

JOSÉ RICARDO CARVALHEIRO (ORG.)



MEDIA, GENDER AND THE PAST

Qualitative approaches to broadcast audiences and memories

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MEDIA, GENDER AND THE PAST
—
QUALITATIVE APPROACHES TO BROADCAST
AUDIENCES AND MEMORIES



Livros LabCom

Série: Pesquisas em Comunicação

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Design de Capa: Cristina Lopes

Paginação: Cristina Lopes

Covilhã, UBI, LabCom, Livros LabCom

ISBN: 978-989-654-119-4

Título: Media, Gender and the Past: Qualitative approaches to broadcast audiences and memories

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Ano: 2013

www.livroslabcom.ubi.pt



Índice

Introduction.....	1
PART I - RECEPTION AND GENDER IN THE PAST	7
Chapter 1 - Behind Closed Doors – exploring the gender dynamics of media use.....	9
<i>Ann Gray</i>	
Chapter 2 - Media, audiences and the life-course.....	25
<i>Verónica Policarpo</i>	
Chapter 3 - The day women took over the tavern: harsh memories, hegemony and media reception	61
<i>José Ricardo Carvalheiro and Diana Gonçalves Tomás</i>	
Chapter 4 - At the university: learning and researching on media and generations	91
<i>Cristina Ponte</i>	
PART II - MEMORY, GENDER AND IDENTITY	123
Chapter 5 - Narrating Gender as Collective Memory in the 50 th Anniversary Celebrations of RTP.....	125
<i>Cláudia Álvares</i>	
Chapter 6 - Memory and life world on media reception: a phenomenological approach	139
<i>João Carlos Correia</i>	
Chapter 7 - Gender differences and the influence of Emigration on the Memory of the first Television audiences in Spain.....	159
<i>Juan Francisco Gutiérrez Lozano</i>	

Chapter 8 - Postcolonial Memories of Media reception and construction of collective belongings: the case of Portuguese Muslim Women of Indian and Mozambican origins	179
<i>Catarina Valdigem</i>	

About the authors	223
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Introduction

Media in everyday life: looking back to see the ways

Communication studies are today very focused on new technologies and the changing contexts of present audiences, trying to envisage future outcomes in media uses. However, a full understanding of our media landscape must be aware that it hosts several layers of once new technologies, practices and contexts.

For example, early radio listening sets the question of multitasking inside the home, and later of media portability, which are conspicuous issues in communication research nowadays. The fact that gender dimensions framed multitasking and portability, in Portugal during the middle of the 20th century, draws our attention to how social relations have been decisive in the shaping of media reception practices. But also to how these relations have at the same time been shaped by those same practices because of the continuous negotiation of its modalities of use.

When television became popular in Portugal, throughout the 1960's, broadcast users already had specific habits and norms of behaviour, according to their different social roles and contexts. The transformations that occurred then have to be understood within a history of permanent social re-contextualisation of the media in the changing scenarios of everyday life. Questions such as housework, access to public spaces, religious practices, family routine practices, material consumption, neighbourhood relations, and cultural imaginaries show to be historically intertwined with gendered media uses. Examining feminine practices and memories of past reception can highlight the ways in which, among constraints and possibilities for agency, women have found and made their own condition. But it also sheds light on the diversity of experiences encompassed by the category of feminine audience according to social class, local context or biographic histories.

Despite the promised richness, researching past reception has received less attention from scholars than other aspects of media history, such as the

[Media, Gender and the Past:
Qualitative approaches to broadcast audiences and memories, pp. 1 - 6]

retrospective study of media genres, organizations and technologies. This volume aims to contribute to a better knowledge of this neglected field, both by reflecting about theoretical questions and by presenting empirical data. Several contributions in this book use oral history and other qualitative techniques, but surely past audiences are not an easy field for empirical research, not least because it requires scholars to face complex questions about memory.

Memory is a mediator in research about the historical past, but it is also an object of study, and a crucial one when the focus is symbolic activity around media texts, as it calls attention to the processes of meaning-making in which audiences engage through successive acts of re-appropriation and re-elaboration of media memories. It requires qualitative research methodologies to articulate the audiences' interpretations of symbolic material with their personal and social identities, bearing in mind that present accounts are tied to biographic trajectories and to the roles agents play today. It calls attention, finally, to the ways memory is reworked by media producers when they offer the audiences preferred representations of the past.

This volume emanates from a conference held in the University of Beira Interior, in February 2013, which aimed to gather a group of scholars who research about broadcast media, gender and the past – the reference to the past intending to encompass both history research and memory studies. Thus the book is organised into two parts. The first part, titled “Reception and gender in the past”, is devoted to articulate gender and media audiences under diachronic and historical perspectives, reflecting also on the processes of theorising and researching it empirically. Part two, under the generic title “Memory, gender and identity”, examines the dynamics of remembering, the reframing of representations, and its gender implications in terms of individual and collective identities.

In the first chapter of the book, Ann Gray provides a reflection on the development of research in gender and broadcast reception, and addresses how (and why) feminist scholars placed the domestic use of media on the map of communication and cultural studies. Herself a pioneer in researching everyday practices of the audiences within British cultural studies, Gray begins by considering what elements shape the directions of intellectual enquiry, including responses to critical theoretical developments and wider political, social and

cultural transformations, but also researchers' own positions, institutional locations, chance encounters and personal passions. These scientific trajectories allow us to understand how often for many researchers, and especially feminists, methodological explorations are at the heart of their projects.

Gray then traces how new knowledge was sought through the employment of ethnographic methods that challenged the dominance of quantitative approaches and the anti-empiricist moves within film and cultural studies. By reflecting on feminist debates, the chapter examines how the use of techniques such as 'life story' interviews produced data which reveals the centrality of television in personal memory and in the construction of self-identity. But alongside the self-narratives came accounts of the coded constraints of media use within domestic spaces, thus suggesting conceptual understandings of public personal boundaries, the performance of gendered identity and the power relations inherent in the routine practices of everyday life.

In chapter 2, Verónica Policarpo approaches the role played by media in the construction of the contemporary individual, namely in shaping gender identities in different historical contexts. For that, life-course theory is used as an analytical tool, enabling a better understanding of the inter-relations of individual time and societal time, focusing on the (re)making of personal and private life from a dynamic perspective. The text reflects on the ways audiences negotiate meanings of media contents, within an environment where media are profoundly (though historically differently) embedded in everyday life, and on how these meaning-making processes are shaped throughout the life-course.

Considering methodological issues, namely in research about feminine audiences and their identities, Policarpo argues that the traditional emphasis upon qualitative techniques of data collection partially reproduces a bias of social research in general, which has for a long time privileged oral discourses over other sources, such as images or sounds. Thus, it is argued that new technologies offer wide potential to past audiences' research and the reconstitution of memory, providing tools that might be explored in articulation with in-depth biographical interviews.

Chapter 3 is devoted to a case study of broadcasting reception in a particular working class textile community within the context of dictatorial "New State"

regime in Portugal (1926-1974). Drawing on women's life histories, José Ricardo Carvalheiro and Diana Tomás approach media reception between the 1940's and the 1960's as a social practice that must be articulated with a broader range of people's historical experiences, in a period when broadcast uses and appropriations by common people turned from a marginal activity into an emergent practice. The text both proposes a theoretical frame for analysing past media reception and explores empirical accounts of women's practices, bearing in mind the historical coincidence between patriarchal ideology and the access of feminine audiences to new symbolic experiences through broadcasting media.

In chapter 4, Cristina Ponte reflects about the interest of researching media uses by different generations within families also as a learning activity which enables Communication students to develop contextual knowledge about the media. By exploring this recently activated tool in media classes, the text exposes students' fieldwork composed by a contextualisation of the Portuguese society in the last 70 years, based on statistics and other data, and by semi-structured interviews with different generations of their own families. Gender dynamics are explored by inquiring male or female sides according to students' position (eg. daughter-mother-grandmother). The chapter describes the activated research process involving students, presents results that illustrate gendered intergenerational and intragenerational differences in Portugal, and discusses the potentialities and implications of this pedagogical approach for media studies.

Opening up the second part of the book, Cláudia Álvares approaches, in chapter 5, collective memory and the cultural forms that reproduce gendered structures and beliefs, by analyzing the 'preferred' understandings of the past involved in the celebration of the 50th anniversary of Portuguese public television (RTP) in 2007. Broadcasts chosen by the channel for that celebration boast a link to the channel's pivotal representations over the time period and point to how a particular imagined community wishes to remember itself. The focus of the text revolves around the particular types of narratives designed to include or exclude women from the collective memory in a particular historical conjuncture, and the framing of such narratives in 2007 from a novel perspective that corresponds to contextual shifts in notions of female identity and in the roles of women. Álvares' analysis shows how the enunciation of imagined female communities

in a novel context can contribute to the resignification of a particular reading of the female signifier.

In chapter 6, João Carlos Correia discusses the status of memory and life-world in reception studies. Emphasis given to these concepts aims to evaluate the nature of media reception as everyday social practice that intervenes in the creation of shared meanings, in identity formation and in the assignment of gender roles. Drawing on the idea that memory is intimately involved in the constitution of meaningfulness, both for the subject's perceptual experience and for the social setting of values and traditions, Correia focuses on how continuously new acts of media reception are linked to memories of previous experiences, including the memories of previous processes of reception. Therefore, it is argued, the experience of receiving a media text is more than the recognition of "the new": it implies pre-existing horizons of meaning and pre-existing cognitive schemes. But the chapter also examines how memory relates to new courses of action and interpretation, how social change needs memory too, and how active audiences need shared horizons of meaning in order to redefine judgments.

The last two chapters in the book relate the memory of audiences to questions of migration and cultural identities. In chapter 7, Juan Francisco Gutiérrez presents one of the few studies carried out in Spain about the social impact of television on the memories of the audience. Television is instrumental in the processes of forming the historical and collective memory, and the diachronic development of broadcasting itself, argues Gutiérrez, has generated a "television retrospection" or "televised memory" that have become lodged in popular memory, creating a series of shared memories that influence individual and collective identities. In this chapter, the main focus is on certain relevant aspects of this memory: memories associated with gender differences and emigration, and how they have influenced the ways Spanish television is consumed.

In chapter 8, Catarina Valdigem approaches Postcolonial gendered identities by analysing the intertwining of media memories, family memories and political memories of Portuguese Muslim women of Indian and Mozambican origins. Resulting from an ethnographic research, focused on the role of sensory objects in the reproduction of collective memories, the chapter draws on the analysis of memories of media reception, namely of radio, music and film. Valdigem

shows how social locations claimed by women - such as gender, ethnicity, class, racial perception - as well as their affective memories of lived experience, have allowed them to subjectively and selectively appropriate and reproduce, narrate and historicize either lived or imagined memories of belonging in Postcoloniality. Additionally, she demonstrates as well how these lived and imagined communities of belonging are connected to memories of past practices of everyday life, both in colonial and postcolonial Mozambique, and how they are also shaped by possibilities of gender agency.

As mentioned above, this book emanates from a conference which took place within LabCom's research project on "Media, Reception and Memory: Female Audiences in the New State", whose goal is to investigate the articulations between audience practices and women's condition and representations during the Portuguese 20th century dictatorship. The conference, and thus also this book, benefited from the work of several members of the research unit and the university. Thus we would like to acknowledge the support and assistance of Mércia Pires, Diana Tomás, Madalena Sena, Marco Oliveira, Ricardo Morais, João Nuno Sardinha, João Carlos Sousa, Carlos Micaelo and Miguel Rebelo. For the edition of this volume, also Cristina Lopes and Diana Tomás – again – decisively contributed with their work and collaboration.

Last but not the least, we must acknowledge that this work is funded by FEDER through COMPETE – Programa Operacional Factores de Competitividade – and by Portuguese National Funds through FCT – Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia – within the project PTDC/CCI-COM/119014/2010.

Part I

RECEPTION AND GENDER
IN THE PAST



Chapter 1

Behind Closed Doors – exploring the gender dynamics of media use

Ann Gray / University of Lincoln

To reflect on the formations that generated what were to become significant and rich threads of work within media and cultural studies can reveal useful and usable knowledge for current and future work. It is important that such reflection, rather than looking back to a romanticised world of intellectual pioneers bent on progress, demonstrates the processes of such work as well as the factors that shape the identification of the subject(s) and method(s) of research. The impetus for my reflection here came from the best possible kind of source: an exciting research project ‘Media Reception and Memory: Female Audiences in the New State’ which aims to capture aspects of female media consumption across the press, radio and television in four decades of Portugal’s history: 1930-1970 using oral history techniques. The four decades of the study witnessed contradictory changes in terms of politics (restriction) and social and cultural openings potentially made possible by developments in broadcast media. These tensions and particularly the ways in which women were specifically positioned during this period affords the work a unique historical quality.

My first observation is to say how welcome this research is in that it aims to provide an historical dimension to media use. Media, communication and cultural studies have neglected history and there is still a predominance of ‘the new’ in these fields of enquiry. Having said that the perceived decline in broadcasting, the structural and cultural changes in parts of Europe have inspired scholars to look back in order to make sense of the present. Indeed National Broadcasting histories have been researched and written but these tend to focus on the technological and political questions of policy and regulation setting these developments in wider social contexts.(e.g. Briggs 1995; Scannell & Cardiff

[Media, Gender and the Past:
Qualitative approaches to broadcast audiences and memories, pp. 9 - 24]

1991) An exception to this in the UK is research carried out by Janet Thumim (2004) who looked at the emergence of television 1955-65 and specifically the place of women and the concept of the feminine in the new institutions. Her study addresses production practices and programmes, particularly those addressing women. Thumim notes the difficulty of researching television history because of its 'volume, ubiquity and ephemerality' (Thumim 2003 1) The difficulties Thumim notes in regard to television histories are writ large when attempting to address histories of reception. Audiences can be divined through listening and viewing statistics, although the presence and availability of these vary, through the popular press and media specific popular magazines, the existence of fan communities, etc. But information about the media and the part it played in the everyday domestic worlds, in imagination and identity formation, in pleasure and desire, is not easily found in such sources. Previous research has therefore employed oral history/life story methods in order to explore these dimensions. In this respect it is imperative that such studies are made whilst key witnesses are still alive in an attempt to capture their memories of listening and viewing in previous decades. Two such studies are Sean Moores' 'The Box on the Dresser' based on early memories of radio first published in 1988 in *Media Culture & Society* and Tim O'Sullivan's 'Television Memories and Cultures of Viewing, 1950-65' in John Corner's collection *Popular Television in Britain* published in 1991. These are relatively small-scale studies and originally short articles but both share the aim of simply finding out how the introduction of these relatively new media technologies were remembered, recalled and especially how they were appropriated within a domestic setting. Of course both studies draw on those notoriously slippery categories 'experience' and 'memory' to which I will return. Moores' and O'Sullivan's studies were highly suggestive of the rich seam for enquiry here. Some of their participants talked about the programmes, especially those significant events covered live, but they also talked about the domestic space, routines and listening and viewing practice. Both studies registered interesting gender differences in the nature of what is remembered which differed between men and women. O'Sullivan related this to the wider take up of television but also the design and marketing of television (echoing, of course, Lyn Spigel's (1992) work in the US). In addition to these studies,

Jerome Bourdon has explored, through life-story interviews, the role played by television in shaping both individual and collective memory and his work is part of a growing field within memory studies in relation to media and memory. (Keightley 2011; Keightley & Pickering 2011; Hoskins 2011)

A much more recent and ongoing project based at the Universities of Warwick and DeMontfort, Leicester in the UK is ‘A History of Television for Women in Britain: 1947-1989’ which spans the ‘terrestrial’ period of British TV history. In this study the development of TV will be related to social change. Archival work is being done on the development of specific programme types, genres and scheduling slots which have become significantly marked as feminine. The project also has an ‘audience’ dimension in that it will attempt to gather a sample of a generationally and nationally dispersed set of female audience members from the historical period in question. Their interviews with women are exploring their memories of television against their personal narratives to uncover the programmes that they saw as being for them, and will question how these programmes resonated with their everyday lives. Their initial findings resonate with those of Bourdon in that many respondents remembered not the television programmes themselves, but rather the way they watched them. The data will be analysed against the backdrop of discourses from the industry. http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/film/researchnews/history_of_television_for_women_in_britain/

Such valuable studies have a cumulative effect in adding to the reservoir of the cultural history of the media. But these and other small scale studies can have much wider implications for further scholarship in that they can yield through their design, methods, analysis and interpretation, material (or data if you prefer) Which, rather than producing ‘generalisable’ conclusions, provide ‘useful knowledge’ of significance to a potentially wide range of constituencies within and outside the academy. I will explore their potential later in this article, but now will turn to a discussion of the elements that shape the directions of intellectual enquiry and in particular that of media and everyday life.

Clearly these elements will include responses to critical theoretical developments as well as wider political, social and cultural change. The critical theoretical developments are always framed within scholarly communities and

are often grounded within institutional contexts. I consider the institutional context to be of particular importance and key to the engendering and growth of intellectual work. I will now trace in a necessarily sketchy manner a particular formation within media and television studies which certainly shaped my work but which has I would argue, had far-reaching influence not least apparent in the projects already mentioned, including the one from Portugal. The formation under scrutiny here is that of the CCCS at Birmingham in the UK – the first institutional manifestation of what was to become Cultural Studies. The work that began in Birmingham in the late 1970s and continued into 1990s was shaped, in part, by the desire to conceptualise the characteristics and appeal of popular culture. These questions informed the studies of youth subculture, the history and ‘race’ research working groups and the groups formed to explore media and women’s studies and feminism engaged very directly with popular genres and the everyday. The two working groups overlapped and the importance of meaning-making engaged emerging media and feminist scholars. In this period ‘television’ occupied, and does to this day, an uneasy place in relation to already established fields of enquiry, if not disciplines. For example, it struggled as an object of study against and within film studies that was informed by literary and art historical analyses. In this context television was perceived as an inferior cultural form and continues to carry this burden as unworthy of study. Television also occupied a particular position as a form of mass communication within a sociological perspective and the dominant critical paradigm of political economy. Here the main research interests were in ownership, control and state regulation. Thus television was seen largely as a conduit of ideology from organisations of the state or capital. Within this framework such attention as was paid to the outputs of television were in the main restricted to those of news and current affairs.

When addressing any research topic the question from Stuart Hall (director of the CCCS from 1968-1979) would be ‘What is at stake?’ It is an essential question to ask of any academic research at any moment in time but it is also useful to look back and reflect on what *was* at stake in order to develop an understanding of the formation of lines of enquiry that concern us here.

Different formations – the interventions

The seminal challenge to the dominant paradigm of political economy was Stuart Hall's now very well known 'encoding/de-coding' model that has become codified within television studies (and, as I have written elsewhere) at significant cost to both the complexity of the model and its historical background. (Gray 1999) Briefly, this challenged the existing linear form of communication models and sought to find ways of excavating and understanding the production of meaning through signification within complex communication processes.

