television increasingly separated in space and inhabit increasingly divergent referential spaces mediated through television. Viewers separate themselves from each other, in physical space, in order to come closer to their selves, in referential space. This is a trend of de-

velopment aligned to mobility and ready to be enforced by future possibilities of space-shifted viewing. Mobility in identity and mobility in space seem to be intimately aligned.

Increasingly mobile consumers spreading viewing in space and over a broader array of platform pose a concrete problem for the audience measurement business – a problem discussed at the onset of this book. A complementary difficulty clearly illustrated down the line of analysis is the increased futility of the audience. A general trend encompassing all the three areas of empirical treatment (habitualness, social viewing and heterogeneity in consumption patterns) is that of levelling out and decrease in difference between household contexts. During the period of ten years the differences in viewing behaviour between groups of viewers (categorized by social setting, demographics and technique availability and use) are diminishing and in many cases dissolved. As a consequence explanations of viewer behaviour are turning weaker and weaker when based on contextual factors (such as social setting and technology availability) and group affiliation (such as demographics). Especially strong is this development for technique availability following digitalisation when all television households were turned into multi channel environments.

This development is a process of individualization taking a steadily firmer grip on television viewing. The audience is turning fluid and mobile, increasingly harder to explain and predict, as their viewing behaviours are turning more and more individual. Important to acknowledge is that the audience is not turning fluid by itself. This development is strongly sustained by the strategic responses of the television market abandoning mixed-programming in favour of specialized programming, splitting channels and organizing content vertically (channels following genre) more firmly addressed to specific viewer segments. To aim for the tail constitutes a bite of the head. Out there somewhere is an audience transforming form common to unique, from social to solitary and from homogeneous to heterogeneous: Transforming audiences conditioned by individualization.

SUMMARY

TRANSFORMING AUDIENCES is a treatise enquiring into contemporary Patterns of Individualization in Television Viewing. The empirical aim of the treatise is to delineate the contours of individualization in television viewing behaviour and Sweden is the national television system researched empirically and outlined through a decade 1999-2008.

INTRODUCTION outlines the initial road of the research project (chapter 1). At an early stage, an ideal empirical data material to track detailed patterns of behavioural change in television viewing was identified. This data material was audience measurement data deriving from People Meter. People Meter delivers individual viewing behaviour minute-by-minute and is an assessment methodology since the 1980s established in a majority of larger television markets around the world. The detailed information forms currency for trade in advertising space.

The social and the longitudinal dimension of People Meter data was identified as particularly rewarding features for research into individualization. Through tracking of parallel behaviour of household members and accumulation of behaviour over time, keys to complex patterns of individual action and social interaction seemed to be readily accessible. However, reality turned out to be less ideal. The handed down practice of professional audience analysis is to a high extent neglecting the two identified dimensions due to a primary focus on 'size' and 'composition' of the audience. Following this, available data applications proved insufficient to bring individualization into reach. The described situation gave birth to a complementary aim: a methodological approach allowing individualization to be reached and researched had to be developed.

The thesis is divided into four parts. The first two are focusing theoretical and methodological considerations, and the last two provide empirical investigations and conclusions. The twofold aim of the thesis, as both empirical and methodological, has been guiding the structure of the thesis and its emphasis. Mirroring this is the substantial methodological part.

The remainders of the summery will briefly make the four parts stand out and come alive.

PART I.

THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS provide material of a time and space sensitive, situation based theoretical framework of television viewing (in chapter 2). The framework is used as a ground for an analytical model directing the empirical investigation. The guiding idea is to overcome two difficulties. The first is to marry sociological macro level theory with micro level theory on audience behaviour. The second is to identify an intermediate position allowing a simultaneous profiting from strengths of different strands of audience research.

Individualization is defined as a broad process of late modernisation whereby individuals are increasingly freed from structural constraints of traditional social and local belongings. The sociologists Ulrich Beck and Anthony Giddens, among others, have outlined how individualization changes life conditions and identity making. Individuals are disembedded (or lifted out) from social (spaces) and local (places). Life is turned into a reflexive 'do-it-yourself biography' in which the individual actor is increasingly free to form her own life simultaneously doomed to take responsibility for unforeseen future consequences.