Scholars working in the Media Group at the CCCS Birmingham used this model to frame their research into television. First through the *Nationwide* study which mobilised in particular the concept of ideology and its usefulness (or not) in understanding viewer/reader interpretations, and secondly, and of more relevance to this collection, by Dorothy Hobson in her study of the then popular TV soap opera *Crossroads*. But it was Hobson's earlier work for her unpublished MA thesis *A study of working class women at home: femininity, domesticity and maternity* which is of more relevance to our concerns here. Hobson talked to women who, as full-time mothers, were isolated within the home who informed her that radio was their life-line to the outside world. Extracts from that thesis were published in the CCCS feminist work *Women Take Issue* (Women's Studies Group 1978) and *Culture, media, Language* in 1980. (Hall *et al* 1980) In her study Hobson was keen to focus on women's programme preferences, their likes and dislikes, and, as she conducted her interviews in their homes, she also noted the distractions of domestic life which in turn influenced future researchers.

Hobson's work was, in the Anglophone world at the time, a key intervention in the field of audience research in that she focused her attention on the domestic environment and on women as 'audience'. In her *Crossroads* study she used a range of identifiable qualitative methods: long semi-structured interviews that were tape-recorded. Hobson argued that the unstructured nature of these interviews 'allowed the viewers to determine what was interesting or what they noticed, or liked, or disliked about the programme and specifically about the episodes which we had watched'. (Hobson 1982: 105) She also spent time with her participants and joined them in their TV watching. It was during these

‘participant observation’ periods that she noted the distraction of domestic life and the ways in which the women managed their viewing alongside performing domestic tasks.

Charlotte Brunson in 2000 argued that it is ‘difficult to separate the development of TV studies from that of cultural studies’. (Brunson 2000: 622) Thus, the early development of what was to become television studies (in the UK at least) was from the start shot through with the critical approach associated with CCCS. Initially Marxist with its emphasis on class and then, arising from feminist challenges with the Centre, taking gender on as a key category. There was also a critical and reflexive approach to method in order to challenge more conventional social research models and to inject some muscle into the humanities mode of analysis. A version of ethnographic research practice was developed and became important for a number of CCCS researchers engaging with the construction of meaning in everyday life and lived cultures. (Hall *et al* 1980) This also reflected the development of the cultural studies focus on issues of subjectivity and identity within wider social, cultural and political frameworks.

Thus an understanding of the politics of research, for example, an awareness of the power relations involved in the research process, was reflected through much of the research work and discussions within the CCCS. This was especially important for feminist scholars who were exploring the limits and constraints of feminine subjectivity in relation to popular media. For many researchers, and especially feminists, methodological explorations are often at the heart of their projects.

These feminist scholars and others that followed, keen to explore audiences placed the domestic use of broadcast media on the map of media, communication and cultural studies. Early explorations came from those who insisted on the distinctiveness of female experience of media consumption and especially the significance of the non-neutral territory of the domestic. New knowledge was sought through the employment of ethnographic-type methods that challenged the dominance of quantitative approaches and the anti-empiricist moves within film and cultural studies. Thus new territories were charted and new questions posed.

Feminist cultural studies & cultural politics (or the sexual politics of the living room) my own example

My own encounter with television studies came through these very early exploratory studies and feminist scholarship in both social sciences and humanities. In the early 1980s feminism was creating waves both within and without academia and it must be said the most exciting scholarship across sociology and humanities was generated by feminist critique and politics. Challenges were made to mainstream study and disciplinary boundaries across sociology, literary studies, film studies, history initially with feminists selecting hitherto neglected topics for research ‘hidden from history’ before more radical challenges to methodology and methods which the hidden ‘gender’ dimension called into question. These epistemological challenges were developed notably in the history of science field where feminist scholars questioned the nature of knowledge and critiqued mainstream scientific method.

A number of feminist scholars were finding that the existing approved and validated methods were not equipped to explore and answer their key research questions. In particular, in my case, the messiness of everyday life and the significance of the banal details of everyday practice, social and material relations to our understanding of the shaping of gender relations within the constraints of a patriarchal society. In sociology, for example, domestic labour could not be classified as ‘work’ in that it did not entail paid labour. This resulted in women who were confined to the home and performing domestic labour were not considered workers at all.

When I embarked on my study of the use of domestic video recorders in 1983 I was keen to understand how this new entertainment technology was changing the viewing habits and practices of domestic television viewing. I made an early and political decision to focus my attention on women themselves, arguing that the domestic space is not neutral and that women are subjected to occupying a particular position with it. The decision was contingent on the state of research to date in which women had been subsumed within broader audience studies and the fact that I wanted to continue Hobson’s line of research, echoing the CCCS view that ‘the ethnographic project for feminists has been to give a voice to the

personal experience of the women and girls who are studied in the research'. (Hall *et al* 1980 76) However, this decision created theoretical problems for me with regard to the category of gender and the consequent danger of essentialising the always and already formed 'woman' as the subjects of my research.

My focus was on the video-recorder and I decided that in order to understand its impact talking and listening to women would at least provide me with some material through which to think and mark out the shape of the study. My first contact on the telephone with a woman I wanted to interview gave me my first clue. I said that I was interested in her use of the video recorder. Her immediate reply was 'oh, you'll have to ask my husband about that'. Here in a very simple sentence was the first insight of my study and one that shaped its trajectory. Technology was socially shaped and what is more bore the tracks of gender relations and in particular those of power.

I also realised from this first encounter that I would get nowhere asking women directly about this new piece of entertainment technology. I therefore approached the topic within the broader context of 'leisure in the home'. I asked about the use of spare time, the forms of media with which they engaged, with whom did they watch and when, what they watched, with whom and when, who selected what they watched and how the video was used, by whom and for what different purposes. These were areas that my respondents and I touched upon through our open-ended 'conversational' interviews.

My approach to my necessarily small-scale research was reflexive and my aim was to enable the participants in my study to contribute to the direction of the conversation only bringing them back to what I considered to be 'relevant' topics when I thought this necessary. What I found was that the majority of the 30 women I interviewed wanted to tell me their story. This was unanticipated and initially I felt very concerned about this tendency. Referring back to different points in their lives or their experience as working women, mothers, key moments in their autobiographies such as weddings, births and deaths, were evoked often as explanation of their current situation.

As in most studies employing this research method the material produced is extremely productive if not necessarily exactly what the researcher had expected. I have reflected on this in detail elsewhere (Gray 2003) but key notable

dimensions which emerged through the conversations include: thoughts about memory and identity; exploration of subjectivity and reflections of the subject on their own situation; the shifting nature of their accounts, for example, twists and turns in the story; the risky stories which, in some cases, were offered later in the discussion; the significance of narrative in understanding ones own trajectory through well-worn and long standing familiar narratives; the frameworks or repertoires, some drawn from popular culture itself, for the telling of our own stories.

Thus *how* people tell their story and account for their own experience, feelings, views, motivations and attitudes becomes an important part of such studies and, through analysis, can reveal the subtle differences which life situations, opportunities and lack of opportunity can make to the nature of these accounts.

Viewing patterns and habits were recounted and appeared to vary according to gender and, significantly, power relations were brought to bear on things as mundane as who controls the remote control and who decides what should be watched on the communal screen.

To summarise briefly, knowledge gleaned through interpretation of our ‘conversations’ and emerging biographies about aspects of the everyday use of television covered the following:

- Preference and availability
- Social shaping of technology
- Gender dynamics and viewing selection
- Politics of the domestic in relation to media use
- Public discourses articulated within the private
- Taste, class and gender
- Changing discourses of nationalism and national identity

Reflecting feminist debates the use of techniques such as ‘life story’ interviews produced rich data revealing the centrality of television and video in personal memory and in the construction of self-identity. Alongside the self-narratives came accounts of the coded constraints of media use within domestic spaces

thus suggesting conceptual understandings of public personal boundaries, the performance of gendered identity and the power relations inherent in the routine practices of everyday life.

The use of this intense method raises important questions of the politics of research and our ethics as researchers. Ethical issues such as due regard for the relationship of power between researcher and researched, the dangers of exploitation, the need to account for the purpose of and motives behind ones research as well as the usual ethical questions of confidentiality are important here and were and have been the subject of explorations of the politics of research to the present day (or should be in my view). This is particularly poignant for feminists working with female research participants. For example, my respondents said things like ‘It’s nice to have someone to talk to’; ‘I don’t get the chance to talk about this kind of thing’ and ‘nobody’s really interested are they?’ This spoke to me of ‘isolation’ and lack of self-worth. I also experienced difficult interviews when it was clear that the interviewee was speaking about things rarely discussed. These encounters must be handled with extreme sensitivity – empathy and active listening are necessary skills.

In Conclusion: the wider yield and potential of such studies

Questioning the categories

At the time of my study ‘gender’ was largely considered to be a fixed category – along with an essentialist view of feminism (my PhD was conducted within a Department of Sociology). More complex understandings of gender came, of course, from psychoanalysis but I found it extremely problematic to handle that highly theoretical work in relation to my empirical investigation – difficult, but more importantly, unethical. But the interviews caused me to question the fixed category of gender. Firstly encouraging me to think about the fragmented nature of ‘gender’ and how other ‘categories’ intersect such as race and ethnicity, class and age, disability, etc. This was important material for me in thinking about

what difference these differences make, when, under what circumstances and in what ways. Butler's work on performing gender not published until 1990 was useful but begs questions about those social and material conditions that limit and shape the potential for gendering and de-gendering of identity. (Butler 1990) Thus Susan Bordo's work helped to negotiate through the troublesome nature of the category and to acknowledge that gender rarely expresses itself in pure form, but within a complex set of social contexts and relations. (Bordo 1990) The elements which shape the performance of gender in the domestic environment and the constitutive role that media use and consumption plays within those elements can thus be explored by adopting such methods and methodologies.

Mapping – defining spaces and questions

David Morley, writing about the development of 'media studies' at the CCCS Birmingham in the 1970s and 1980s, said 'it now seems almost to 'go without saying' that there is more to the media than questions of economics; that issues of culture, representation and signification are equally important; that we must pay attention not only to questions of class but also of 'race', gender and sexuality; that low-status fictional media forms can play just as important a political role as high profile news and current affairs television; and that audiences are evidently not passive dupes or zombies' – in the 1970s none of this was widely accepted in the field. If it now seems no more than common sense, this is because cultural studies media work has made it so.' (Morley 2007: 259) Thus, empirical work with users of media, whether to explore their contemporary use or their memories of past use, can generate complex and rich data about those aspects of social and cultural life that we all know, at the level of common sense, based on our own empirical knowledge, is a critical aspect of media use. It is worth noting that the rhythms and routines of the domestic and everyday, the importance of emotion and affect in our relationships with each other and our media consumption which were central to much feminist work is now acknowledged within media, cultural studies and sociology more generally.

Reflections on methods and ways of knowing

This is arguably one of the most valuable contributions exploratory studies can make to the development of further work. Such qualitative projects have ample opportunity for reflexivity throughout the research process and can continually question the directions and avenues that are being pursued. These questions can concern the integrity and validity of the project, the flexibility of the research design, responsiveness to the unexpected, but also the researcher's position within the project and her relationship to her participants. More questions than answers are likely to emerge but that is, in itself, valuable for future researchers.

Subjectivity and power

One common criticism of small-scale empirical studies is that of their contingent character and the consequent impossibility of generalisation. I would concur that 'generalisation' is not possible through such studies, even if it were desirable, but that contextualised analysis of the interview data can reveal important inter-connections between private and public and biography and history. In its early discussions of ethnographic methods the CCCS claimed that their version of the ethnographic method aimed towards the study of cultural forms and practices 'in relation to their material contexts – web of external determinations – and the contribution they make to the social reproduction of society...' (CCCS 1980 75) This approach to empirical studies is capable of exploring the relationship between subjectivity and power, as Toby Miller suggests is one of the key concerns for cultural studies to show 'how human subjects are formed and experience their lives in cultural and social space'.

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Chapter 2

Media, audiences and the life-course

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Introduction and main objectives

In this paper, it is my intention to reflect on the ways media scholars have been studying media audiences, both theoretically and methodologically, in order to contribute to address the study of past audiences. My main objective is to reflect on the possibility of putting together two different theoretical backgrounds and perspectives: audience research, within media and communication studies, on the one hand; and life course theories, within sociology, on the other hand. The connection between these different theoretical backgrounds is, from my point of view, a promising one, that has already proved to be useful to understand the complex relationships between media and audiences in my own work. Having said that, it is important to stress that the scope of this paper is to launch some ideas, reflections and work hypotheses, based on previous empirical research and theoretical reflection, as a contribution to a research about (past) audiences based on a life course theory.

Background and previous research

These reflections come partially from my own curricular development: with a background in Communication Studies, I have done my PhD in Sociology,

[Media, Gender and the Past:
Qualitative approaches to broadcast audiences and memories, pp. 25 - 60]

whose theories, concepts and methods I have come to explore further. Along this professional pathway I have confronted myself with the immense opportunity that crossing fields represents. In my own work, I have therefore tried to operationalize that blend of different fields and paradigmatic approaches of social reality, namely my migrating concepts (as well as methods).

These reflections come also, inevitably, from my previous work. Some of that research was directly related to researching media audiences: it is the case of a project about Masculine and Feminine images in the Brazilian telenovela, in Portugal; and of my research about the reception of the Brazilian telenovela and the construction of gender identities along the life course, as a permanent and contingent process of negotiation of meanings. In this work (Policarpo, 2006) I explored the impact of gender in the relationships between media (specifically fictional media and telenovelas) and audiences. Following a post-modernist approach, such as Ian Ang's (1996), my idea was that gender was not a fixed and aprioristic category (vg. predetermined through the socialization processes) that we could take for granted as decisive to how viewers interpret media contents, including the telenovela. Instead, I expected viewers to permanently reconstruct their gender identities, through the viewing process. This triggered a double-sided process. On the one hand, by letting themselves be questioned by what they saw, viewers entered a deep self-reflexive process about their own lives and trajectories. On the other hand, having a particular life story, a particular life course – namely a family one – gave them specific interpretative frameworks to face the media product. Therefore, although the majority of previous research had focused on social class as a sociological variable that would bring diversity to gender as a key variable to audience studies, I specifically chose to focus on life course, namely in one of its particular dimensions: family trajectory. The concept was operationalized through specific *turning points* (such as the first significant romantic relationship, moving in with a conjugal partner, conjugal rupture, birth of the first child) and *the ways each one of the interviewees experienced them* (the same turning point, such as beginning a co-resident conjugal life, was experienced in completely distinctive ways by women with different family trajectories, women that had gone through one or more processes of separation/

divorce, vs. women that had not). My idea was that having a particular life pathway, comprising emotional, personal and familiar experiences would give viewers a framework or lens to interpret the telenovela as a product and its contents about love, emotional relationships and family relationships. Thus enabling us to better understand the multiple and contradictory ways through which social actors reflexively appropriate themselves of media products and contents. In other words, to approach how social actors incorporate media products in their understanding of their own Self and the others. Life course – more specifically family trajectory – thus brought complexity to audiences' meaning-making processes, namely to gender as a key variable.

In a more recent work about the role of media in the shaping of private lives (Monteiro & Policarpo, 2011). I also had the opportunity to observe this privileged link between audience lives and media products, both situated in historical time and place. In a research about the History of Private Life during the New State and up to the beginning of the 21st century, one can observe the influence of major historical events, not only in the development of individual (viewers') lives, but also in the media landscape and, most importantly, in the intertwining of the two.

In Figure 1, we can see a set of photographs in a feminine magazine, *Crónica Feminina*, which began to be printed in Portugal in the late 50s. Here, we can see how gender identities were negotiated with the audience in contradictory ways. On the one hand, the photos represent a modern feminine lifestyle, made of a modern wardrobe and hairdressing, with a modern car as a symbol of a wealthy and cosmopolitan lifestyle, the suggestions of a boyfriend (non married). These icons of a modernity, of emergent values of the 60s, encourage women to identify with cosmopolitan lifestyles. They also overlap with a traditional romantic imagination, expressed in the dialogues. The social and historical background is one of an authoritarian society, where the gender double standard was extremely marked.



Photo-romance, printed in a feminine magazine, *Crónica Feminina*, late 50s¹.

In Figure 2, we can see the front cover of a photo-romance about a famous radiophone soap opera, which had its première at the Catholic Radio Broadcaster: *Simplesmente Maria*. Over its 500 episodes, many Portuguese women fell in love with the dramatic adventures of the young maid Maria, thus seeing in the life of the character their own life pathways. In fact, for many decades, since the 19th century, many little girls left their homes, parents and families in small villages of inner and rural Portugal, travelling to the big cities, such as Lisbon or Porto, to become maids in bourgeoisie households. The soap was broadcasted daily at lunch hour and the followers would cling to their radio transmitter in order not to lose a single episode, even during vacations, carrying it to the beach, under the hot summer sun. The image on the right shows the characters' dialogue about the sewing machine, as a way to earn a living. On the one hand, the allusion to the sewing machine hides a set of values that discourages the professional work of women outside the household, by assuming that it would

1) I wish to express my gratitude to Teresa Guerreiro, collector of the magazine *Crónica Feminina*, who kindly authorized the use of her collection (namely this image) for the purpose of this paper.

compromise her role as a wife and a mother. On the other hand, it represents a possibility of economic emancipation, for women. It thus becomes an ambivalent symbol, of both conservative and progressive values, in the sense that it enables the economical independence of women, though achieved within the rules of traditional morality, without leaving the domestic and private sphere (Monteiro & Policarpo, 2011).



Photo-romance, from a famous radiophonic soap opera, *Simplesmente Maria*, early 70s; in Policarpo & Monteiro, 2011².

Much of the research I have developed outside the strict boundaries of media and audience studies have also contributed to enrich my theoretical reflection on the audience's relationship with the media. As we live in a media saturated environment, I have come across this issue many times, even when I was not looking for it. It was the case with my research about the social construction of

2) I wish to express my gratitude to Américo Almeida, who posted these images in his blog *Santa Nostalgia*, kindly enabling their retrieving and use for the purpose of both my research and this paper.

sexual experience, where I could observe the importance of the relationship that audiences construct with the media along their life course to build their sense of Self identities, giving meaning to their sexual experiences and trajectories. For instance, it was possible to observe the importance of relating to media in particular life path transitions, such as puberty, the first kiss or the first sexual intercourse. I take one example, drawn from my research on life course and the construction of sexual experience (Policarpo, 2011). Monica is a Portuguese woman born in 1974 in the USA, in a migrant family that left a little village in rural inner Portugal to work in a North American cosmopolitan city, in the 70's. As usual in migrant families, many kinship members joined Monica's parents and they all lived nearby, in a strong community environment. Monica is kept at home until she entered a private catholic school, to prevent «bad influences» from the problematic neighbourhood: «*public schools were very weird, they looked like we were in the Bronx!*» However, influences from an urban society, so distant from the small village these immigrants longed for, come into the house through television. As she states:

«I first came across my own sexuality through movies... in some naïve way. (...) It was much more about kissing, cuddling... I remember when the man unzipped the woman's dress, in the back, that had such an erotic connotation, in that epoch. I thought it was very erotic.» [Monica, born 1974 in a migrant family]

Nevertheless, these media influences are mediated by her mother, her aunts, cousins and all the community. As she says,

«My mother... when she thought they were going too far... in those times they didn't broadcast explicit sex, but whenever she thought it was going too far, she would cover my eyes.»