Throughout the chapter, this process of individualization is identified within Swedish society and television viewing as well as confronted and developed through audience research. The outcome is an analytical model identifying three operative fields of individualization in television viewing. Hypothesis of how individualization is expected to affect the three areas and aligned research questions are here advanced. The three derived fields are: Habitualness, Socialness and Referential Space.

PART II

PEOPLE METER AS IDEA AND METHODOLOGY is centred on the methodological approach allowing individualization to be reached and researched is developed. The methodological steps taken to accomplish a fresh perspective on People Meter data and the truths about audiences regularly delivered based on it, is first to analyse its idea, origin and meth-

odology and second its practical use in everyday audience analysis. By performing such an analysis (in chapter 3), a preliminary picture is given of why the specific use of People Meter data in audience analysis is performed in one way and not in another. By means of this analysis, dimensions of data not exploited and areas not regularly covered, are identified.

This way of approaching data and reconsidering it, has, in this thesis, been termed a methodological process of thickening. Thickening (which is evolved in chapter 4) could be defined as a process by which existing data, extracted and created for a delimited purpose, is reconsidered, from a broader range of scientific purposes, and enveloped (as far as possible and manageable) in a way inducing it with additional meaning.

By enveloping the social and longitudinal dimension, People Meter data has been thickened and the act of television viewing that it monitors has subsequently been induced with increased meaning as a social and cultural act. Enabling empirical investigations into individualization based on People Meter data is the factual outcome of this process of thickening. Operationalization of the three fields of investigation and creation of a number of applicable measures is winding up the methodological part (in chapter 5).

PART III

EMPIRICAL INVESTIGATIONS INTO INDIVIDUALIZATION are performed within the three research fields in chapters 6, 7, and 8. The results firmly establish individualization as a process that is transforming television viewing. Television viewing is spread over a broader range of time slots during the day but is simultaneously getting more habitual at alternative time slots (Habitualness). Viewing is less social a practice (Socialness) and content consumption is increasingly divergent from viewer to viewer over time (Referential Space). This audience transformation could be summed up as a displacement from common to unique, from social to solitary and from homogeneous to heterogeneous. This tripartite individualization of television viewing is a clear process that is expressed in various ways on multiple levels.

All three trends are found on the overall level of the audience and the last two are clearly pronounced within the walls of singular households. Family viewing is declining as family members consume television solitary.

Same time, they cover increasingly dissimilar referential spaces mediated by television. The trend is that sharing generally decreases, both of physical and of referential space. In terms of identity work: people separate from each other (in physical space) to come closer to their selves (in referential space).

The results underline the linkage between changes in mediaspace and concrete everyday television viewing acts. The continuous growth in channel provision and volume of content has opened up an increased space for individualization. So has the technological shift, from analogue to digital terrestrial television. Comparative changes have had visible individualizing effects on viewing. And so have the coexistent shift in character of mediaspace representing a boom in channels carrying specialized programming over time more firmly addressed to specific targeted audiences. Both, change in amount and in character have resulted in identified trends of individualization.

PART IV

TRANSFORMING AUDIENCES are lifted, composed and discussed as the general conclusions are summed up and extrapolated in chapter 8. A general trend encompassing habitualness, social viewing and heterogeneity in consumption patterns, is levelling out and decrease in the difference between household contexts. Over a decade, the differences in viewing behaviour between groups of viewers (categorized by social setting, demographics and technique availability and use) diminish and are in many cases dissolved. As a consequence traditional explanations of viewing behaviour are turning weaker and weaker when based on contextual factors (such as social setting and technology availability) and group affiliation (such as demographics). Especially strong is this development for technique availability. Following digitalisation of the terrestrial network, all television households marked by scarcity were turned into multi-channel environments.

Levelling out is a process of individualization that is literally subliming the television audience into vapour. The audience, once a solid and predictable entity, is now more mobile and thus has become increasingly harder to explain and predict. This occurs when their viewing behaviours become more and more individual. Important to acknowledge is that the audience is not turning vaporous by itself. This development is strongly sustained

by the strategic responses of the television market. Current developments in television and broader 'video' provision enabling increased time and space-shifting might further strengthen this development. Especially space-shifting is identified as of great potential of enforcing future individualization.

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To conclude this summary the two-fold contribution of this thesis is stressed. The contribution lies in the nuance image of individualization in television viewing in itself. This is an empirical contribution that can be used as a basis to develop theory. But the contribution lies also in the way this image is arrived at, which constitutes a methodological contribution. In short, something old is taken, reconsidered and used in order to create something new. The actual case of this thesis is People Meter data reconsidered and developed to deliver new insights into television viewing as a habitual, social and referential act. This is just one case showing the outcome of thickening as a methodological strategy of broader scope.

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Digital sources:

MMS Golden Rules (http://www.mms.se/kunder/teknik/peoplemeter_regler.asp)

APPENDIX – People Meter data

People Meter provide as technical standard information on three different levels that are specified in this appendix:

1. Information about the *viewing*
2. Information about the *viewer and panel*
3. Information about *content*

1. Information About Viewing
The Swedish data produced on this level has the following form:

…
20080124;271216; 1; 2;0;1;1285; 35;
20080124;271216; 1; 1;0;1;1320; 69;
20080124;271216; 2; 1;0;1;1321; 68;
20080124;271216; 3; 1;0;1;1120; 15;
20080124;271216; 4; 1;0;1;1120; 20;
…

Because these numbers are central to the analyses made in the following their meaning of reference are here shortly defined. The first number indicates the *day* the viewing is measured (24 of January 2008). The second and third numbers are *identifiers* of the specific household (271216) and the specific individual viewer (1,2, 3 or 4) within that household. The fourth number is the channel tuned in (in this case 2 for SVT2 and 1 for SVT1) while the seventh is the *starting minute of viewing* and the eighth the *length of sequence of viewing (in minutes)*. (The television day is composed of 24 hours from 02:00 to 01:59 consisting in a total of 1440 minutes. The *starting minute of viewing* takes on a value of 120-1559 where 120 denotes 02:00 and 1559 denotes 01:59 located in time 24 hours after.) The sixth number is identifying the *television set in use*.

(The fifth number identifies whether (1) or not (0) teletext is used. This is information ignored in the following analyses and the use of teletext is simply treated as television viewing of the actual channel. Teletext use generate rows. This will have consequences on the apprehension of velocity in the way that if teletext use is increasing over time it will be feed into increased velocity. If there is no change in amount of teletext use, the problem is solved. If teletext use is diminishing, the opposite problem occurs: decreased velocity.)

The People Meter device generates a new row of information every time the television is turned on (row 1, 4 and 5), a new viewer is registered (row 3) or a change of channel occur (row 2). The generated row gets completed as the television is turned off (row 2, 3 and 5), a viewer is de-registered (row 4) or when a change of channel occurs (row 1).

2. Information About the Viewer and Panel
The information about the *viewer and panel* derives from a survey – 'the base survey' – launched twice a year in order to estimate the overall composition of the Swedish television audience. The survey fulfils two purposes. First, it establishes the size of the overall television audience and its composition resulting in a television universe. Second, it is used as a recruitment base for the continuous adaptation and turnover of the People Meter panel in order to make it represent the television audience. The panel is set up according to a number of variables that had been identified as strongly correlated to television viewing behaviour (These variables are

if you make additional *payment for TV content* or not (a variable that in 2007 substituted the earlier cable and satellite versus terrestrial television), *level of education*, *television consumption* and *household composition* (single- or multi person, with or without children).

To make the established panel representative of the Swedish television audience, individual viewers are given statistical weight calculated according to a formula taking into account both characteristics on the household and individual level. Each panel member represents a larger number of television viewers summing up to the total size and composition of the 'television universe'. More unique panel members receive higher weight than more common. When calculating measures like rating, share and reach the individual weights are aggregated and contrasted to the 'universal' weight of the Swedish television audience deriving from the establishing survey.

When established a panel household, household members fill in additional surveys providing an array of information regarding demographics, psychographics and lifestyle of the viewer (see www.mms.se for file specifications). This information on the viewer is used to specify target groups whose viewing of specific programs or spots, or channels, can be measured. This data is consequently fundamental to the day-to-day business of trading of advertising space and to all audience analysis aligned to that purpose. To extend the array of variables depicting the viewer's beliefs, attitudes and self-assessed behaviours is one way to enhance the scope and precision of audience analysis. This type of enhancement is relatively simple and inexpensive to make.

3. Information About Content

Television channels themselves provide information about the content – or more precisely what is on the air each minute. The biggest channels of the Swedish television market provide logs of the programs broadcasted on a daily basis. Additional specifications of shorter programming segments like trailer, billboards, commercials etc are furnished through more detailed logs defining segment length in seconds.