Migration here represents simultaneously a major turning point in Monica's life (namely the abrupt return to Portugal, at the age of 7), an important life event and also a transition in Monica's family that shaped the beginning of her human

development in a long lasting way – all concepts of life course theory. As the example shows, the media have an important role in this development (here, her first contact with erotic stimuli), which we can only understand when put in her and her family's life course context: in fact, she would probably not have seen those movies if she were living in a small village of inner Portugal.

In this research, my use of life course theories, with its analytical tools, such as turning points, have led me to reflect further on my previous principle of audience research: understanding how individuals live their lives across time, the choices they make along the way, the experiences they have and the multiple and sometimes contradictory ways they cope with them, are crucial to understanding the ways they relate to media, negotiating meanings and therefore permanently reconstructing identities. Further in this paper, I will develop these concepts and its dimensions, as well as its potential for media audience research.

Drawing from this background, I can now establish some of my main research questions, which have been present, in one way or another, in much of my research: how do audiences negotiate meanings with media, within an environment where media are profoundly (though historically differently) embedded in everyday life? How are these meaning-making processes shaped throughout the life-course? How important is the relation with the media in shaping individual life course?

A proposal: accessing (past) media audiences through *life course*

At this point, I will try to develop *a proposal of a life course approach to media audiences*. As I think has already become clear, I believe that to better understand the relationship between audiences and the media it is indispensable to put them in the context of individuals' (the viewers') life course. This is true regarding the study both of present audiences (as was the case of my research about the Brazilian telenovela) and past audiences. However, when we consider past audiences, particular issues are at stake. Firstly, we are dealing exclusively with memory, media products are no longer available (at least in a traditional

broadcasting way) and, for media research, that is an issue which requires theoretical and methodological inventiveness. Secondly, we are dealing with very different social contexts, norms and media landscapes, which make them unsuitable for comparisons. Therefore, the research of past audiences calls for contextualising audiences in time and place, thus revealing the adequacy of one of the principles of life course theory: the *interplay of human lives and historical time*, which means that individual development must be understood in historical context. What I propose is bridging two theoretical and research fields: media studies, namely audience studies, on the one hand; and life course theory, on the other (a sociological approach).

Media and audience studies

In order to do so, it is necessary to put this approach in the context of the media audiences' paradigms of research. In 1999, Pertti Alasuutari identified three "phases of reception studies". The first one, "reception research", was mainly developed after 1973 Stuart Hall's article *Encoding/decoding*, within a cultural studies tradition, but also evoking others' contributions, such as functionalist Uses and Gratifications theory and the German reception theories about literary criticism.

The second one, "audience ethnography", following Morley's seminal studies (vg. on *Nationwide Audience*), developed a qualitative approach with a two-fold focus: on the one hand, analyzing the media products (mainly television); on the other, analyzing viewers' discourses about them, collected through in-depth interviews. From a substantive point of view, this approach focused primarily on politics of identity, namely gender identity, and that was when so many works explored the shaping of gender identities through media fictional products, namely romantic serials, such as soap operas. One could say that my previous work about the reception of the Brazilian telenovela could be considered within this tradition, nevertheless it already receives many influences of the inception third phase of reception studies, mainly by incorporating post-modernist conceptualizations of gender. Moreover, my work also focused on the

functions of the telenovela within personal life, the individual life course and family trajectories, thus referring to another distinctive feature of this second phase of reception studies, a certain return to a functionalist approach, namely a uses and gratifications approach. But most of all, this second generation of reception studies “studies the everyday life of a group, and relates the use of (a reception of) a programme or a medium to it. One studies the role of the media in everyday life on the reception of a programme” (Alasuutari, 1999: 5).

The third phase of reception studies is focused on a constructionist point of view and is defined by Alasuutari (1999: 5) as an emergent trend, which cannot be easily taken as a “clear-cut paradigm”, but rather one that “entails a broadened frame within which one conceives of the media and media uses”. Among the characteristics of this third generation, the author points out an *increasing reflexivity*, a move of interest *from audience psychology to sociology*, and a development towards *addressing a whole ‘media culture’* and not exclusively the mass media. An approach as the one I propose, of linking media audiences to life course theory, would be, from my point of view, inscribed in this third generation, with its sociological background that would broaden the scope of looking into audiences’ lives (in a dynamic and diachronic perspective, situated in historical time and place) to better understand their relation to media culture. I argue that certain principles and concepts of life course theory are particularly heuristic to approach the complexities of this relation, in a constantly changing media and culture landscape.

With partial resonances of this third generation, due to its strong sociological background, although claiming to be a breakthrough paradigmatic change, Nick Couldry’s (2004; 2012) theory of media as practice aims to decentre media research from the analysis of media texts and production structures to reorient it towards “the study of the open-ended range of practices focused directly or indirectly on media”. According to the author, “the proposed new paradigm is disarmingly simple: it treats media as the open set of practices relating to, or oriented around, media”. Following a sociological tradition about social practices (such as Bourdieu’s *Outline of a theory of practice*), the premise is that, “in the complexity of media saturated cultures”, one can no longer accurately separate media practices from other kind of practices that compose everyday life. The

proposal of considering media as practice starts by considering practice as not restrictively the practices of audiences (viewing, listening, reading, etc.), but all media-oriented practice. “A media practice approach asks, quite simply: *what are people* (individuals, groups, institutions) *doing in relation to media* across a whole range of situations and contexts?» (Couldry, 2012). His question seems to fit perfectly my own concerns about relating the individual life course and media practices (to use Couldry’s expression, instead of, from his point of view, the more limited expression *audiences*). When discussing the varieties of media practice, the author calls our attention to the fact that some have already been explored in media research, though yet little known; one of them is precisely the ways individuals use the media and its references to tell “stories about themselves, their family or historical events” (Couldry, 2004: 126). Exploring how these media practices develop across the life course, their expression and meanings, the intertwining between the two, seems, therefore, a promising line of research.

Is life course already considered in media studies? The case of fandom

At this point, one should ask: if life course is so important to understanding the relationships between media and audiences, why has it not been approached by media scholars? Or, if approached, why has it not affirmed itself as an important dimension in audience studies? The same question has been asked by Harrington & Bielby (2010); and Harrington, Bielby & Bardo (2011), in their studies about fandom. In their article about *A life course perspective on fandom*, Harrington and Bielby draw our attention precisely to this disjunction between the two theoretical backgrounds, which are usually kept apart: fan studies (within communication and media theories) on the one hand; and life course theories (within a sociology or gerontology framework), on the other. Though fan studies tend to include concepts close to a life course perspective, such as age, ageing processes and generations, the authors argue that there is not an explicit consideration of the life course theories, in this field of research. Their aim is precisely to underline the utility of a life course perspective to

fandom, which, they believe, will enable a deeper understanding of fandom, fan engagement with media objects as time goes by, including transformations that occur along the ageing process. An example would be the changing norms about “age expectations” of fan behaviour (“appropriate behaviour” during youth turns into “inappropriate” in later life) or the ways the lives of viewers are deeply related and develop across time alongside the lives of their favourite characters of a TV serial, the actors or even the programme itself. According to the authors, the structure of fan identities, practices and interpretative capacities are much more related to the ageing process that was initially conceptualized, which is why they propose to study fandom within a life course framework.

In their article *Life course transitions and the future of fandom* (2011) they go deeper into the concepts of life course theory (vg. transitions) to explore the relationship between fans and media and cultural objects. They introduce an important dimension: a demographic perspective that stresses the accelerated ageing processes of western post-industrial societies. The authors call for a necessity of engaging literature from fan studies, life course and marketing research not only regarding children and adolescents (which was widely done), but also adults and the elderly, in a context of greying societies. They relate fandom to this ageing process and life course transitions that occur during adult and later life, stressing that age is a relevant variable to take into account. Fandom is conceptualized over time, with an emphasis on concepts such as *emotional maturation* and *self-narrativization*.

As they state, “our central thesis is that the emotional anchoring provided through media fandom has come to supplant the anchoring provided by the institutionalized 20th-century life course.” From this one might say that media assume a role of emotional anchorage, in a context of ontological insecurity triggered by the destandardization of the life course in late modernity societies. Moreover, they argue that emotions are crucial to understanding fandom and its evolution. Changes in emotional engagement with fan objects may reflect crucial transformations of the Self along the life course. “To put it simply, the future of fandom is the future of affect (...). Affect is at the core of both fan and anti-fan experiences (i.e. pleasure and/or the pleasure of displeasure) and is a central source of the historical stigmatization of fandom” (Harrington, Bielby, &

Bardo, 2011: 577). Moreover, considering the concept of self-narrativization, the authors underline the centrality of autobiography and self identity construction in fan studies. Self-narratives, built over time within fan communities, are conceptualized as a “set of autobiographical experiences that, together with interpretations of those events, explain how a person came to be who he or she is and projects a sense of purpose and meaning into the future’ (Pasupathi & Mansour, 2006: 798; apud Harrington et al., 2011).

As we can see, the reflection about the intersection of life course theories and media studies has already begun. These articles are, however, and understandably, focused on fandom. But can we enlarge the scope of this approach to the study of media and cultural audiences? Including past audiences? I believe that the explanatory potential of life course theory to audience studies can yet be further developed. For that, I will briefly describe the main principles and concepts of the theory, relate them to the main issues of audience research and describe the main axis that could, from my point of view, structure an approach based on this interception of fields.

Life course theory: principles and concepts

Life course theories have developed since the mid 20th Century, with contributions from three major theoretical fields: sociology, with a major contribution of Glen Elder, since his work about the *Children of Great Depression* (1974). Social history, with a major contribution from Tamara Hareven (1987 and 1991) to understand the relationships between societal changes and the family and how individuals and families synchronize their time to accommodate the changing social conditions they live in. The concept of family trajectory, which I have used in the telenovela audience study, enables this linkage between societal time, family time and individual time. Finally, developmental psychology, whose linear concept of life cycle, built according to a stable model of development of family life around the entrance and exit of family roles (leaving school, getting married, parenting, children leaving parents home) helped to “contextualize peoples’ lives by emphasizing the social dynamics of ‘linked lives’”, thus “offering a valuable

way of thinking of patterning of lives.” However, it “lacked temporality. It did not locate people according to their historical time or life stage in the course of ageing.” (Elder, 1999: 4). Thus relying on the idea of universal and predictable life events and pathways (hence normative and sequential). In contrast, life course theory, while keeping this dimension of considering “linked lives”, underlines the *discontinuities* of life pathways and focuses on the multiple ways in which historical time, as well as social and cultural contexts, affect individual experiences at every stage.

Though the literature in life course theory is very extensive and even calls for theoretical development (see, for example, Mayer, 2009), I will follow Elder’s life course conceptualization (1994; 1998; 1999), for operational reasons. According to Elder (1998), life course can be approached from major theoretical principles.

1. The “**principle of historical time and place**: *the life course of individuals is embedded in and shaped by the historical times and places they experience over their lifetime.*” (Elder, 1998: 3).
2. “**The principle of timing in lives** states that: *the developmental impact of a succession of life transitions or events is contingent on when they occur in a person’s life.*” (Elder, 1998: 3). It is the case of early depression in adolescence and its repercussion in later age.
3. The principle of “**linked lives**: *lives are lived interdependently, and social and historical influences are expressed through this network of shared relationships.*” (Elder, 1998: 4). Historical events and individual lives are linked by family, by the way the latter mediates what happens within the household and outside it, between the micro and the macro level of social life. All family members lives are tightly linked, what happens to one will inevitably impact in the life of the others. Events are shared through family interaction and interpersonal contact. Although Elder, like Hareven, stresses the importance of family as a mediator of the impact of social changes and events (vg. war, economic crisis, etc.), he talks about “network of shared

relations”, which may include friends, co-workers, neighbours and, I argue, also media and cultural objects. As Elder puts it (1998: 3) «Historical events and individual experience are connected through the family and the “linked” fates of its members. The misfortune of one member is shared through relationships.» The same can be said about all types of significant networks we live with, including networks supported and/or including media technologies and contents.

4. The principle of **human agency**, which “states that individuals construct their own life course through the choices and actions they take within the opportunities and constraints of history and social circumstances” (Elder, 1998: 4).

These four principles constitute a framework to explore the development of human life across time, situating it in the historical and social time, in cultural and individual life context. It shatters the principle of a stable succession of (normative) stages in life, underlining (through the principle of human agency) the possibility of the same event or transition being experienced differently by individuals, even of the same generational cohort. At the same time, it stresses the discontinuities in the life course, which life cycle theories were unfit to explain, and which characterize more and more the individualized post-industrial societies, where “self-made biographies” are the new major social injunction (Beck, 1990; 2005).

Within these principles, the theory provides us with five main concepts (Hutchison, 2007): cohorts, transitions, trajectories, life events and turning points. A “birth *cohort*” is constituted by “those persons born in the same time interval and aging together. Each new cohort makes fresh contact with the contemporary social heritage and carries the impress of the encounter through life. This confrontation has been called the intersection of the innovative and the conservative forces in history. (...) A cohort may be defined as the aggregate of individuals (within some population definition) who experienced the same event within the same time interval.” (Ryder, 1965: 844-845). A *transition* is a “change in roles and statuses that represents a distinct departure from prior roles

and statuses” (Elder & Kirkpatrick Johnson, 2003; George, 1993; Hagestad, 2003, *apud* Hutchison, 2007: 14). Examples are entering school, puberty, leaving school, having the first job, leaving home, retirement. In each transition, individuals’ social roles and statuses change within the group of significant others (family, co-workers, friends, etc.), and members of those network enter, leave or change places. Transitions may also overlap in different areas of individual life. When they occur very early in life, they have a lasting effect on personal existence, as they may affect subsequent transitions and experiences, even after a long time. They have impact on individuals’ behaviour throughout life, activating “cumulating advantages and disadvantages.” (Elder, 1998: 7). A *trajectory* is a “long-term pattern of stability and change, which usually involves multiple transitions” (Elder & Kirkpatrick Johnson, 2003; George, 2003; *apud* Hutchison, 2007: 15). Because individuals live in multiple spheres, their lives are constituted by multiple trajectories that intercept each other: educational, professional, familiar. A *life event* is a “significant occurrence involving a relatively abrupt change that may produce serious and long-lasting effects” (Settersten, 2003; Settersten & Mayer, 1997, *apud* Hutchison, 2007: 15). It refers to the event itself, and not to its consequences, namely in terms of changes of roles and statuses (i.e., transitions). A transition is more gradual than an event and usually follows it. Finally, a *turning point* is a “life event that produces a lasting shift in the life course trajectory” (Hutchison, 2007). It is a dramatic change in the life course (Elder, 1998), but also a lasting one, which implies abrupt change and discontinuity in the course of action and life. Some, though not all, life events become turning points, as they produce a lasting change, and not merely a temporary detour, in the life trajectory. Individuals subjectively evaluate the life events they experience. Therefore, the same life event may be seen as a turning point by some individuals, and not by others. Less dramatic events may, on the contrary, be experienced as turning points.

The question, then, is: how can these concepts help us to better understand the relationship between audiences and media objects, including past audiences?

A life course approach to media audiences

Firstly, the principle of *historical time and place* helps to put audience relationships with media objects in specific historical contexts, which will influence both the development of individual life course and the media environment; in fact, in many cases, media are at the core of this historical context: it is the case with the emergence of a new technology, such as cinema, radio, television or, more recently, the mobile phone or the internet. Not only are these media changes embedded in wider socio-historical ones, but they also become the context within which individuals shape their life courses.

Secondly, the principle of *timing in lives* is of outmost importance, when dealing with media audiences. The moment when audiences make (the first) contact with media technologies, products or cultural object is determinant, as the developmental impact of this contact is contingent of when it occurs in a person's life. It is not irrelevant that one has (first) contact with a medium or cultural object earlier or later in life. For instance, contemporary young adults who have not acquired technological (vg. computer) skills are more likely to be excluded from the labour market, thus contributing to "cumulative disadvantages". As a two-sided process, on the other hand, the life history of the individual, that made him come into contact with that media product or object in that particular time of his life, may help us to understand the meanings he attributes to them. For instance, an old woman in her 70's, who has never used a computer, may begin to use it and attribute great importance to it because she now lives in an institution, her children live abroad and technology (like Skype) becomes the most practical way of getting in contact and seeing them, including the newborn grandchildren, whom she has never met personally.

Thirdly, *linked lives* are crucial to our understanding of contemporary relationships with media, in a media saturated landscape. If lives are lived interdependently, the events affecting an individual also affect (in)directly his personal network (family, friends, etc.), the members of the network having "linked fates" in which "the misfortune of a member is shared through relationships" (Elder, 1998: 3). Media must be incorporated as significant elements of those networks, both as facilitators of the networks themselves, and

as real elements of the network. As scholars of fan studies have underlined, as a soap opera is broadcasted during several (many) years, the lives of viewers and the life of the soap's characters will unfold in tandem, deeply intertwined. And this can happen not only with the characters, but with the actors themselves, also engaged in an ageing process, just like the viewers. To study the impact of media objects in past audiences one must then consider the way the viewers lives develop along their life course, linked with the media (their objects, products, technologies), as well as with other significant members of the social network. One must also explore how these linkages mediate the impact of social events and changes in audiences' lives.

Fourthly, the principle of **human agency**, which states that «individuals construct their own life course through the choices and actions they take within the opportunities and constraints of history and social circumstances» (Elder, 1998: 4), takes us back to part of my original topic: choices people make along their life course are crucial to understanding their values, the modes they shape their pathways, and the ways they choose to live with them (vg. either in a positive way or regretfully). Media products' reflexive appropriation will depend on this.

To understand media audiences in a life course perspective one must then unfold the biographies of individuals inviting them to narrate their own lives and, in the process of analysis, try to unravel the role media played in shaping their life pathways, among other social institutions and actors (such as family, school, teachers and colleagues, friends, co-workers...). In order to do so, one can use the analytical tools of life course theory.

Firstly, the concept of *cohort*, defined as a group of “persons born in the same time interval and aging together” or “as the aggregate of individuals (within some population definition) who experienced the same event within the same time interval.” (Ryder, 1965: 844-845), is extremely useful in researching not only past audiences, but also present ones. Because individuals are born in different historical times, they are not exposed to the same set of influences, including media influences. Moreover, when abrupt social and historical changes happen, comparing cohorts will enlighten the ways individuals went through

those changes, shaping their life courses in differentiated modes. These changes may be of many different kinds, including changes related to media landscape.

To study past media and cultural audiences, in Portugal, I propose to select four cohorts according to major events of our recent History, which had considerable impact in the whole population, experienced by many people as turning points. Those major historical events are: 1) the beginning of the colonial war (1961); 2) the carnation revolution and consequent democratic turn (1974); 3) entrance in the European Community (1986); 4) entrance in “information society” (2000). The cohorts should include people born 1) in 1960-1961; 2) 1973-1974; 3) 1985-1985; and 4) 2000-2001. The major societal changes that crossed the lives of all those belonging to these cohorts are intertwined with other major events, in the media landscape. Some examples are regular television broadcasting (which began in 1957); the end of explicit censorship and the broadcast of non-censored media contents that followed the 1974 revolution; the commodification of technologies during the 80s, such as colour TV and the video recorder, in a context of growing consumer culture; the beginning of private televisions broadcasting (1990s); the growing implantation of individualised technologies such as mobile phones, but also laptops and broadband internet access (2000s). Not only this is a programme for future research, but also it is a result of reflections based on previous research, namely the study about the History of Private Life in Portugal, since the 1950s (Monteiro & Policarpo, 2011).

We can take the example of television. Although it began its regular transmissions in 1957, its implantation in rural areas was slow. In 1960, around 60% of the Portuguese population still lived in households without electricity (Barreto, 1996: 132). In the 50s, the country’s economy was still mainly based on agriculture. The population had very low qualifications: in 1960, 66% of the Portuguese with 15 years old or more had no degree of qualification at all, of which 58% were men and 71% were women (source: Pordata). In a very low qualified country, television becomes an important way of getting access to information and culture. However, social inequalities across society, mediated by family interactions, systems of values and experiences, will bring differences to that contact between audiences and the medium. As the story of Maria, born in

1968 in a small village of rural inner and northern Portugal, illustrates (Monteiro & Policarpo, 2011):

«Access to books, newspapers and even television (information, culture, and so on and so forth...) never happened. (...) In my home, television arrived very late. Radio... we had very early (maybe we were the first ones to have one, back there, in the village). Television and telephone... I was 16 or 17 years old. The programme I never forgot and that I really watched every week with my father was "TV RURAL" ... and sometimes the news.»
[Maria, born in 1968 in a small village and rural family, lived with parents and 4 brothers]

Secondly, the concept of *transition* is crucial to understanding how changes in roles and statuses bring diversity and complexity to audience interpretation of media and cultural objects. In my previous research about the Brazilian telenovela, I could observe how distinct departures from prior roles and statuses, and consequent entrances in new ones (such as parenthood) would influence viewer discourses and interpretations of the telenovela (Policarpo, 2006). For instance, to Gloria, born in 1967 in an inner city of Portugal, the transition to a conjugal role was lived in an abrupt way, against the hegemonic moral rules of her family and surrounding community, becoming therefore a determinant turning point in her trajectory. At the age of 17, she decided to leave home to go to Germany with her boyfriend. This decision was made in the context of a mode of living the romantic and conjugal relationship characterized by fusion.

"It was in that time, in the city of, while I was studying at the Institute, he [the boyfriend] began to convince me... that I decided 'I'm going to Germany!'; I didn't ask for advice, I just communicated: 'I'm going to Germany!' And they [the parents] didn't give me any money, they didn't give anything at all (...) everybody was saying: 'there's no chance!' But when I say 'I'm going to do so something!', I will and I do it! And then, even if it was the wrong thing to do, it was as right as possible for me, at the time, and I had no way to change it. I could have thought... "I will first finish my

graduation and then... ' (...) but the love was too big... indeed... and there was nothing that could have made up my mind!" [Gloria, 33 years old, divorced, one daughter].

She suspended her relations, her lifestyle, her projects to embrace her partner's, literally postponing all personal projects the moment she decided to enter in "the great adventure of love". In this decision, she is activating her *human agency*. The intensity of this kind of decisions and feelings, upon which she built her life course, can be found in the way she engages with the media product and its objects. For instance, in the way she describes the main theme of the telenovela.

"I would say it is a love story between a couple, of a woman who fell in love with a certain Matheu, and that it was a very strong story (...) meanwhile, there was that disagreement of love... But in the end love prevails on all occasions... that is, it is more eternal; it always stays in our thoughts. They lived separate lives, but after they got back together, despite all the setbacks that may exist in life..." [Gloria, 33, divorced, one daughter].

The lives of the audiences and the way they relate to media and cultural objects are, therefore, deeply intertwined. Moreover, transitions overlap in different areas of individual life: for instance, getting the first job and the first co-resident conjugal relationship. When they occur very early in life, they have a lasting effect on personal existence, as they may affect subsequent transitions and experiences, even after a long time. In the case of Gloria, one could observe a process of "cumulating disadvantages." (Elder, 1998: 7), as the decisions she made early influenced her (romantic and family) behaviour throughout life. Later in life, she came back from Germany, after a divorce, with low qualifications (as she had left her higher education degree unfinished), without a job and with two children to raise alone.

Thirdly, the concept of *trajectory* may be extremely useful in understanding the engagement of audiences with media objects. In the previous research I have been citing, about the telenovela, I have explored the concept of family

trajectory, and I could observe that men and women with similar trajectories would present a similar set of values that would lead to similar appropriations of the telenovela. Men and women with “standardized” family trajectories, characterized by transitions occurring within the socially expected timing and without major “turning points”, would read and use the telenovela in non-emotional and more technical ways. On the contrary, men and women with less “standardized” family trajectories made more emotional interpretations of the telenovela. Therefore, I could observe that life trajectories are important in understanding the ways viewers engage with media objects. Also, “women do not always live in the prison house of gender” (Ang, 1996) and neither do men. Life trajectories – here, family trajectories – help to make our understanding of gender identities construction more complex through contact with media and culture.

Fourthly, the concept of *life event*, which is, as described above, a “significant occurrence involving a relatively abrupt change that may produce serious and long-lasting effects” (Settersten, 2003; Settersten & Mayer, 1997, *apud* Hutchison, 2007: 15). I will illustrate with the story of Susana, collected during the research about the History of Private Life in Portugal (Monteiro & Policarpo, 2011). The years that followed the 1974 revolution were of relative social instability, in Portugal, and many families had to migrate and change their ways of living, according to the structure of opportunities. Around one million Portuguese arrived from the former colonies and, abruptly, families and societies had to accommodate the impact of this major historical event, with a direct impact on personal lives. It was the case of Susana. When her father found a job in southern Portugal, after arriving from a former colony, she began to travel regularly with her parents. Her life pathway was very early shaped by the events that took place in the lives of significant others (father, mother – principle of linked lives), within societal constraints (lack of job opportunities and need to overcome economic needs). This event and the way it is experienced will have an impact on the relationship developed with the media and its objects.

“By that time, a few years after we arrived to Portugal, my father found a job in the Algarve. We used to travel every week to the south and I always

asked my parents to stop on the way, to watch the television serial Heidi. I was about four or five years old. I used to cry and ask my mother and eventually we would stop and I could see Heidi on the television of a restaurant, along the road... I think I never missed an episode! I could even watch the big ending!" [Susana, born 1972 in Mozambique].

Finally, the concept of *turning point*, considered as a “life event that produces a lasting shift in the life course trajectory” (Hutchison, 2007) that involves a dramatic change in the life course (Elder, 1998). Turning points imply abrupt change and discontinuity in the course of action of individuals. Some life events may become turning points. Moreover, the same life event may be seen as a turning point by some individuals, and not by others. One must not impose an event as a turning point, but try to understand when and in which conditions events turn into turning points, to different individuals. Turning points are crucial to understanding the meanings individuals give to media objects, an interaction that I could already observe in the research about the telenovela. Divorce is a major life event which is almost always experienced as a major turning point, with deep and lasting consequences in one’s life. The men and women I interviewed that had gone through a process of divorce produced completely different reflexive discourses about the telenovela and its contents. For instance, regarding representations of parenthood: divorced women tended to represent it as a (emotionally) constructed bond, on the basis of care; while married women (who hadn’t gone through a process of conjugal rupture) tended to represent it primarily as a biological bond. This was made clear when the viewers were asked their opinion about what I called the “adoption dilemma”. The experience of divorce, lived as a dramatic change in the life course, enhanced in them a process of self-reflexivity, forcing them to separate conjugal love from parental love, and leading them to question “taken for granted” biological bonds. Instead, their personal disruptive experience showed them that everything, even parental love, was the result of their own agency, effort and construction. Trying to unfold the ways this experience may help us to understand the engagement with the telenovela, I observed that they tended to identify themselves with the

adoptive mother, in contrast to married women, who identified themselves with the biological mother (though all of them were biological mothers themselves).

A completely different example is given by the story of Catarina, collected during the History of Private Life research. Born in 1986, Catarina went through a period of psychological distress and depression in her early 20s: a major turning point in her life course. Remembering that period, she recalls her engagement with a specific TV programme, a reality show.

“It was a very difficult time for me. I got really depressed and I couldn’t leave home. I sat here and waited excitedly for the programme, every evening. In that phase of my life, they [the characters] kept me real company. Now I feel much better, but even so I will miss them a lot. They kind of became my own family...”

Her personal history, namely her depression (a dramatic event in her personal life) became deeply intertwined with the life of the characters of the reality show. It was even as if her psychological condition evolved as the programme evolved. The end of the show is experienced as a separation (another turning point, though not so dramatic?) of dear and significant persons.

These concepts and consequent reflections draw attention to the fact that life course theories have underlined the discontinuities in peoples’ lives, many framed by structural factors and constraints (e.g. economic crisis that leads to unemployment), and thus giving a more complex account of the diversity of human development. My aim with this article is to argue that an articulation of this perspective with media and audiences studies is helpful, in two ways: on the one hand, to better understand the modes of engagement of individuals with the media, along their life course (e.g. the role and meaning attributed to a media product or practice will differ according to the time in life when it occurs; if the individual is passing through a difficult turning point, or if he is dealing with multiple transitions, such as becoming a grandparent, entering retirement or developing a health condition); on the other hand, to better understand how media contribute to shape individuals life course (e.g. helping them to overcome

certain life events and turning points; helping them to organize emotionally and cognitively their transitions in life; etc.).

In addition to what I have been arguing, I will say that this approach must be crossed at least by two dimensions: *gender* and *ageing*.

Gender has been considerably discussed by audience scholars, mainly since the second generation of reception studies, identified by Alasuutari (1999). In the constructivist approach that Alasuutari refers as the third generation, gender has been conceptualized as an ever-changing category, which cannot be taken as stable, closed and aprioristic, but rather contingent, under permanent reconstruction, dependent on individual agency but also on social contexts. I will argue that taking into account the masculine perspective is as important as considering feminine ones – an approach I already developed in my previous work. A research about gender identity construction that covers exclusively the feminine will perpetuate a predetermined framework based on a dichotomy that post-constructivist scholars have been deconstructing, using concepts such as performativity (Butler, 1990; 2004). Moreover, it will leave in obscurity a very important part of media audiences. One cannot assume that gender will automatically create a divide concerning the engagement with media and culture. As I observed in my work about family trajectory and reception of television products, women are not always closer to other women when it comes to address media objects, neither are men; instead, men and women with similar family trajectories were closer to each other, in terms of system of values and beliefs, as well as in the ways they interpreted the media product, when compared to persons of the same gender, but with very different family trajectories. Another important aspect is that the gender double standard that characterizes all societies must be put in historical context, considering the time and place in which it develops. Gender gaps and double standards in terms of norms that regulate sexuality and private life were profoundly different in the 1960s, the 1970s and today. A cohort approach will enable to catch these differences and, more importantly, how they were experienced through the life course (as the same individual may have lived through all those radically different social and historical phases).

The other dimension is *ageing*. As Harrington et al. (2011) put it, media studies (in their case, fan studies) cannot ignore the demographic decline that

characterizes western societies. In Europe, as well as in northern America and other post-industrial societies, life expectancy has risen considerably, given technological and medical advances, as well as better social conditions, at the same time that birth rates have decreased constantly. In 2011, Portugal is the 6th ageing country of the world, with 19% of its population being 65 years or more. Moreover, this ageing process goes along with a destandardization of the life course, which has challenged the life cycle approach (for instance in developmental psychology), shattering its linear model of sequential stages of life (education, work/parentality, retirement), namely through the expansion of the period of education/qualification; later entrance in the labour market; delaying the entrance in conjugal or parental roles; or retirement. At the same time, the diversification of individual trajectories coexists with the permanence of institutional framing and structure of individual time and life course (Cavalli, 2007).

Furthermore, despite negative stereotypes about ageing and elderly, Harrington et al. (2011) cite studies that draw attention to the fact that emotional experiences tend to be more intense in later life than during youth. This must also be true regarding media and fandom, they argue. This must not be ignored regarding any kind of individual engagement with the media and cultural objects, I argue. According to the authors, several studies show that "adults become increasingly skilled emotion regulators over the lifespan' (Magai, 2008: 378–9), and that our later years in particular are characterized by heightened emotional mastery and complexity." (Harrington et al., 2011). If there is evidence that adults tend to increase their emotional skills along their life course, then their role as "emotional mentoring" represents a wide potential to be explored, not only regarding fandom, but all audience studies (including intergenerational contact). It becomes important in two major ways. On the one hand, all audiences are ageing and greying, and the ways the elderly engage with media will become more and more important as life expectancy increases. Audience studies always begin by paying attention to children and young adults; the most recent example is the major concern with child use of internet. The same happened with life course theory, which began to pay attention to child and adolescent development, becoming unprepared to address life course issues during adulthood and old age

(Elder, 1999). In an ageing society, we will have more and more adults in later life consuming and living within a media culture. It is thus indispensable to consider all ages in a life course approach of audience studies. On the other hand, it becomes relevant if we think of collecting memories of past audiences. Here, emotion may play an important role. By facilitating older audiences to get in touch with the emotions felt along their life course, when in contact with media products, we may lead them through the process of reconstituting their singular experience of the media, through the narrative of their own life course.

Methodological considerations

With the focus of this article being a theoretical account and operationalization of life course theory to audience studies, it is necessary to notice the important methodological issues that emerge within this approach, and that cannot be fully addressed here. Methodologically, audience research, namely feminine audiences' and the way they relate to media, thus shaping gender identities and performativities, have been strongly based upon qualitative methodologies of data collection of oral discourses, such as in-depth interviews. This tradition partially reproduces a bias of social research in general, which has for a long time privileged oral discourses over other sources, such as images or sounds. Ethnographic approaches aim to cover this gap, namely in empirical research of present phenomena. However, given the volatile characteristics of media products, it is my conviction that in-depth interviews still constitute the main tool for researchers to access the reception of past audiences, given their orientation to the (re)constitution of memory through the co-production of a discourse. This is especially the case in biographical research, as one tries to understand retrospectively the role of media in shaping the social through the lenses of their complex relationships with specific events occurred during the life-course. I will then argue for the need to pursue in-depth (biographical) interviews, as an important technique of data collection.

I also argue that new technologies offer a vast potential to past audiences research and the reconstitution of memory. I focus on two different tools to be

explored in articulation with in-depth biographical interviews: Youtube and Blogs. Considering their potential as web-based memory archives, they allow the retrieval of past products and the (infinite) reliving of experiences. Both moving images and sound have an important role in the reconstruction of memory, through the (re)living of emotions. On the one hand, emotion becomes a major facilitator of memory and a helpful tool to the researcher, allowing access to past life events, reliving of transitions, turning points and thus facilitating the reconstitution of trajectories. On the other, as a life course approach to media audiences should include all ages of life (and not only children, adolescents, or young adults), namely individuals in later life stages, and given scientific accounts of “increased emotional skills” in these later stages, cited above, the use of emotions in social research will both enable the exploration of individuals role in “emotional mentoring” (Harrington et al., 2011) and enhance those emotional skills, hopefully contributing to a better personal integration of life experiences during the life course and, consequently, to a better quality of life in later years. Therefore, I argue that new technologies should be integrated in methodological designs, in two ways. Firstly, they can be used as facilitators of the (co)production of individuals’ discourses about their life course and their contact with media and culture (life course and audience experiences narrativization). Secondly, they can be used as audio-visual documentation that, through qualitative analysis, may help the researcher to indirectly reconstruct the life course of a medium, a cultural object, or even individuals (vg. through blogs). I will then argue for an integrated use of visual and audio methodologies in the research (Rose, 2007; Spencer, 2011).

Moreover, a life course approach to the study of media audiences will face particular challenges regarding mixing methods and innovating methods. Namely concerning the integration of quantitative methods, extensively used in life course studies, with techniques like Optimal Matching (Abbott & Tsay, 2000: 4), a method of sequence analysis that “take as inputs sequences of data rather than individual data points”, “ordered arrays”. “The identifying characteristic of sequence data is their ordered character”. For example, sequences of life events, in the life course. In his article about *The Life Course and Ageing*, Glen Elder (1999: 17) states, as a necessary advance in the field, the “integration of qualitative

and quantitative data in multi-level studies of the life course and ageing”. If this is still a challenge within life course theories, it is even a major challenge in a life course approach to media audiences (the latter being much more structured in qualitative methodologies). This integration should also include two dimensions, in order to access historical time and place: *cross-sectional* studies should be complemented with *longitudinal* ones, not only in quantitative designs, but also in qualitative ones (a much more rare methodological option in social sciences). To this already challenging objective, one must add the complexity of methods such as visual methodologies, web and digital ethnography, that enable access to the ever-changing media and cultural landscape.

Future developments in researching media audiences (including past media audiences) should then explore the links between individual (audience) life courses and the media, both considering how specific life events, transitions, turning points, trajectories and cohorts give context and influence the relation individuals develop with the media; and the role of media in shaping identities and personal lives, through the life course. Other issues emerging must also be taken into account, including: the diversity that emerges from the profoundly media-embedded environment we live in; the differentiation and complexity of media landscape we live in: omnipresence of television and mobile phones, growing access to internet, growing use social media, among others; the growing importance of social media, namely as facilitators of emotional bonding.

Conclusion

With this article, it was my intention to launch ideas, reflections and work hypotheses, as a contribution to research about (past) audiences based on a life course theory. I have argued that life course theory, from a sociological background, can bring helpful insights into the understanding of audience relationships with the media and cultural objects. It was my intention to bring together two different and well established “traditions” of research: audience research, within media and communication studies, on the one hand; and life course theories, within sociology, on the other hand. I tried to develop a proposal

of a life course approach to media audiences, arguing that, to better understand the relationship between audiences and the media, it is indispensable to put them in the context of individual (the viewer) lives and life courses. According to this proposal, how audiences engage with the media must be analysed considering *historical time and place*, the *timing of lives*, the *linking of individual's lives* and *human agency*. Audience relationships with media objects must also be looked at through *cohorts*, *life events*, *transitions*, *turning points* and *trajectories*. Furthermore, this approach should be crossed by at least two dimensions: gender and ageing.

On the one hand, I have argued that life course theory may contribute significantly to understanding the ways individual life affects (and affected, in the past) the relation with the media and their objects, in historically differentiated contexts. Individuals build their own pathways across their life course, making choices, though in circumstances they do not choose, in contexts of external societal constraints and unequal opportunities. The way they manage to do it across time is crucial to understanding the impact of media in their lives and, consequently, in society. For instance, similar transitions and turning points may be experienced very differently by individuals, according to many different factors, including historical context, or the timing in life or trajectory in which they occur. The same can be said about contact with media products. Moreover, life course theory enhances our understanding of the multiple inter-relationships between *individual time* and *historical time*. To link it with the study of media audiences will enable a different insight of specific historical events, and their relationship with the media landscape. In the Portuguese context, it is the case of the colonial war, the democratic revolution of 1974 or the entrance in the European Union, in 1986.