The information generated within the system of People Meter derives consequently from three different *sources* (People Meter devices, viewers and television channels) are collected with three different *methods* (monitoring of behaviour (with the active participation of viewers in registering individual viewing), surveys based on self-assessment and logging of content) and on two different *time scales* – continuously for viewing and content information while at one limited occasions for viewer information. Each of the three levels of information generates a unique set of data. These data sets are connected through the variables identifying household and individual (connecting viewing and viewer) and time (connecting viewing to content).

APPENDIX – Waves

The choice mechanism established is to first select every fourth day and second to select the 28 first days of each month. This procedure results in the same dates (with regularity in relation to holidays stable in time – like Christmas) and an equal number of individual weekdays in each wave (eight Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays etc.). Beginning on the 3rd September the dates of the waves are the following for each wave – a normal year and at leap year (when the selection of dates for March and April is dislocated):

Figure 33. The dates of the four waves 1999, 2002, 2005 and 2008.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31
Sept	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	
Oct	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1
Nov	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	
Dec	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2
Jan	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1
Feb	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1			
Mar	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
April	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	

3	Dates selected for the 1999, 2002 and 2005 wave and for Sep to Feb of the 2008 wave
2	Dates selected for March and April of the 2008 wave (a leap year)

All empirical work carried out in this treatise (chapter 6 to 8) is based on viewing and viewer information deriving from these four waves. Of great value is consequently to know how well traditional measures of viewing, like rating and share, based on waves coincide with official rating Figures provided by MMS. Are the waves systematically over or under estimate viewing compared to regular ratings? The easy answer to this question is that there is a systematic overestimation of viewing should you compare ratings of a total year and a total wave (e.g. the wave of 1999 to the viewing of 1999). This type of comparison is inadequate since one rating Figure is based of the viewing of the whole year, while the other is based on a selection of days from the eight months, of two years, when viewing is largest. It is a comparison of apples and oranges. When making adequate comparisons, differences in rating follow a specific pattern.

When calculating rating for an individual day, the data is the same and subsequently also the rating Figure. When calculating rating for longer time periods the base of the calculation is different following that the waves represents selections and that a special weighting procedure is undertaken for the waves (described below under Weighting procedure of the waves). Differences between the overall rating numbers are marginal if based on the same eight months. They are subject to larger variation is the time period shorter and calculated for individual channels. This discrepancy is a natural consequence of regular ratings being subject to comparatively larger variation due to specific media events (that are tied to delimited time periods and to specific channels). The waves are as synthetic constructs of time periods comparatively stable to this type of variation. A sports event occurring under two weeks on one channel will in a wave be present only in three to four of the total 56 days. This stability due to the design

is a methodological advantage when depicting individualization, or any viewing behaviour, developing over longer time periods (from year to year).

Of great value to the empirical investigation into individualization is consequently the comparative insensibility of each wave to specific yearly circumstances tied to the patterns of specific media events (like major reoccurring sport events, or unique happenings like 9/11 etc.). The same is viable for variations like school vacations of the autumn and winter, and for Easter. What is more important to acknowledge and track is *to when* holidays are located in the four waves. Differences in location mean difference in variations of viewing weekdays when, to take an example, Christmas Eve is located to a Thursday compared to a Saturday. Comparative variations of the material have been found not to be significant. They are thereby regarded as unproblematic in relation to the over time delineation of individualization, but should be kept in mind when assessing variation of viewing weekdays from year to year.

APPENDIX – Methodology

ANOVA – bivariate comparison of means

ANOVA performs *bivariate* analyses – between one independent variable (IV) and one dependent variable (DV). Through ANOVA one discrete independent variable (IV) at a time is related to the continuous dependent variable (DV). The level of the mean value on the dependent variable (eg. socialness in viewing or uniqueness in patterns of content consumption reaching from 0 to 1) is established for the different subgroups (eg. for different age groups). *Eta* is a measurement describing the size of the interrelation between the independent variable and the dependent variable. The *level of significance of Eta* decides whether there is, in the first place, an interrelation that is significant (or significantly different from that of a random distribution). The reported levels of significance of Eta are 99,9 percent ($p < .001$) and 99 percent ($p < .01$) – the first are bolded in the tables while the second are italic. These levels of significance tell how statistically secure the interrelationship between the variables are. The *level of Eta* decides then the strength of the (bivariate) relationship and is in this way a statistical concept close to that of correlation (R). When IV is dichotomous Eta and Pearson's correlation (R) coincide. When IV has more than two categories the two concepts differ (Field, 2005).

ANOVA builds evidence on between and within group variation and Eta rise both as a consequence of a) increased range between the means of different groups and b) decreased standard deviation around the mean within groups. Increased range means that the groups are more different from each other while decreased standard deviation means that the individual subgroups are increasingly gathered around their specific mean level. Decreased range and boasted standard deviation works the other way around lowering the level of Eta and its significance. Important to acknowledge is that the significance of Eta build of F-statistics. F-statistics takes into account both the variation between and within all groups. One or two groups differing heavily from the others are consequently a sufficient ground for producing significant Eta. If children differ heavily from all other age groups, age could exit as significant a factor even if there is no difference in mean values between other age groups. Important is consequently to keep track of the form of the interrelation tied to the individual subgroups of the independent variables.

An alternative procedure that can be used to assess if two individual subgroups of a singular IV differ from each other is to apply t-tests. T-statistics have been used when necessary to draw accurate conclusions. The strategy to follow over time development furnishing each relationship at four different time point have although diminished the need for this type of detailed between group assessment of significance (Kennedy, 2003).

ANOVA-MCA – multivariate comparison of means

Multiple Classification Analysis (MCA) is used building multivariate models including many independent variables and one dependent variable. MCA is a form of multivariate ANOVA. Multiple Classification Analysis (MCA) was developed in the 1970s by Frank M. Andrews and others (Andrews et al., 1973). The principle underlying the analysis is comparison of means in the large cross-table formed by all independent variables of the model. The effect of each independent variable is, in this way, controlled against all other variables in the model and a multivariate correspondent measurement of Eta is produced. This measurement is *Beta* and the value used in chapter 7 and 8 is the more restrictive *adjusted Beta*. Every MCA-model produces a model-fit value of R^2 expressing how large proportion of the variance in the dependent variable that can be explained by the independent variables together.

In CLR Beta values as squared and summed up coincide with R^2. This is not the case in MCA using discrete variable with more than two categories. This discrepancy is due to that IV:s in CLR are constraint to linearity while IV:s in MCA are not.

APPENDIX – Tables

Table 47. The change in habitualness in different age groups 1999 and 2008 (indexes of habitualness).

	1-A/(A+S)		S/A	
	1999	2008	1999	2008
3-14	0,81	0,83	4,22	4,76
15-24	0,80	0,74	3,93	2,86
25-34	0,80	0,77	4,04	3,43
35-44	0,76	0,73	3,16	2,77
45-64	0,72	0,68	2,52	2,12
65+	0,61	0,59	1,54	1,43
Total	0,73	0,70	2,71	2,36

Table 48 The change in habitualness in gender groups 1999 and 2008 (indexes of habitualness).

	1999		2008	
	1-A/(S+A)	1-A/(S+A)	S/A	S/A
Male	0,74	0,72	2,90	2,53
Female	0,72	0,69	2,53	2,21
Total	0,73	0,70	2,71	2,36

Table 49. Social viewing in multi person households with one TV-set respectively multiple TV-sets receiving the television signal via aerial, cable or satellite (amount of social viewing time in percent).

	1999	2002	2005	2008
SINGLE SET HH				
Antenna	0,70	0,67	0,67	0,58
Cable	0,63	0,58	0,60	0,55
Satellite	0,62	0,61	0,61	0,60
total	*0,66*	*0,62*	*0,62*	*0,58*
MULTI SET HH				
Antenna	0,60	0,58	0,61	0,50
Cable	0,55	0,53	0,52	0,48
Satellite	0,55	0,57	0,55	0,51
total	*0,56*	*0,55*	*0,55*	*0,50*
ALL HH				
Antenna	0,65	0,63	0,63	0,55
Cable	0,58	0,55	0,55	0,51
Satellite	0,58	0,59	0,57	0,55
total	*0,61*	*0,58*	*0,58*	*0,54*

Table 50. The changes in social viewing and total viewing over channels 1999-2008 (social share and total rating (market share) in percent) … [continuation of Table 18 position 26-34 (in Chapter 7)].