On the other hand, I have argued that audience research (including past audiences) may contribute to enlarging the scope of life course theories: in a context in which media are deeply embedded in individuals' personal and daily lives, it becomes indispensable to consider them as social spheres of action particularly relevant to the development of individuals' life course. Theory in the field began by paying special attention to spheres of social action such as

education, family and work. It is now impossible to ignore the media as one of those relevant spheres of action, along the life course.

Although the reflection about the intersection of life course theories and media studies has already begun, namely regarding fandom and fan studies, there is yet a large explanatory potential of this approach to be explored regarding media and cultural audiences. In order to explore this argument, I briefly described the main principles and concepts of life course theory, putting them in the context of audience research “traditions” or “generations” and essayed an operationalization of the theory, in the study of media audiences. In the end, I have made some methodological considerations, hoping to contribute to the complex debate on the possibilities of articulating different theoretical and methodological backgrounds, as well as the need for innovation.

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Chapter 3

The day women took over the tavern: harsh memories, hegemony and media reception

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This text is an exploratory approach to broadcasting reception in the context of Portuguese “New State” (dictatorial regime, 1926-1974) and in a particular working class community (textile industry town, Covilhã). It is part of the research project “Media, Reception and Memory: Female Audiences in the New State”, and it presents empirical material from a few life histories in order to discuss theoretical and methodological perspectives.¹

We approach media reception as social practice and look at a broader range of people’s experience within a historical period when broadcast reception turned from a marginal activity into an emergent practice, trying to apprehend its cultural dimensions. We are interested in women’s practices, bearing in mind the historical coincidence of patriarchal official ideology and people’s new experiences with media of symbolic communication.

1) This work is funded by FEDER through COMPETE – Programa Operacional Factores de Competitividade – and by Portuguese National Funds through FCT – Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia – within the project PTDC/CCI-COM/119014/2010.

[Media, Gender and the Past:
Qualitative approaches to broadcast audiences and memories, pp. 61 - 90]

1. Theory

1.1 Dimensions of reception and the past

In past audiences' research, the concept of reception is not always precise. Notions such as media reception, uses of media and media consumption often lack discrimination, appearing as blurred terms in the same approach (Jensen, 1993; Podber, 2007).

We think there are different dimensions within a broad concept of reception, and we believe that it is useful to start by distinguishing them. In spite of drawing artificial boundaries for analytic purposes, we nevertheless propose to conceptually differentiate between social *uses* of the media, material *consumption* of media artefacts, and *appropriation* of symbolic mediated forms.

The relevance of the concept of media *uses* lies in the idea that there is always some form of action that people engage into, which is a necessary condition for them to become an audience. This is valuable in researching about the past, since it opens the way to study practices which are specific to historical contexts, and changeable according to social and cultural frameworks. It must be noticed that the idea of media uses we adopt here is different from, and more specific than, the one employed within the “uses and gratifications” tradition of research (which designates virtually every aspect of the audiences' activity, including choices and assumptions about media content). What falls into our concept of “uses” are the ways and circumstances in which people listen to radio or watch television. We try to map historical audience activities in terms of individual use, family settings, or collective gatherings, as well as in terms of private and public spaces, in articulation with other activities, or considering the set of social relationships involved while people used the media.

The concept of *consumption*, on the other hand, acquired relevance in a context of a more and more commodified domestic life (Silverstone & Hirsch, 1994). The articulation of the media and consumption can be done on several levels, but the point we wish to stress is the fact that communication artefacts became objects of consumption in themselves. Electronic media turned up to be more than devices used to receive symbolic forms, and should be seen

historically as material objects (sometimes conceived as pieces of furniture) within the domestic economy, their ownership involving a set of goals, statuses and relations.

A specific sense of the concept of reception, within the tradition of reception studies, underlines the notion that the fundamental aspect of audience activity lies in the process of interpreting media texts. It evolved from a “text-reader model” and the notion of decoding, to approaches to audiences as producers of meaning in articulation with everyday life contexts, and involving reflexivity about larger meanings than just the ones inscribed in texts. Contributions from hermeneutics added that interpretations do not just imply giving meaning to symbols but also involved successive moments of self-understanding of the person who interprets them, thus an activity of *appropriation* rather than one of mere reception (Ricoeur, n.d.; Thompson, 1995).

We think that all three levels of analysis are valuable for historical research on audiences, and should be taken as intertwined analytic dimensions, just as they are simultaneous and articulated in everyday life. The circumstances under which a radio set was bought and brought into the home, the ways in which the different family members engaged in the listening, and the specific programs a person made sense of, all this may be approached as oral history, crossing personal testimonies and external coeval sources.

As social practices all these involved meanings, not just the interpretation of texts in themselves, but also relevant meanings about the very activity of listening and the social setting where it occurred. It is obvious, though, that these meanings are not retrievable from the past, and can only be reworked through memory, assuming that memory involves a reconstruction which is made by subjects in present positions, bearing redefined identities. Hence, the approach to reception as a set of meaningful social practices asks for an articulation with the study of memory.

The point we wish to emphasize is that memory is likely to have different articulations to the distinct levels of audience activity, namely the ones we defined as uses and as appropriation, and that it might be relevant to consider them as analytically distinct also from the viewpoint of their meaningfulness, especially for researching gender.

Notable empirical researches about memory of reception have identified types of media memories. Jérôme Bourdon's typology on television audiences distinguishes media events, wallpaper memories, flashbulbs and encounters (Bourdon, 2003), a typology that encompasses both uses and appropriation.

When we talk about media uses we don't refer to the kind of symbolic content involved, which may be of different nature, as Bourdon (2003) also pointed by discriminating planned televised ceremonies (media events) from dramatic unexpected happenings (flashbulbs). By discriminating the level of media uses, we look for the memories not focused on the interpretation of media content, but rather in the setting of reception, with its actions and relations between members of the audience. Thus, memory about media uses is more about meanings of *social action*, and not quite about the *symbolic meanings of media forms*.

Furthermore, we think that the distinct dimensions of reception potentially articulate in different ways with questions of hegemony, which are involved in gender questions. While memory of media uses refers to positions of *concrete social agents* and the relations between them while they were audiences (the person who evokes it now questioning, or not, the old frame that involved herself), memory of media appropriation is about media stories, characters, public events and people, thus having a symbolic resonance about positions and relations of *social types and representations*.

Surely, listening to a certain radio program can be, and often is, at the same time a media use and an activity of symbolic appropriation. But this analytic distinction aims to identify what the memory reconstructs and the discourse highlights: the reception of the program as a frame for social practices and relationships among the audience, or rather (or also) as symbolic content that is (re)interpreted.

1.2 Gender, hegemony and incorporation

The concept of hegemony, for its leading theorist Gramsci, means that a group's social power transcends economic rule and provides other groups with a moral and ideological leadership that conveys its own (ruling) interests. This

hegemonic power implies the production of consensus and consent from the subordinated, but it goes beyond the simple idea of 'false consciousness' and points a hegemonic field to be a battleground where different groups' alliances make up modes of transitory social cement.

Reworking the concept, Raymond Williams gave hegemony a view of historical process, thus never fixed, fully coherent or systematic, and rather composed of several kinds of social practices, that may be dominant, residual or emergent (as cited in Stevenson, 2002, p. 17). Williams also points to the existence of some practices that may be inherently contradictory in themselves, by simultaneously challenging and reaffirming the dominant hegemony.

Williams further elaborated what he thought as the combined cultural processes that produce the hegemonic: traditions invented and presented as fixed and natural; institutions such as the school and the media, who disseminate traditions in order to make consensus; and formations (social movements that misrecognise themselves as oppositional but in fact reinforce dominant perceptions).

Hegemony, according to Williams, does not allow us to expect that transformations in institutions or relationships will per se cause a change in predominant ways of experience and consciousness (Williams, 1983, p. 145). A specific hegemony can only be ruled out when replaced by an alternative hegemonic 'commonsense'.

Researchers about feminine media audiences, such as Ien Ang, also have pointed that hegemony, as consent to domination from the dominated, is "a process that is never finished because hegemony can never be complete" (Ang, 1996, p. 138). Martin-Barbero (1991), studying popular culture and media social uses, also points to the interlacing of submission and resistance.

This notion of hegemony as a process of securing and reproducing domination through the cultural practices of the subordinated, and the potential contradiction and incoherence of such practices, also lead us to argue for the usefulness of approaching media reception in a more analytically detailed manner, discriminating its several dimensions in order to examine different forces and trends involving media and gender relations.

Nevertheless it is important to acknowledge that other theoreticians of gender relations, such as Pierre Bourdieu, reject the notion of consent (paired

with imposition), preferring the idea of “enchanted submission” (1999, p. 35). What Bourdieu proposes by this is a conceptual dislocation from the realm of consciousness (supposedly invaded by male power and interest) to the realm of order, a set of lasting structures that inscribe themselves in things and bodies. More than just an ideology that takes over the minds of the submitted, what Bourdieu argues to really count for the maintenance of domination is that the subordinated take the viewpoint of the dominant, which in terms of gender is rooted in the fundamental asymmetry of placing men as subjects and women as objects in the economy of symbolic exchanges (Bourdieu, 1999, p. 36).

Giving to women this lasting social status of objects, for Bourdieu what is at stake in research about gender is to uncover the historical mechanisms and institutions that continuously have been operating in order to show masculine domination as apparently separated from history, which means to find naturalised what is a cultural and arbitrary notion (Bourdieu, 1999, p. 3).

Following his conceptual approach of “dispositions”, as structured practices that are incorporated by social agents, Bourdieu points to the symbolic construction that not only builds up gender representations, but that mainly operates by “imposing a differential definition of the legitimate uses of the body, namely sexual, which tends to exclude from the conceivable universe of what can be thought and what can be done anything that is marked as pertaining to the other gender” (Bourdieu, 1999, p. 20). Masculine order, Bourdieu argues, thus inscribes itself in things and in bodies through the routine tactics of the division of labour or the rituals of individual or collective character.

In this process, the domestic seems to be the place for perpetuation of masculine domination, but Bourdieu argues that, contrary to what most feminist research have concluded, the fundamentals of masculine domination should be looked for in social institutions, as the State or the school system, that have been imposing in the private sphere the principles of gender division and hierarchy (Bourdieu, 1999, p. 4). We should ask, then, what has been the place and role of media in the process, as social institutions.

A relevant difference between theories of hegemony and Bourdieu’s theory of symbolic domination is the role of ideology in the possibilities of

transformation, an important aspect in what concerns the media as a system of ideas and representations.

While Williams conceives transformation in hegemony not to derive necessarily from changes in relations and institutions, and gives the cultural level a salient role in the creation of new predominant forms of consciousness and practice (Williams, 1983: 148), Bourdieu argues, instead, that converting, or enlightening, consciousness is not enough for “symbolic revolution”, because submission doesn’t lie in the consciousness of the subordinated. According to Bourdieu domination can only be subverted by a radical change in the production of dispositions that lead the dominated to see themselves by the viewpoint of the dominant, which means for women to be objects in the symbolic economy of men (Bourdieu, 1999, p. 36).

The Portuguese New State period, in its sociological data and government’s official ideology and symbolic representations, may be seen as a solid patriarchal system. Observed from today’s Portugal, women’s practices and images then may be seen as archaic, now that reality includes large female employment rates, higher educational levels than males’, and the normality of divorce.

Through women’s memories, particularly the ones about media, we aim to identify and understand the hegemonic field of gender in the past – with its possible dominant and contradictory practices. But, in doing so, we also should take into account the structure of dispositions secured by prevalent gender relations, which frame the actual discourses from women.

2. Historical context

Unlike Italian fascism, Portuguese New State was not a modern regime in its essence, but rather a movement inspired in an idyllic rural model, where a society based on agrarian social structures, hard work and austerity was praised.

In 1930, 80% of the country’s population lived in rural areas and half of the total labour force worked in agriculture; the birth rate was 29.6 per thousand inhabitants, almost the double of United Kingdom’s (16.3). By this time, two thirds of the population that was employed in industry worked in traditional

sectors (of which the textile was the most significant). The labour force in the textile industry steadily grew and in 1950s still 41% of industrial labour force worked in textile factories. Traditional industries prevailed, fuelled in rural regions by a semi-rural population that complemented low waged or unwaged family based work with subsistence agriculture or fishery. This phenomenon was not, however, the case of Covilhã where due to the long established industries and syndical tradition, proletarianization was fully achieved (Rosas, 1994).

As a result of demographic pressure over the overpopulated countryside, the transference of labour from the countryside to the city had reached its peak in the region in the beginning of the 20th century, transforming peasants and shepherds in proletarians in an expanding urban centre. In absolute numbers, the urban population of Covilhã grew until the 1960's wave of international emigration. The wool industry employed more than 4.000 men and women in 1937 and more than 7.000 in 1957 (Pinheiro, 2008). This number would escalate until it reached 9.000 workers (Pinheiro, 2008) within an urban population of about 25.000 in 1970.

The early stages of industrialization had privileged a certain degree of social mobility of previously waged workers who managed to become the owners of their own small factories. Some of these self-made men would become the big industrials of Covilhã in the period under appreciation. But social mobility was dreaded by the totalitarian government that originated in the 1926 *coup d'état*. In the 1930s, in the awake of the 1929 financial crisis, the government imposed internal protectionist measures that restricted the establishment of new factories, thus protecting the already established industrials. The industrials organized themselves in a *grémio* (corporatist organism) that imposed limitation of production and fixated price-guilds (Pinheiro, 2008, p. 294).

During this period the town was very sharply polarized into a small elite of wealthy factory owners and thousands of blue collar workers living in squalor. Estimations at the national level tell us that in the 1930s the wages of a man covered only 72% percent of the total expenses of an average modest family

(as cited in Rosas, 1994).² As the work at the plant was not complemented with subsistence agriculture, all the members of the family had to contribute with their salary to the household, regardless of sex or age.

Thus the State's ideological model of housewife without a job, and the conformation of the working classes to the bourgeoisie family model, cannot be accounted to exist in Covilhã. The way the family organizes itself in the household and work seems to be closer to some older working-class contexts in Portugal (Almeida, 1993): both men and women at the earliest possible age worked in precarious conditions in exchange for a salary; the women could leave work temporarily only when maternity would demand it, as her salary was vital to cover the family expenses.

This family model coexisted with the State's rhetoric of woman's valorisation as a mother, placing females into the household, promoting family as a corporation of unequal members, and subjecting women to mechanisms of social control of their sexuality and surveillance of the body (Ferreira, 2011, p. 256). At national level, women were legally forbidden of performing certain jobs, travelling abroad without the husband's permission, and pleading for divorce was only permitted in case of husband's adultery and only when it involved public scandal.

We should not however link this vigilance and discipline of women solely with the specificities of the New State corporative ideology. Anthropologist Sherry Ortner notices that concerns about the purity and honour of women exist in many patriarchal societies. The integrity of the family members, specifically of women, asserts for the capacity of men to impose discipline within the family in stratified state-type structures.

The masculine domination is thus a social construction that has been historically reproduced in social structures and everyday acts of domination by singular men and women, but also by institutions such as the family, the school and the State (Bourdieu, 1999). Hence, the New State did not inaugurate an

2) Writer Ferreira de Castro, in his 1947 realist novel *A Lã e a Neve (Wool and Snow)*, set around the time of the big strikes of 1941, described in detail various aspects of the extremely poor living conditions of the wool industry workers in Covilhã: the dark, too small and insalubrious houses, the lack of food, the paradoxical shortage of blankets in the home of those who worked in the wool industry.

all new world cosmology, but because it adopted a conservative standpoint, it reinforced the already existent cultural values of patriarchy.

As an example of this reinforcement, it should not go unnoticed that, although the Virgin Mary cult was already an important part of Catholicism and paramount in religious culture, it was during the New State that Our Lady of Fatima became a national icon, as the annual celebrations in the sanctuary were broadcasted by the national radio and television, thus becoming a national event. The fact that the broadcasting of this type of events is one of the things that the women we interviewed recall the most is symptomatic. Conditions of reception of this type of programs reveal a gendered dimension that gives the title to this paper and which we will account for latter.

Another common reference in women's memories is the *fado* singer Amália Rodrigues. The way Amália is represented is also representative of the vigilance of women's sexuality and repression of autonomy during this period. In real life, Amália was a divorced and childless woman. She attained success in the radio and theatre, before starting a career also in cinema, where the first two characters she portrayed resembled very much her own already public life: a *fado* singer that refused to surrender to marriage. A structural analysis of the film's narratives may be summarized as follows: after denying marriage (and consequently family and domesticity), Amálias's character spends a great part of the film singing about destiny (the meaning of the word *fado*) as she falls into disgrace due to events that relate to that denial. Both films end with her final surrender to marriage as coincidentally her problems fade away.

3. Fieldwork and life histories

It is known that life history, as the most qualitative social research methods, requires cautions towards the record of events by biographers, but it in turn allows for what Portelli (2008) argued as the main achievement in oral history, which is to give access to the meaning of events for the ones who participated in them. When we deal with common people, deprived of other means to deliver their accounts of the past, there may be no other way to apprehend some past actions. And, crucially, it may also let us know about thoughts and feelings

attached to those actions, subjectivities that would remain unsuspected if other research methods were employed, as proven by the following passage of one of our interviewees³.

I was still one of those little girls that went to the catechism on cloth scuffs. I didn't know what shoes with a sole were. When I saw someone wearing shoes with a sole, I used to follow that person. How much I enjoyed listening to the sound of the soles on the pavement!
[Ilda, born 1945]

Biographic sources do not only speak to us about events, they also tell us what people intended to do, what they believed they were doing, and what they now believe they did then (Portelli, 2008, p. 36).

The life-history approach allows us to situate the subject's life experiences in her sociocultural and intersubjective context, thus putting a light on how people negotiate their identities, interpret and engage with social norms. This integration of the individual within her relational context has special utility in studying gender (Almeida, 1993; Brasão, 2011; Summerfield, 2004). But the account of past events reveals the narrator's present interpretation of the past. Another benefit of an oral history approach as presented by Rosenthal (2006) and Summerfield (2004) is that it offers an effective way of intertwining memory and subjectivity, because it relates personal experience to historical social context and social positioning, allowing to take into account the influence of dominant public discourses in our subjects' making sense of the past.

The participants in our study in Covilhã are women from a working class framework, belonging to two ideal-type generations, which we aggregated for comparative ends: one born before the II World War (1939), and another one born from 1945 until 1957.

It has been noticed (Bird, 2008) that few data about the past addresses directly media usage. It demands the researcher to start from other practices, "looking for social practices around media", rather than for media usages in themselves

3) All interviewees cited in this text are not identified by their real names.

(Bird, 2008, p. 96). We think that life history as a method for researching the past of media audiences faces a similar need to search around. For that reason, we have been conducting two semi-structured interviews with each subject, the first one based on the subject's free account of her life history, and the second one more structured around our inquiry about media and gender.