	Social Rank								
…	2008	1999	2002	2005	2008	1999	2002	2005	2008
TV1000	19	33%	32%	54%	33%	0,2%	0,3%	0,2%	0,3%
Hallmark	34	15%	21%	34%	20%	0,2%	0,2%	0,3%	0,2%
Viasat Sport 1	32		63%	46%	22%		0,2%	0,3%	0,2%
Canal + Film 1	22	32%	48%	40%	32%	0,1%	0,3%	0,3%	0,2%
TV4 Guld	18				33%				0,2%
The Voice	28				30%				0,2%
Lokal Channel	31	37%	54%	24%	26%	0,2%	0,2%	0,1%	0,2%
Playhouse Disney	2				49%				0,2%
DANSK TV 1	25	43	36%	38%	31%	0,2%	0,2%	0,3%	0,2%
Other		35	38	37	31	5,0%	6,2%	5,3%	4,4%
SUM:		*45*	*42*	*43*	*37*	*100%*	*100%*	*100%*	*100%*

Note: The table is sorted due to *share of viewing (size)* of 2008 and encompass the last 9 of the 34 biggest channels this year. The *social rank* expresses the rank of the channel, had the sorting of the 34 channels been carried out following *social share of viewing*. Shaded channels, of social rank 1-14, find themselves above the mean value of social share, most years.

Table 51. The impact on the overall level of social viewing exerted by individual channels 1999-2008 (percent of viewing time).

		1999 to 2002		2002 to 2005		2005 to 2008	
Channels with positive impact on social viewing		SVT1	1,8%	Kanal 5	0,9%	Barn/Kunskapskan.	0,6%
		Kanal 5	0,4%	TV3	0,6%	TV6	0,5%
		Canal+ Mix	0,2%	Discovery	0,3%	SVT24	0,5%
		Eurosport Nordic	0,2%	Discovery Mix	0,2%	TV4+	0,5%
		Ztv	0,2%	Ztv	0,2%	Disney Channel	0,3%
				TV8, TV400, TV4 Film (each)	0,2%		
%	A		3,8%		3,6%		4,1%
N			*45*		*52*		*46*
Channels with negative impact on social viewing		SVT2	-5,0%	TV4	-1,2%	SVT1	-3,7%
		TV4	-1,1%	SVT1	-0,8%	SVT2	-2,0%
		TV3	-0,3%	SVT2	-0,7%	TV4	-1,9%
		Eurosport int.	-0,2%			TV3	-1,2%
						Kanal5	-1,1%
						Discovery Mix	-0,3%
						Canal+ Mix	-0,2%
%	B		-7,0%		-3,7%		-11,5%
N (0-change)			*41(3)*		*41(4)*		*51(3)*
New channels' positive impact on social rating			X	TV4+	0,6%	Kanal9 (ONE TV)	0,3%
				Disney channel	0,3%	TV4SportExpressen	0,3%
						TV4 Fakta	0,2%
						Disney TOON	0,2%
%	C		0,5%		1,1%		1,6%
N			*46*		*30*		*141*
Lost channels' negative impact on social rating					X		X
%	D		-0,0%		-0,4%		-0,2%
N			*43*		*41*		*27*
SUM (A,B,C,D)			-2,7%		0,6%		-6,0%
N-total		*138*	*135*		*127*		*241*
Year		*1999*	*2002*		*2005*		*2008*
TOTAL		45,1%	42,3%		43,0%		37,0%

Note: The table expresses the netto change of the most prominent contributing channels within the four categories of *positive* and *negative* change respectively *new* or *lost*. The change value for a channel is calculated as (S-Share [Y] * AVT [Y]) - (S-Share [X] * AVT [X]) where X and Y are consecutive years.

The table splits channels into four different categories depending on how they influence social viewing. The four categories are all encompassing and mutually independent. The two first categories are channels increasing their impact and channels decreasing their impact. The latter two are new channels that bring about a new volume of social viewing and channels taken of the air that withdraw a certain volume of social viewing. Together, these four categories add up to the gross change (SUM in table) in share of social viewing from 45,1 to 42,3 to 43,0 to 37,0 percent (TOTAL in table).