In the first interview we would start by asking the interviewee to present herself and tell the story of her life. Once the first moment of free narration had reached an end, we would follow the subject's narrated life stages inquiring in more detail about topics of household, public spaces, goals and aspirations. The second interview would be applied some days after the first one and would start with a listening and/or visualization of radio and television contents that the subject might have referred to in the first interview. This would ideally help the subject to place herself in the moment of listening/watching. The inquiry would follow, with questioning on the themes of: a) Media reception (where we tried to locate the media uses and symbolic appropriation within the places, events and relationships described in the first interview); b) Gender in life history (where we go back to topics narrated in the first interview that relate to gender relations and make objective questions or try to make the subject give more details about them) and c) Gender and media (where we would show all the interviewees the same collection of pre-selected media texts and apply a structured open-ended questionnaire about each one of them).

This life-history approach may allow us to get a thicker analysis not just diachronically throughout a certain period of time, but also in synchronic terms, at the same time distinguishing and articulating the several dimensions of reception, and other relevant social data. It seems to us that this value of life histories is enhanced when we approach a web of biographies rooted in the same place and period, trying to understand cultural practices of a community and to ground media reception into them. The material we selected for this text comes from the life histories of five working-class women.

4. Women, social practices and media reception

At the national level, in the New State period, the textile was the industrial sector with higher rates of women employment. Women in Covilhã used to entry into the labour market immediately after primary school (3rd or 4th grade), around the age of ten or twelve. Before they entered the factory, children would sometimes perform tasks outside the plant, such as carrying pieces of cloth from the plant to the houses of women who darned at home and then back to the plant. In 1934 the State reaffirmed the prohibition of work under 12 years of age, but this prohibition was overlooked by the employers, as was the 8-hour workday and the prohibition of night shifts for women. The story of how they, as under aged workers, went through some adventure when tried to hide from labor inspectors, is a current account among our interviewees.

Women usually worked in morning shifts, from 6.30am to 3pm, or in the afternoon, from 3pm to 11.30pm. They often worked second jobs, usually cleaning homes and offices. It was customary that young girls would accompany their mothers in their cleaning jobs and help them. After marriage, they would continue this job alone. In the 1950s and 1960's, the selling of homemade pastries also became a second source of income. At home, the housework was entirely performed by women.

(And what about chores? How were chores divided? After marrying, how were the chores ...?) What chores? There was no division [laughs]. The men did nothing at all. (...) My husband, if he needed a handkerchief, he would tell me:

- Give me a scarf there!

If he needed socks, he said:

- Give me the socks there!

And he had the things on the nightstand, next to him. There were no chores.

The chores were all for women, not for men. And at that time, if men did these things, they were sissies. And they didn't want to be sissies.

[Maria, born 1935]

Besides the housework, women who worked as darners at the factory (workers whose function was to find and repair defects) would take pieces of cloth home and continue the work. They used to sit down in the evening under the oil lamp, after all the housework was done. In summer this was done at doorsteps. The small size of the houses and the hot weather during the summer forced people into the street. Beside the conversation women entertained in while darning at the doorstep. The neighbours would sometimes join together and organize dance balls in the street. These balls were very cherished by young women as rare opportunities for socializing outside the home, as they were sometimes allowed to go to balls in other neighbourhoods or recreational centres. Even in those rare occasions, they could only go if accompanied by siblings, neighbours or parents. The attendance of these balls however, was usually interrupted as soon as women married or committed to a boyfriend.

(Did you use to go to balls together?) Then it was him who forbade me to go to the ball. *(Who?)* My boyfriend, who was later my husband. *(He forbade you at the age of 15?)* Yes. (...) *(You were telling me before that your boyfriend at the time did not ... would not let you go to the ball dances. What about after marriage?)* Once married, I'm telling you: the first years of marriage, he walked everywhere and I worked. Then when he began to get sick, he stayed with me. *(However, when you married you had already stopped going to balls ...)* No, it was just when we started to date, he told me: - If you will do what is my willing, you will not go to ball dances anymore. *(And would you walk together in public sites sometimes?)* No, no. No.
[Maria, born 1935]

Hence, during this period, women were forbidden by invisible structural forces of male domination (Bourdieu, 1999) and sometimes by the detectable forbiddingness of her father, mother, sisters, brothers or husband to attend most of public spaces.

After marriage, everyday sociability outside the sphere of family and home was almost entirely restricted to the factory where she worked and the market where she purchased food. The mother of the family was in charge of managing

the home finances. Every working member of the family would give her their weekly wages, which she would use to buy the necessary food and other items that the family needed. However the husband was allowed to save a part of his wages to spend “with his things”.

(When you went to work at the factory it was only you and that brother who lived in your parents' house?) Yes, yes, it was. I enjoyed earning wages that I could give to my mother. *(Was it your mother who received the wages of everyone and who managed the money?)* It was, it was. *(Later, when you married, was it also you who received the wages from your husband?)* (...) Yes, when I got married he had to give me his wages. He kept some pocket money, do you understand? It was like that in the old days. My husband smoked. He gave me what he should give me and he kept some for the rest.
[Ilda, born 1945]

Hence, although it was usual for women to work outside the home, housekeeping was a feminine task and the home a feminine site. Men, on the other hand, spent most of their non-working time in the many taverns that existed, spending their pocket money.

The radio set was introduced in the homes of our interviewees since the late forties, sometimes still in their parents' home. Before that, they might have listened to the radio coming from their neighbours houses who would turn on the volume or put the radio at the window so that the neighbours could listen. The most popular programs were the football matches on Sunday afternoons, popular music, soap operas and the variety programs that were broadcasted nightly («*Serão para Trabalhadores*»/«Evening for Workers» and, in the 1950s «*Companheiros da Alegria*»/«Companions of Joy» were the most popular). At home, listening was not exclusive, as our interviewees remember to always be performing some housekeeping related task, darning or eating while listening. Men, on the other hand are recalled to just be sited and listening.

(Football used to be on at any specific day of the week?) Sunday. At Sundays. It was not like it is today, now they play all the week ... By that time, no.

It was only on Sundays. (*At what time?*) In the afternoon. (*And your father was at home listening?*) Yes, yes. (*Was he doing something while listening?*) No, he did nothing. Before the men did nothing besides the factory work, they did nothing at home, it was not like today. There he was, sat, watching. He was... pretend, here is the radio on top of the table, and he sat next to it and put his hand, and there he was, listening [exemplifies how the father sat next to a table where the radio was, with an elbow resting on the table, and his hand holding his head while listening].
[Maria, born 1935]

Television sets were introduced in the homes of our interviewees only after they were married. The television was not a technological priority and entered the homes relatively late in the 1960s, but mostly in the 1970s. Still, women continued to not dedicate exclusive time to watch television in their homes, but doing it while performing housework.

The occasions where there is some time dedicated to exclusively watch television is when this is done at someone else's home. Evening gatherings at a TV owner's home in the 1960's thus seems to have meant the institution of routine daily leisure for a number of working class women in Covilhã, for the first time. Family groups, mainly composed of women and children, would visit a 'TV neighbour' or relative, spending there a couple of hours of rest and entertainment.

I think my sister was the first person to own a television set in the neighbourhood (...). In the evening we went all there, to my sister's, everybody sat on the floor. Some could have a seat, others didn't, because... there were not many chairs, and the house was small as well. (...) And then we went all there to watch, my sister Augusta – she didn't have a TV set yet –, my mother and my father, and other female neighbours, everyone there watching television. (...) It was a great joy for all of us, for everybody. (...) We used to watch bullfighting... We had to watch all the programs, while we were there.
[Ilda, born 1945]

However, owning their own TV set seems to deny again the possibility of exclusive watching. Working class women's access to daily time without work proves to be not a straight line in their life history after television appeared. It rather had ups and downs, alternating periods of access and denial, according to their social circumstances throughout life cycles, and the oscillations in economic resources and family shape.

After marrying, I came here and then I had... In five years time, I had already two children, and it was very difficult, we earned very few money. I think it was past seven years that we bought a television set. It was like that in the old times, we would like to own one, but no...

[Ilda, born 1945]

My life was a hurry, my elder daughter was born, then my husband, when she was two years old, he became a policeman and went to Lisbon, meanwhile the youngest girl was born as well, so I didn't have time for anything, less to watch television. I was alone and I didn't even have a washing machine or hot water. I didn't have the facilities that, thanks to God, I have today. (...) I used to wake up at 6 o'clock in the morning because my job was far away, and I always walked because I had no money for the bus. I used to bring my elder daughter, she already walked, and I carried the little one in my arms with the bag with diapers.

[Paula, born 1951]

5. Memory and discourse

In life histories we do not only accede to the past through personal and collective memories, but we also do it through language and discourse. Moreover, relations and actions mentioned in speech may report to the past, but discourse about them is produced in the present. This invites us, apart from mapping historical practices, also to embrace discourse analysis.

Critical discourse analysis offers a “focus on dominance and inequality” (Van Dijk, 1993, p. 252), and particularly on the conditions of reproduction of power relations through discourse. Hence the methodological association of life history and critical discourse analysis may provide research with an understanding of subordinated groups’ representations of past and present in terms of its involvement in power relations, eventually pointing to vectors of reproduction and vectors of change. Discourse may disclose dominance in naturalised hegemonic ways that legitimate control and privilege of one group over others, or it may convey awareness and critique of inequalities. Some levels of discourse analysis we take into account are the semantic roles of agents (active or passive), agents’ identities, lexical choices and implicitness.

Moreover, in discourse, life histories become also life stories. That is to say each interviewee approaches her biographic accounts by way of a whole narration. This can also be fueled by researchers that force people into a specific sort of memorization, but we do not discuss here the degree of possible ‘artificiality’ life narratives have in a research context. What we wish to underline is that life story is a meaningful resource for research and should be analysed as a specific kind of discourse (especially important about identity questions and the meaningfulness a person ascribes to her own life), besides the life history – that we understand as the researcher’s attempt to reconstruct the facts and contexts of a person’s life by way of collecting and interpreting a set of data about it, that may originate from several sources.

Following Gabrielle Rosenthal, we think that understanding articulations between memory and media reception demands researchers to notice that not every speech about the past is narrative discourse. Namely, autobiographic discourse can be divided in narrative and argumentative (Rosenthal, 2006). Argumentative discourse is marked by a statement (a critical discourse analyst would call it a “macroproposition”) in reference to which the speaker then collects past acts or events, as pieces strategically taken from the memory to demonstrate or illustrate the argument. Arguments thus are closely tied to the subject’s present positions and viewpoints.

Narrative discourse, on the other hand, develops elements of reminiscence less clearly connected to present perspectives. Narrative mode can be taken

as sign of an attempt of memory to reconstruct a certain scene, time, event or sequence of actions. It proceeds by evoking some things and speak it in a chronological sequence of happenings, precisely what a narrative is.

Narration or argumentation do not happen only when people regard life story as a whole, but can also constitute the mode of evoking particular episodes. Of course, these types of discourse may be employed in remembering media related situations, and also as ways of speaking about past media content.

5.1 Memory of media uses

Given that they were submitted to early age labour both at home and away, these working-class women did not have to wait until they become housewives to experience what researches such as Hobson's points to as the inadequacy of conceiving broadcasting media as a device to fill spare time (Hobson, 1980). This appears in remembrances of media uses.

(How was it on Saturdays? At what time was [the program] Evenings for Workers?) It was in the evening, after dinner. It was after the news. Er... we, I mean... well, as my job was at home, I was working and listening... Er, of course my stepmother and my sisters, well, one was doing home tasks and always listening to Evening for Workers. *(What about your father?)* My father used to listen too. Well, my father, for sure, he was in a rest as he listened to it. Er... when it was wintertime, well, then there were the fireplaces, people sat down next to the fireplace listening.

[Maria, born 1935]

This is a kind of narration that evokes radio listening as tied to the domestic ecology of work and leisure. In the immediate post war (1945-1950), a Saturday evening of a working-class family is told as a moment of conspicuous gendered (unequal) roles, Maria darning for the factory, somewhere between the age of 10 and 15 years old. Nevertheless, the speech does not explicitly address gender roles in terms of inequality. An analysis of discourse may tell us more about

inequalities incorporated in speech and spoken as unquestioned differences, which can be marks of hegemony.

By evoking the scene, Maria starts to frame it into the memory of family, the collective identity where “we” were altogether at home in Saturday evenings. But when she attempts to describe the uses of radio she cannot detach them from social practices, and what happens is that her discourse splits up the family in three kinds of actors: herself, darning; the other female members doing the chores; and the father, listening.

Another relevant point in Maria’s discourse is the choice of *neutral* agents in the sentences “*one* was doing home tasks” and “*people* sat down at the fireplace listening”, effacing the concrete usual subjects of the actions, and their gender. Although the structure of domestic activities is shown to provide the father/men with the *normal* ability to rest/listening, and the mother/sisters with the *normal* duty of work/listening, when it comes to describe the distribution of work and leisure, Maria’s speech does not only naturalizes the division of these activities, but also language conceals what is a gendered norm, by presenting them as if they pertained to anyone or to “people”.

Discourse dimensions such as agents’ identities and their semantic roles thus can be relevant to understand the attitude of women towards the social and media practices evoked.

Discourses about media uses comprising gender meanings are not confined to the home, and it is obvious that collective and public audience practices should be inquired especially in the early ages of radio or television.

(Do you remember any remarkable event on television?) (...) I remember watching the Pope when he came to Fátima... How was he called? John Paul I. When he came to Fátima, the taverns were for women in that day. Everyone was in the tavern. The men... True! I had a [male] neighbour... I don’t know, until it finished no one came out. My neighbour arrived there and said «Ei, Rita, so today it’s for me to come and call you in the tavern?» Women were all there, because, I mean, few people had a television set, and that was a happening, well, as far as I can remember it had never happened before. He came to Fátima and we all went to the tavern. I was a young girl,

and I remember going to the tavern to watch the Pope. The whole morning.
We were all there until Fátima ceremonies ended.
[Aida, born 1947]

Here, the main subjects are collective identities, women and men, the event being evoked through a gendered framework of memory. Later on two particular agents come into discourse, which again points to the salient social relation of husband and wife, underlying that the relevance men and women have in this scene lies in being couples.

The happening Aida refers to – the meaningful fact – is not the media event, but the social situation involving certain people in a certain place, an inversion of the ‘normal’ gender roles. This again shows that much memory of media audience activity is a memory of social action in itself, it is a signifying practice, or a set of meaningful practices, and not just an encounter between reader and text for purposes of content reception and interpretation.

Now, this episode articulates a certain type of practice – a media use – with a certain type of memory – a specific narration – in a framework of gender. But what does it tell us about relations between hegemony and media memory?

Aida displays the event in its exceptionality, as a media use (and ceremonial event) that did not convert space into a permeable territory for both sexes, but rather as substituting occasionally one gender by another, as a ritual that, instead of effacing lines of separation, confirms the sense of gender difference and the distinction of gender roles and its ascription to spaces.

Nevertheless there is a piece of comparative discourse within this narrative memory, when she says that “it had never happened before”. Implicitly this is a reference to the possibility that had been opened after that for women to go into public places previously seen as male only. This new possibility is presented as being due to television. Thus we may consider the hypothesis of television being incorporated in women’s discourses as a practice that legitimated a more blurred use of public space in what concerns to gender.

On the other hand, we should not forget that this episode of a specific television use occurs by the occasion of a particular media event related to

catholic religion, which was at the ideological core both of the political regime and the patriarchal social system.

We argue that this single attitude of permissiveness of women's presence in a markedly masculine place happened at least partly due to the fact that religion was interpreted as the source of the moral values that women, as the family guardians were obliged to cherish. Moreover, the Virgin Mary represented two ideal albeit paradoxical virtues of woman in a patriarchal cultural system: virginity and motherhood.

Aida's discourse does not say anything about interpretation of content, but this case may exemplify a potential split between the level of media social use and the level of symbolic appropriation. In the specific context of the 1950's and 1960's Covilhã's working-class, could it be that women watching (official) television programs in public spaces was one of those practices that Raymond Williams pointed as inherently contradictory, at the same time challenging and reaffirming the hegemony?

5.2 Consumption of media artefacts

The level of media consumption leads us to look at communication devices as part of the symbolic economy of the domestic, with meanings being attached to them within the ecology of the home and the family. At this level there are three aspects to be referred: the agency and the meanings of consumption; the purposes of buying radio or TV sets; and the status of media devices as family gifts.

When married, women act as agents that have autonomy to decide whether they should buy a TV set or not. Women tend to speak about these acts in the first person: "When I bought the TV set I was already married" (Maria); "One day I got out of home and said to myself «I'm going to buy a TV set», and when my husband arrived home the television was already there [laughs]" (Aida). Sometimes, speech refers also to other women as agents: "and then my sister, when TV sets started to show up, she bought a television" (Ilda).

Men appear in discourse about consumption when media devices take the status of family gifts. In one occasion, radio is mentioned as a present from women to man (husband and son), because he pleased to listen to specific programs. In another occasion, radio is referred to as a gift from the man, and it responds to the wife's aspiration, but it is also matched with the usefulness of a radio set as a device that supports the caring of children. A larger collection of life stories may provide researchers with a pattern of gender roles in what concerns to media acquisition.

Bourdieu connects the concept of female subordination not only to the fact that women themselves are used as "objects" in symbolic exchanges, but he also relates it to the exchange of symbolic goods, as long as dominant and dominated actors employ the same structures of perception, albeit asymmetrical (Bourdieu, 2001, pp. 128-129). That would be the case if the radio set enters into a symbolic exchange where women receiving it become obliged to return somehow, but men get it without the same sort of obligation. Media as gift within the family seem to be pervaded by a sense of instrumentality for feminine housework, although it may also correspond to a woman's wish.

We didn't have radio, in the old times... And I would die for a radio set!
And then, do you know what happened? One day, my sister's husband gave me a little radio like this. Er... As I raised my nephews, and I always put food into their mouths... I never let them without food. So, to keep them entertained, I used to turn on the radio. And I used to give it to the boy's hands. And one day he broke it!

[Ilda, born 1945]

Also, when media devices are not gifts, both the purpose of buying them and the inadequacy of their ownership strongly tend to be related to housework and children care. Buying a television is sometimes justified because it would keep the children distracted, or in the contrary it is said to be pointless at a certain period of the life cycle because there was no time available for activities such as watching TV.

Another way of inserting radio and television into life narratives is to articulate their ownership with the general conditions of material existence, not only of each woman and her family, but also of the local community. Radio and television are placed in such discourses as second to other (overriding) home objects and meaningless while other more urgent amenities could not be reached. Thus the access (especially) to television is tied to a route of welfare throughout life, but this route may also have different relations to gender roles.

Deprivation of television may sometimes be seen as a wise decision in a time of scarcity and fear of debts, also thanks to being married to a wise man. In another case, being deprived of material amenities, among them television, is related to the husband's alcoholism and lack of financial responsibility that caused great damage in family life. In any case, the framework of memory in what concerns to consumption of media artefacts is always narrated within a family framework.