The net Figures of change in social viewing shows that the changes are strongly connected to the positive or negative impact of already existing channels and more weakly connected to channels entering and leaving the scene. The *positive impact of established channels* is fairly stable over time, varying between 3,6 and 4,1 percent, while the *negative impact*, from -3,7 to -11,5 percent, represent a vaster span of variation. The *positive impact of new channels* have due to a larger supply increased over time, from 0,5 to 1,6 percent. Meanwhile, channels going off the air have only modest *negative impact*.

Table 52. The top ten ranking channel repertoires and their relative size 1999-2008 (percent of the audience).

	1999	2002	2005	2008	
1	SVT1 SVT2 TV4				
2	TV3 TV4 Kanal5	SVT1 TV3 TV4	TV3 TV4 Kanal5	SVT1 TV3 TV4	
3	SVT1 TV3 TV4	TV3 TV4 Kanal5	SVT1 TV3 TV4	TV3 TV4 Kanal5	
4	SVT2 TV3 TV4	SVT1 TV4 Kanal5	SVT1 TV4 Kanal5	SVT1 TV4 Kanal5	
5	STV1 SVT2 TV3	SVT1 TV3 Kanal5	SVT1 TV3 Kanal5	SVT1 TV4 TV6	
6	SVT1 TV3 Kanal5	STV1 SVT2 TV3	STV1 SVT2 TV3	TV3 Kanal5 TV6	
7	SVT2 TV4 Kanal5	SVT1 SVT2 Kanal5	SVT1 SVT2 Kanal5	SVT1 TV4 SVTB/K	
8	SVT1 TV4 Kanal5	SVT2 TV4 Kanal5	TV3 Kanal5 TV6	STV1 SVT2 TV3	
9	SVT2 TV3 Kanal5	TV3 Kanal5 TV6	SVT2 TV3 TV4	SVT1 TV3 Kanal5	
10	SVT1 SVT2 Kanal5	SVT1 TV4 Unknown	STV1 TV4 CARTO. Net.	TV4 Kanal5 TV6	
	Share 1999	Share 2002	Share 2005	Share 2008	
1	54,2	50,7	40,9	25,0	*-29,2*
2	9,4	9,3	9,3	7,8	*-1,5*
3	6,9	8,2	8,6	7,3	*0,4*
4	5,4	5,4	5,9	5,2	*-0,2*
5	4,4	2,7	3,6	2,4	*-2,0*
6	1,9	2,1	2,3	2,1	*0,2*
7	1,5	0,9	1,7	2,0	*0,5*
8	1,2	0,8	1,1	1,7	*0,5*
9	1,1	0,7	1,0	1,5	*0,4*
10	1,0	0,7	0,8	1,4	*0,4*
	86,9	*81,5*	*75,0*	*56,5*	*-30,4*

Table 53. The distribution of television viewing in content space.

	1999	2002	2005	2008
100%	138	135	127	241
99%	30	47	49	68
95%	10	19	22	31
90%	5	8	11	18
75%	3	4	5	7
50%	2	2	3	3
25%	1	1	2	2

Note: The table illustrates how many channels it takes to cover a certain proportion of the audience television viewing. The percentages are the proportion of television viewing measured on the level of individuals in their *ranked individual viewing*. In 1999 SVT1, SVT2 and TV4 had over 75 percent share of the television viewing (thereby the number 3 in the field [75% and 1999]). In 2008, on the other hand, the same three, the biggest, channels only had a little bit more than 50% and four other channels were needed to reach the 75 percent level – TV3, Kanal5, TV6 and TV4+ (thereby the number 7 in field [75% and 2008]).

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TRANSFORMING AUDIENCES is an enquiry into Patterns of Individualization in Television Viewing. Central to the enquiry being performed, is the linkage between television, as technological and cultural form, and television viewing behaviour as a social everyday practice. How does a raised abundance of specialized choice structures transform television viewing as a habitual, social and referential act?

People Meter data 1999 to 2008 is employed to map out detailed viewing behaviours of a large panel of Swedish households on a minute-to-minute basis. This type of data is today of world-wide use as a currency on the television market for trade in advertising space. The methodological strategy is being developed, to refine and induce increased social and cultural meaning to these data. This will achieve a more nuance delineation of individual level viewing behaviours. This brings to blossom a world where individualization rules and where the common and social is shattered into increasingly unique, solitary and heterogeneous patterns of individual action.

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