5.3 Appropriation of symbolic forms

Some researchers have said that media memories about content tend to be more elusive than the ones about uses (Reiner, Allen & Livingstone, 2001), but other researchers have shown that it depends on the actual contents, some sort of mediated events or programs being so vivid that can be called "flashbulb memories" (Bourdon, 2003). It is possible, then, to collect some memories of media appropriation, in the sense of symbolic representations evoked by audiences. It is the case of televised theatre in the 1960's:

(The stories were about what? Do you remember the stories?) I still have got an idea of [the play] 'House of Parents', because I was already... when it was, when I bought the television set I was already married. House of Parents was a family... er... a couple, and then they had the father. But the daughter-in-law was very mean, very mean for her father-in-law. And then... But he had already been mean to her. And that, well, it went on the family... from generation to generation, being mean to each other. There is

a saying: son you are, father you will be; as you do it, you will find it. Isn't it? Because... they showed that we really should not behave badly, because sometimes we get it back.

[Maria, born 1935]

Evoking salient television programs, Maria starts to place a theatre play in a family framework of memory, in the context of her life cycle, and then talks about it in narrative terms, but ends up arguing for a certain type of family roles.

To analyse questions of hegemony related to interpretation, we need again to critically analyse semantic aspects such as the active and passive roles attributed to the actors in the speech. In this narrative piece of discourse we can notice that the female character is the first to act in a bad way towards a male, although it is later said that the male had previously acted in the same way. This narration points to a specifically gendered sort of reading that lasted over time in Maria's memory, and might have provided, or reinforced, her with a cognitive model (Van Dijk, 1993) to represent family roles: one that puts the responsibility for family harmony over women's shoulders in the first place.

Another level of discourse potentially relevant for the study of hegemony is implicitness. The narration about this television play presupposes the absent but pivotal character of the husband, and the moral lesson about family harmony is specifically about the way a married woman should insert herself into the husband's family.

The fact that Maria had lived for some years with her husband's parents, and that she reports conflicts with her mother-in-law, could have reasoned in her reading of the play, and most likely provided her with the family framework for retaining a memory of the play.

As we have previously pointed out, media reception and the meanings of content evoked in memory articulate especially with social types, and less with concrete social actors as happens with the memory of media uses. In fact, speech may easily mix up both levels, but the point now is that meanings ascribed by audiences to media content can be particularly relevant in symbolic terms. Being of symbolic nature, they tend to represent (support or deny) social norms

and, because of this, they also may be enlightening in regarding to questions of hegemony.

My sister's mother-in-law lived in the next door, and I enjoyed very much going there. Because she used to give me sweets and she also liked me because I helped her with needles and used to cut her fingernails. (...) and we both listened to [radio] theatre, the 'Tide theatre'. (...) If, for example, there was one [female character] more of a rebel kind, we then commented, «Look at it!». The same happens now with the *novelas* [television soap operas]. My sister Aurora is very funny, while she is watching *novelas* she is always talking, always talking.

[Ilda, born 1945]

This speech shows several aspects about reception, gender and memory, the most obvious of them being, again, the intermingled nature of media appropriation (meanings given to characters and plots) with what we called media uses (the social settings, practices and relations that frame reception and turn themselves to be meaningful as well). In that respect, the quotation points to the existence of continued practices of collective, participant reception (in the sense of shared production of meanings) among women, crossing several periods and different media, and especially enhanced by popular genres focusing everyday life and common characters. It also shows a gendered memory framework, instead of the seemingly more usual family one. And it finally contains an alternative kind of discourse, neither narrative nor argumentative, which is based in comparison between past and present, or between two different periods in the past.

But a crucial point about this passage is what relates collective female appropriation to the question of hegemony. In Ilda's life story there are conspicuous practices of women's surveillance by other women, especially in what concerns to body posture and sexuality – as when young women could only go to balls if watched by sisters. These mechanisms of control take part in holding social conformity within a hegemonic gendered framework, and show hegemony being reproduced with the effective support of practices of the subordinated.

Ilda's speech recalling media appropriation indicates how it could work over women at a symbolic level (through social types and representations diffused by the media). Evoking usual condemnatory comments about a 'rebel' type of represented woman, what this speech does is showing that media appropriation works as hegemonic practice, in the first place, by positioning female characters as primal objects for other women's gaze (assuming it is not by hazard that female characters, and not male ones, are evoked in memory). Secondly, in the markedly patriarchal context of the 1950's, female audiences seemed to hold a gaze that, as Bourdieu suggests, is really the incorporation of masculine gaze, since males are the real subjects of a symbolic order where women are watched. Presumably, audience reflexivity – in *collective female* settings of reception – would function here as symbolic self-surveillance for women.

Final remarks

In approaching media reception and gender hegemonies we should try to look more broadly, in further research, for the social frameworks of memory involved, observing which ones articulate, and how, with hegemonic discourses, or with contradictory ones.

In this articulation between memory and reception we must take especially into account that not every autobiographic speech about the past has the same nature, and that different kinds of discourses have potentially distinct relations to hegemony and its transformations. Extending Rosenthal's suggestion about autobiographic speeches being classified as narrative or argumentative discourses (Rosenthal, 2006), we propose four types of memory concerning media audiences: narration, description, argumentation and comparison.

Narration contains characters and their actions. Description displays objects (that can be people without action) in a setting or situation. Argumentation proposes an evaluative interpretation of facts. Comparison parallels or contrasts past events with today's situation, and it can enclose implicit evaluations.

Through argumentation and comparison subjects potentially don't evoke past situations in a naturalized way, but rather they question or support them,

which indicate they have in mind possible alternatives. This is an important point to examine more systematically in respect to questions of gender hegemony, because it may highlight relations between past and present, between memory of the audiences and their actual identities, and it may shed light on possibly shifting principles of a gendered social order.

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Chapter 4

At the university: learning and researching on media and generations

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In a recent essay on teaching and learning at the university, Paddy Scannell (2011) characterized the pedagogical relation in the university classroom in terms of generations and generational renewal. Arguing that university students are in a particular position in their life - they are no longer adolescents and not yet adults - Scannell stresses the value of the learning experience beyond the acquisition of “useful knowledge” and vocational competences. This learning experience, he says, involves “beginning to think for oneself, and developing analytical skills, critical judgment, informed opinions” (Scannell, 2011, pp. 19-20).

From an epistemological reflection on students’ development of identity as part of their professional socialization, Magolda Baxter (2004) considers the need of moving from a focus on *absolute knowing* (where students view knowledge as an outside category and consider it to be certain) to a focus on *contextual knowledge* (where knowledge is shaped by the context in which it is situated and its veracity is debated according to that context). This move is better supported by a constructivist-developmental pedagogy which situates learning in students’ experience, she argues.

Based on these perspectives and on self-reflection, this chapter presents three exploratory situations of “research and learning processes” involving university students in a Master’s seminar on media methods, all covering the topic of generations and broadcasting media’s experiences and roles: The project *Digital Inclusion and Participation* (2009-2011), the project *Media and Generations Italy-Portugal* (2011-2012) and the project *Media and Family Generations in Portugal* (2012-2013).

[Media, Gender and the Past:
Qualitative approaches to broadcast audiences and memories, pp. 91 - 122]

The project Digital Inclusion and Participation (2009-2011)

In Summer 2008, when the Portuguese team was designing a research project on digital inclusion to be submitted to the UTAustin|Portugal funding Program¹, our US partner Joseph Straubhaar, Professor of Global Media, stressed the relevance of involving graduate students in the research and field work, and of considering their training as “young researchers” as an aim of the project. Straubhaar justified this involvement with his own experience: for a decade he had involved students in supervised field work on collecting life stories with the media among families living in Texan rural areas or poor neighborhoods in the city of Austin. Students contacted with and apprehended different life experiences while contributing to a collection of life stories with the media among generations of families in a long term view, therefore also developing a sense of belonging and participating in a socially engaged research project.

This aim of advanced research and education was seen as a challenge and an opportunity by three of the Portuguese universities that participated in the project²: the University of Oporto, the University of Coimbra and the Faculty of Human and Social Sciences (FCSH) at the New University of Lisbon. In the latter students would not only benefit from the experience of participating in the data collection but also gain educational credits (ECTS) if they participated successfully in a seminar directly related to the project and taught by two members, José Alberto Simões and me.

In the first year, students’ field work involved interviewing two members of different generations belonging to the same families about their life history and about their relation with media and their digital uses (or non-uses). In the second year, students observed around thirty public internet centers - public libraries, community centers, youth centers and other places – in urban and rural areas. They stayed at least six hours at different moments of the week in each center,

1) See <http://www.utaustinportugal.org> on the UTAustin|Portugal Program.

2) The aims, history, outputs and the list of senior and young participants (including Master students) are available at http://digital_inclusion.up.pt (English and Portuguese versions).

observed who attended these public spaces and conducted interviews with male and female users from different ages.

Framing the field work theoretically, the first sessions of the seminars introduced key concepts such as *media domestication* (Silverstone, Hirsch et al., 1993), theories of digital inclusion and exclusion (Selwyn, 2006; van Dijk, 2006), cultural and social capital (Bourdieu, 1984) adapted to the digital context (Rojas, Straubahar et al., 2012) and generations and families (Bertaux & Thompson, 1993; Bertaux, 1997). These first sessions also explored epistemological and practical issues concerning qualitative methods (Bryman, 2004; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2000; May, 2001; Lobe et al., 2007; Silverman, 2009).

Students' interest in the research project increased when they started to be involved in the elaboration of the interview script. We realized that the script previously used in the US, a list of direct questions, had to be adapted to Portuguese language and culture, stressing a stronger narrative approach and facilitating a more conversational orientation (Annex 1). Another factor enabling students' greater involvement was their responsibility in finding the families needed for the purposive sampling of internet users and non-users.

The field work included students' notes and full transcriptions of their interviews that varied from 30 minutes to more than one hour and half. The fact that the interviews took place in the interviewees' homes enabled students to capture the household atmosphere, thus recording feelings and evaluations from other members of the family beside the interviewees – for instance, the fact that most women were excluded from the technological world within their households and the different feelings of exclusion they bore. Transcriptions and field notes were discussed in seminar, preparing students for writing their final individual essays (about 4.000 words). These essays should analyze their empirical outputs through the lens of the theoretical concepts introduced in class.

Reflecting on this research and learning process (Ponte and Simões, 2012), we concluded that from a data collection point of view, the program enabled the participants to gather an impressive amount of life stories and experiences with media. As in other data collections that rely heavily on work by students, quality varied: some interviewers were too dependent on the interview script and

did not ask obvious follow-up questions, while others did exactly the opposite and obtained vivid descriptions of family life stories and experiences with different media.

The majority of the students' final essays showed self-reflection and critical evaluation of their data; in fact, some of them were extremely reflective and well-sustained, integrating the theoretical frameworks. Epistemologically supported, students had a chance to not only incorporate external knowledge but also build *contextual knowing* (Baxter, 2004) about digital media in the lives of families, how they were diversely appropriated according to age, gender, level of education, and the particularities of individual life stories and their turning points. Students had the opportunity to listen to, translate and interpret practices and discourses of adhesion, resistance or refusal as well as to identify related constraints, thus generating contextual knowledge:

“The levels of embeddedness and domestication of the communicative devices at home, such as mobile phones, computers or game consoles, depend on the moment when and how these were introduced into the household: for instance, the interviewees who stated they had long been connected to the internet had greater technological know-how while they also expressed a lower level of enthusiasm for its potential uses. On the other hand, the interviewees who have used the internet for less time are still in an initial phase of appropriation and assimilation of its potential uses, where the levels of novelty and excitement are still considerable.”
(Student essay, 2010).

Full transcriptions provided a comprehensive corpus (130 interviews, from 65 families) of life trajectories, childhood memories with (or without) media and current media interests and uses, available for comparative purposes, in Portugal and the US.

The analysis of the collected material collected in Portugal and Texas made it particularly difficult to compare digital practices as far as mature adults and the elderly were concerned. Definitions of generations used by the US colleagues

were based on the American Pew Institute categorization, which distinguished seven age cohorts since the 1930's based on the relation between adolescence times and traumatic events or the media: *Millennials*, born in the last decade of the Twentieth century; *Y Generation*, the 'digital natives'; *Generation X* and *Young Boomers*, the 'digital settlers'; *Old Boomers*, the Vietnam generation; *Silent Generation*, contemporary of the economic boom in the 1950's; *Greatest Generation*, who experienced the traumatic times of the Second World War. Although internationally disseminated, we realized that this generational division did not work in Portugal for parents and grand-parents of today's adolescents.

These differences stimulated our interest on researching media and generation relationships in the Portuguese society (Ponte, 2011, 2012). The opportunity came with another international research proposal, the project Media and Generations Italy-Portugal.

The project Media and Generations Italy-Portugal (2011-2012)

The new proposal for a research and learning seminar was based on my collaborative work with Piermarco Aroldi, a senior researcher that had participated in the project *Media and Generations in Italian Society* (2006-2009), funded by the Italian Ministry of Universities and Research. In the COST Action IS0906, *Transforming Audiences, Transforming Media*, we identified our common interest on media and generations and considered comparative research based on our previous projects.

As conceptualized and described in previous studies (Aroldi and Colombo, 2003 and 2007), the Italian project was based on a multi-dimensional conceptualization of the notion of *generation*, rooted in Mannheim's distinction between generation as a "location or status", "actuality" and "unit" (Mannheim, 1927). In a such perspective a "generation" is "an age cohort that comes to have social significance by virtue of constituting itself as cultural identity" (Edmunds & Turner, 2002, p. 7), where biographical traits coexist alongside historical and

cultural characteristics, and where one's belonging to an age group is connected to specific historical experiences, to the development of particular consumption habits or to the occupation of certain positions in the family chain (Bertaux & Thompson, 2005).

Taking into account this multi-dimensional category, therefore, people who belong to the same generation are – at the same time - people who: a) were born in the same period and spent their youth in similar historical, social, cultural and political contexts, therefore sharing a common “structure of opportunity” and world of past, formative (sometimes traumatic) experiences (Mannheim, 1927); b) consequently, have nowadays (more or less) the same age and probably are (more or less) in the same life-cycle position; c) share a particular “generational semantic”, expressed as a *we-sense* (Corsten, 1999).

In this framework, the globalization of the media system during the second half of the 20th Century leads some authors to talk about the generation of the 1960s as an “international” or “global generation” (Edmunds & Turner, 2005), a transnational cultural and political subjectivity whose awareness and expressiveness is sustained by the “new” electronic media that emerged in the formative years. According to the authors, this is “the first global generation because it had a common (either direct or indirect) experience of and orientation towards traumatic political events, consumerism, global music and communication systems” (Edmunds & Turner, 2005, p. 566).

Thus, our starting point for a cross-national and comparative perspective was not only to explore whether and to what extent the media experiences contribute to shape the collective identity of a generation, but to compare collective identities developed by people who were born and grew in the same period of time, though in different national contexts. Italy and Portugal, from this point of view, offered a particularly interesting case study: while sharing similar cultural traditions, the two countries have experienced in the twentieth century very different historical and political events, as well as different socio-economic conditions.

Using Italian research on generations as a frame of reference for organizing similar cohorts in Portugal, our research questions were: 1) How did national structural constraints affect the interviewed members of the so-called “first

international generation” in Italy and Portugal? 2) How did the way in which Italian and Portuguese youth socialized to the media in the ‘60s and ‘70s contribute to the shaping of their generational identities and “we-sense”? 3) How did the generational belonging influence the first impact of the interviewed with personal computer and new digital media in the ‘80s and ‘90s?

The research and learning process related with this project was presented to the nine students who attended the FCSH Seminar on media research in 2011-2012. After the introduction of theoretical frameworks, the field work would include the organization and conduction of focus-groups with different age-cohorts. Again, their transcription and discussion of results in the seminar ended with the production of a final, theoretically sustained, individual essay.

Following the guidelines and scripts of the Italian Project (Annex 2), students were introduced to the focus group methodology, its explicit use of group interaction to generate data and the particular role of the facilitator. Each student chose an age cohort and was responsible for composing a focus-group. In all the focus groups the participants knew each other, which facilitated a familiar atmosphere. The focus group with the elderly cohort was held at a day-care centre, while the others took place at home in relaxed atmospheres. In six focus-groups, students acted as facilitators of older participants, which were mainly composed by their parents and their friends. This age gap and the personal proximity stimulated explanatory and detailed discourses from the older participants when discussing the issues launched by the young facilitator.

Like it had happened with the semi-structured interviews in the previous seminar, some of the Portuguese focus groups did not cover all the topics. Nevertheless, transcripts provided lively, fruitful discussions and confirmed data gathered in the previous research on families, making gender differences among older generations even more visible. Among adults and the elderly, it became clear that the generational turning point was defined by the political change that happened with the Carnation Revolution of April 1974.

As far as the existence of a real “international generation” is concerned, a generation characterized by the same ideals and feelings, and driven by the same cultural and political tendencies due to a global media system, as suggested by

Edmunds and Turner (2005), our results suggest that the sense of belonging to an “international generations” only affected the more educated and advanced part of different generations, often acting like generational “units” (Mannheim, 1927). Rather than a single model of “global generation” which does not necessarily respond to national contexts and their structural dimension, our findings (Aroldi and Ponte, 2012) suggest an increasing affinity between audiences who are similar in terms of their cultural capital and *habitus*, and who are more likely to share cultural and media consumptions with their peers who are living in other countries but have similar social status, than with their peers living in their own country but have a different social status.

This research generated follow-ups. After this field work, the student that conducted the focus group with the elderly cohort decided to focus her Master’s dissertation on senior users and non users of digital media.

Reflecting on the methodology of involving university students in a research and learning process, we concluded that this framework opened the way for other suggestions for research in generation. Inter- and intra-generational dynamics could be emphasized adopting different combinations of age cohorts of participants and facilitators: for instance, designing interviews with couples of grandparents and grandchildren, mediated by adults, or, on the other side, involving young students in researching the elders and their memories, so as to reproduce the grandparents/ grandchildren attitude in self-accounting (Ponte and Aroldi, 2013). This was the purpose that oriented the third project, which focused on Portuguese families.

The project Media and Family generations in Portugal (2012-2013)

The challenge was to go deeper in the characterization of Portuguese families across three generations and their relationship with the media. The research proposal set out to explore the media experience of university students’ families,

which had lived in a country that moved from a rural and oppressive society to a modern one in the last decades and was now experiencing difficult socio-economic times. Thus, the field work would involve interviewing people from three generations belonging to the same family, if possible their own (a young university student, one of his/her parents and one grand-parent, from the mother or the father's lineage). The idea was to follow a family chain, its processes of cultural transmission and turning points, being aware of possible sensitive situations.³

For this purpose, we adopted the use of *mediagraphies*, individual reports based on biographical stories and interviews of primary sources along with secondary sources such as newspapers, photos or History books. From the media education perspective, a mediagraphy approach “combines phenomenology (starting from the experiences of an individual with the outer world), hermeneutic (emphasizing the importance of interpreting the human actions by studying the deeper meaning which can only be understood in its contexts) and a socio-cultural perspective (considering media as artifacts)”, as stressed by Vetteranta (2011, pp. 372-373).

These reports have been collected by students from their families over four generations, in Terhi Rantanen's class on media and globalization at the London School of Economics and Political Science. With her permission, we used in this seminar an updated version of the model.

Rantanen (2005) developed this methodology by taking into account the specifications of media and communication in the globalization process. Her structure of the globalization factors was influenced by Appadurai's theory of

3) For instance, when the project was presented a student immediately declared she did not want to interview her own family, and this decision was accepted. Later on, when we were establishing the chain of the interviews, she declared her interest in doing this work with her family: as her mother had already died, she would interview her grandmother and herself, and thus reconstruct the life of her mother through the memories of both. I only realized that her mother had been a victim of domestic violence and murdered when I read the full transcription of her own interview, in the Annex of her final essay.

five scapes: *ethnoscape*, *technoscape*, *mediascape*, *financescape* and *ideoscape*.⁴ Considering also the interpretation of the individual as affected by specific national and local circumstances, Rantanen added two scapes: *timescape*, attention to the life time and generations; and *languagescape*, the diversity of the linguistic capital one owns. These levels are integrated in a globalisation factors Table for each member of the family that includes the place and time of birth, home country, number of siblings, education, languages spoken, the first travel abroad, changes in lifestyle and in class, uses of media and communication, ideology and identity (Annex 3).

Following the theoretical frameworks for studying media uses among generations, students went further than in the previous seminars in exploring contextual data such as national longitudinal trends on demographics, education, health and so forth, since the 1930s until the present times. Particular attention was given to statistics related to the media, from access and circulation of print and broadcasting media to the new online media. It was thus visible that in Portugal the domestication of TV occurred in a slow pace until the 1980s and changed substantially with the emergence of private channels, in the 1990s. These statistical trends were discussed in class, thus providing contextual support for all.

Table 1 summarizes some of the contextual data collected, taking into account the times in which grandparents, parents and the university students were born and grew up. The longitudinal values made visible the deep structural changes in the Portuguese society, in demographics, economy, health and education systems.

4) According to Appadurai (1998, pp. 33-36), globalization consists of the junctures and disjunctures of five scapes which present fluid and irregular shapes: the *ethnoscape*, the persons who are on the move; the *mediascape*, the distribution of the electronic capabilities to produce and disseminate information and to the images created by these media; the *technoscape*, the mechanical and informational technology that moves across boundaries; the *financescape*, the currency markets, national stocks and commodity speculations; and the *ideoscape*, modern ideas such as democracy, representation, rights, welfare or freedom.

Table 1: Growing up in Portugal: across three generations

	Grandparents		Parents		Children	
	1930	1940	1960	1970	1991	2001
Political system	Dictatorship		Dictatorship		Democracy	
Population	6.825.883	7.755.423	8.889.392	8.611.125	9.867.147	10.356.117
Child mortality (1/1000)	143,6	126,1	77,5	55,5	10,8	5
Births in maternities (%)	Not found	Not found	18,4	37,5	96,5	99,7
Women fertility rate	3,9	3,2	3,2	3	1,6	1,5
Births outside the marriage	Not found	Not found	9,5	7,3	15,6	23,4
Life expectancy (Female) (years)	49,2	53,6	66,9	70,1	77,7	80,3
Households with 5+ people (%)	Not found	Not found	17,1	15,9	6,6	3,3
Primary sector work force (%)	51	53	43,9	28,1	13,5	5,4
Secondary sector work force (%)	19	20	27,4	33,4	36,9	34,7
Tertiary sector work force (%)	30	27	27,5	36	48,2	56
Minimum working age (years)	10	10	10	12	16	16
Compulsory schooling (years of the cycle)	4	3	4	6	9	9
Illiteracy (7+) (%)	67,8	59,3	33,1	25,6	11	9,0
Students attending University (estimated)	8.000	9.000	22.000	46.000	186.000	388.000
Registered Television sets			46.372	347.399	1.701.000	Not found
Registered Radio sets		Not found	848.000	1.405.672	Not found	Not found

Source: INE, Portuguese statistics; PORDATA

As Table 1 shows, broadband media (radio, which appeared in 1933-35; and TV, which was launched in 1957) had a relatively slow penetration in the households. Their cost and the lack of infrastructures (electricity; access to the TV signal) in vast zones of the territory contributed to this delay. These and other notes on the structural context provided background for students' field work on media and generations.

Based on the previous script on family life story and media uses (Annex 1), students decided on which families to interview, their own or others. Most students accepted the challenge of analyzing their own family. While some students interviewed their siblings, others replied to the interview themselves. Among the students that decided to answer the questions themselves, some asked a friend to act as the interviewer, in a face to face situation. As observed in the previously reported projects, students realized the difference between being familiar with the script and being directly asked on a particular question and having to answer it. As one student noted, *Although I have read the interview script numerous times, the moment when I transcribed my own words was a surprising experience.*

After the field work, students' transcriptions allowed the seminar to compare people in the same generational location (grandparents, parents, children), looking at key factors and changes/continuities. Considering the 1930s and 1940s in Portugal, marked by the rural economy and values, low levels of education and literacy, let us look at five grandmothers who lived their formative years in those decades.

Table 2 presents five Portuguese women born between 1929 and 1939, in rural or industrial neighborhoods. Two had no conditions to attend school and rest illiterate, two had only access to four years of primary education and one did not finish it. *(My dad took me away of school because I was a girl and I already had the third grade, and so I started working when I was nine years old,* recalls Lilia. In their interviews, these women recall the number of siblings, distinguishing between boys and girls, and some note that they had particular responsibilities because they were the oldest girl. All started working in their childhood, doing the same jobs as their mothers and contributing to the family economy.

Table 2: Grandmothers of University students (partial mediagraphies)

Names	Teresa	Lília	Gabriela	Manuela	Isabel
Birth place	Machico (rural) Madeira Island	Ourique (rural) South Portugal	Cova da Piedade (Great Lisbon)	Fernando Pó (rural) South Portugal	Seixo do Coa (rural) North Portugal
Time	1929	1929	1933	1936	1939
Education	Didn't attend school	Primary school (3 years)	Didn't attend school	Primary school (4 years)	Primary school (4 years)
Family	5 siblings; 3 children	6 siblings; 1 child	5 siblings; 1 child	6 siblings; 2 children	4 siblings; 5 children
Profession	Embroiderer	Worker in a factory, doorwoman	Worker in a factory	Dressmaker, at home	Farmer
1st travel	Angola, 1961	Malveira dos Bois (husband's place)	Salvaterra (husband's place)	Fátima (Catholic place)	Never left the village, except for health care
Language	Portuguese	Portuguese	Portuguese	Portuguese	Portuguese
Travel abroad	England (visiting family)	Salamanca (Spain)	Never	Spain and a European tour by bus	Never
Media in childhood	None	School books	None	Female magazine; radio at the coffee-shop	School books
Social class	No change	Change	No change	Change	No change
Change in lifestyle	Angola (1961), came back in 1976	From rural to urban (Great Lisbon)	Retired for health reasons, in her 30s	From rural to urban (country town)	No change
Radio and TV	Radio in the 60s; TV in 1978;	Radio in the 1960s. TV in the 1970s	Radio in the 1970s; TV in the 1980s	Radio in the 1950s; TV in the 1960's	Radio in the 1950's; TV in the 1970's
Memory of TV news	Civil war in Angola (1975-1976)	Death of Salazar (1971)	April 25 th 1974	<i>Hijacking</i> to the Santa Maria ship (1961)	None
Media use nowadays	Television	Cable Television, Radio; mobile phone;	Television	Radio; TV; magazines; mobile phone	Television, mobile phone
Interests	Embroideries	Painting, embroideries; music and drama in an amateur group.	Watching TV	Taking pictures; Steaming; Family	Producing goods for the family; supporting grandchildren's studies
Ideology	Conservative; Catholic;	Catholic; Socialist	Socialist	Catholic	Catholic; PSD (center-right)
Resistance	End of colonialism	Injustice; hunger; envy; maltreated children	Violence; poverty; ICT	Violence and hunger	Migration
Identity	Local and regional (Madeira)	National	Local and National	Local	Local

In their life trajectory, two of these women, grandmothers, Lília and Manuela, had only one child and also coincide on their move from rural to urban areas. As shown in Table 2, both experienced modernity and social mobility; they had opportunity to travel abroad; they are more open to the media and developed their own personal interests. In both cases, also, their children had conditions for pursuing their studies and even reached university, introducing ruptures with a past of low education and precocious labor. In the other three cases, the access to higher education only happened two generations later.

All the grandmothers share childhood and youth times deprived of radio and printed media for leisure. The TV set entered the home in their adulthood, when after they married or even later. The most distant TV memories evoke different times.

The first TV set was only bought when we were already living in Alcácer. The first event I remember being on the news was the hijacking of the Santa Maria. [1961] (Manuela)

Other strong memories recalled by these grandmothers to their grandchildren are related to TV images of political national events, such as the death of Salazar or the April 25th Revolution, in both cases turning points in the dictatorship regime. Two women who identify their political ideology as leftist report these as moments of happiness lived in family:

I remember Salazar's death. The death of Salazar was our joy at the time (Lília)

I remember the 25th of April, of course. That day I was so scared that I couldn't even listen to the radio. Your grandfather found it strange that they were only playing military marches. But when they said that the other Salazar [Prime Minister Marcelo Caetano] had been arrested, there was great joy! (Gabriela)

For Teresa who had moved to Angola in 1961, the year the colonial war started, the civil war that occurred in Angola after the independence made her return to Madeira in difficult material conditions. At home, the TV set arrived years after the first TV broadcasts in Madeira, which happened in 1976. She brought up her favorite program, a Brazilian soap opera, humorously telling her grand-daughter about moments shared with her husband:

I recall Escrava Isaura. Do you know what it is? (pause) You probably don't. It was a lovely Brazilian soap opera that aired at lunch time. Your grandfather liked it as well, and why wouldn't he? The girls showed all their skin! There was no decency! (laughter) - Teresa

Living in a working class suburb, Gabriela, who had already resisted the presence of radio in the household, bought by her daughter, explained to her grandson the costs of the first TV set, by the beginning of the 1980s, as well as the consequences for her family life:

It was your mother who bought it as well. If I'm not mistaken, she paid half of it and your grandfather paid the rest. It was one of the newer sets, which aired in color. I also didn't like it very much that she bought that thing. (laughter) I quite enjoyed talking to your mother and your grandfather in the evenings. Talking would really cheer me up. But when the shows were on no one would talk in our home. There were evenings when I'd just go to bed earlier, because I couldn't have a conversation like in the old days. (Gabriela)

Nowadays, television is the dominant medium for all these old women, for several shared reasons. It keeps them company against, breaking their isolation (all of them are widows); it provides para-social interaction, identification and attachment to characters and narratives. It also assures them a sense of integration and something to talk about through the information about what is happening on the outside. Their daily and week schedule is organized according to TV programs (soap operas, news shows, talk shows, the Sunday mass) and they are

loyal to specific TV channels. Not surprisingly, the language of the programs also matters in a country where foreign contents are subtitled: all the programs they report watching are in Portuguese.

Television keeps me company. Radio doesn't show images and I prefer television. I watch the afternoon shows, the soap operas and the news. (Lília)

I watch television every day. I switch it on in the morning to see Goucha and Cristina. I watch the news and then sometimes the show with Fátima Lopes. At night I watch Fernando Mendes and on Sundays I watch the mass. (Isabel)

With the TV we know everything that's going on around here and abroad. And it has images... sometimes I don't get what they're talking about but I see the images and I understand a bit. (Gabriela).

This is always on in the same channels, either SIC or TV Madeira. As far as I'm concerned, since I've been alone, the television keeps me company. When I get up I switch it on, if nothing else just to hear the noise. But what I really like are the soap operas. I can spend all day watching soaps without leaving the living room. (Teresa)

I make more use of the television because it's handier and explains things better. I like the combination of sound and image. I always make a point of watching the news. Television... is actually my main distraction since my husband died. (Manuela)

Interviewing their parents and their grandparents, students also realized the process of TV domestication, in Silverstone's terms. Besides *appropriation*, *incorporation* and *conversion* coming from these talks, *objectivation* is clearly exposed in descriptions of the households. As a student wrote, this was the first time that she realized the importance of the TV placement in her grandmother's home:

The TV set is on top of an old cupboard, right in the centre of the wall. Its personality is visible through the objects around on display. Next to the TV, on the right-hand side, are family photos. On the left-hand side, there is a crucifix, a candle and the picture of a saint. With most family members having emigrated, the grandmother relies on religion and spends her days with the sound of television. (Student's essay)

Although there was not a specific question directly related to the current economic and social crisis, students were aware of capturing whether people integrated the present in their past memories. Among these five women who had experienced very difficult times in their childhood and youth, only one made a spontaneous reference to the present. Answering the question about what differentiates her family from others, she placed the family in the broader context of the current difficult times:

Oh dear, it's a good question but I don't know how to reply! (pause) We all have good and bad things. Now, with the crisis, everything is upside down and everyone is arguing. (...) (Teresa)

Considering the structure of globalization factors used in the mediagraphies, it was visible that most, if not all, are present in the life trajectory of these grandmothers: the *timescape* of growing up under difficult conditions and having lived the experience of a deep political and social change; the *ethnoscape* of the move, when most left their birth place, some report the emigration of relatives, and convey how their own move was a turning point in their family's structure of opportunities; the *mediascape* in the form of broadband television which is more than audiovisual contents; their *languagescape*, which also integrates the opportunities concerning education and cultural capital, reduced to minimum levels and thus affecting their placement in the *tecnoscape*; the *financescape* that is affecting their lives; and the *ideoscape*, where traditional values of religion, gender roles and local identity are, in some cases, combined with modern values against injustice, violence and social inequality. Intergenerational trajectories,

educational opportunities and replacement/ weakness of traditional values emerged as key points.

Open-ended notes

In the final section of this review of three pedagogical situation, I am able to say that for most students these research and learning projects facilitated a contextual knowledge of the media's roles in the everyday life of different generations. This contextual knowledge implied collecting and reflecting on quantitative and qualitative data, from statistics to the common voices and spaces in which they live. It also implies realizing how people are able to overcome silences and secret stories affected by feelings such as social shame, as it is visible in the full transcripts.

Semi-structured life story interviews and focus groups proved to be stimulant methodological tools for doing media research on audiences. In particular the challenge of being also actor stimulated self-reflection and could even be cathartic. Having faced a limit situation, I am aware that the focus on one's "own family" and the use of mediagraphies has to take into account sensitive issues such as privacy and differences in terms of social class and origin.

In a country such as Portugal, marked by deep social change in recent years and by a current socially convoluted situation, this approach is particularly rich since it allows us to realize the historical differences between present and past.

Most of students depicted this research and learning experience in similar terms, as a challenge and a discovery of something that was there but was invisible. In one student's words:

Contrary to expected, the interviews were a revealing process, as useful for me, who learned family stories, as for the interviewees, since it promoted expression and reflection about their life path. It deepened family ties and mutual understanding. This study brings forth questions for further analysis: how can older generations provide historical memory to help understand

the present; how can young people contribute to alleviate the feelings of digital exclusion among older groups. (student's essay)

If the pedagogical process of research and learning is challenging both for students and for teachers it can be argued that when this process is about people and considers their social conditions and practices, it is even more stimulating.

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Annex 1

Project Digital Inclusion and Participation

Interview guide on Life Story and the Media

NB: The question order doesn't really matter. Once a topic or a main question is introduced, the remaining questions should be used only with the aim of initiating a missing answer or specifying incomplete information.

Part One

Origin and family characterization: *Let's start by talking about you and your family...*

- a. Could you tell me about the place where you were born? What memories do you have? How was your childhood?
- b. Is your family from that region? Tell me a bit about the place where your family is originally from (where were your parents born? And your grandparents?)
- c. And what about the rest of your family? Do you have any brothers or sisters? (*Ask if they were born in the same area/region/country*). Are they older or younger?
- d. Do you have children? Where were they born?
- e. Nowadays, do you leave with any family members?

Family mobility: *Tell me about where you live... (city/town/village)*

- a. How many years have you lived here?
- b. For how long have you lived here? And your family?
- c. Where did you/they live?

- d. Where did you like mostly to live?
- e. *(In case the person has moved from another place)* – Why did you move here?
- f. *(in case the person has moved from another country)* – Did you have difficulties (or your family) in moving to Portugal?

Occupation and schooling of the family members: personal course and family influence: *Tell me more about your job and your schooling history... and what do the rest of the family members do*

- a. What is your school attainment? When did you stop studying?
- b. What is your parents' level of education? And your grand-parents?
- c. Are you happy with your level of education? Would you have liked to have studied longer?
- d. Did your family give a lot or little importance to school?
- e. Does your current job correspond to what you had imagined when you were a child/or younger?
- f. How did you come to have this current job? Did you have any other jobs?
- g. Did anyone in your family influence your professional choices?
- h. What is/was your parents' professions?
- i. And what about your grandparents?
- j. And in reference to your schooling, was there anyone in your family that influenced your choices? Who?
- k. Looking back at your life, was there anything important that you learned from your family?
- l. Do you think that being male/female affected your life path? In what way?

Practices and personal and family experiences: *Tell me about your daily life...*

- a. Could you describe me a usual day for you, for instance, yesterday?

- b. What do you do when you have a day off, for example Saturday or Sunday?
- c. When you were a child, what parties did your family usually have? What occasions did your family get together and celebrate?
- d. And nowadays, has anything changed? Could you kindly describe a typical family party?
- e. *(in case he/she came from a foreign country)* What was your life like in your country? How was a typical day for you there?
- f. *(in case of being a parent)* In what ways are your parents/children/grand children different to you?
- g. What do you think that differentiates your family from the others? And what do you think make your family similar to the others?

Part Two

Personal history with the media: *Let's talk about your free time when you were a child or a young person... and also nowadays.*

- a. When you were a child, what were your favorite activities, how did you entertain yourself? And later on, in your adolescence/youth?
- b. When you were a child/adolescent what did you usually read? Why?
- c. In reference to TV, which programs did you watch normally? Why?
- d. And in reference to the radio, what did you usually listen to?
- e. Do you remember when your family got a radio/a TV set? Who brought it home? Who set it up at home?
- f. What other information and entertainment devices/equipments did you have at home when you were a child? (Radio, turn-table, tape recorder, video, gaming console, computer and so forth...)
- g. And nowadays, does your family have cable or satellite TV? When did they get it?

- h. (*Other personal communication media*). Do you have a cell phone? What type of mobile phone do you have? What are its characteristics? What kinds of use do you give it?
- i. Going back to your family, who was the first person to own a mobile phone?
- j. (*In case of being an immigrant*) Do you use the mobile phone to contact your family and friends? What other media do you use to contact your family?
- k. Do you have a camera or a camcorder? What do you usually use it for? When you were a child, did your family also have any of these equipments?
- l. Do you usually listen to music? What kind of music do you prefer? How do you usually listen to it, what media do you use?
- m. Do you usually watch films? What kind of films? What media do you use for films?

Media use nowadays: *Tell me about the media you use nowadays...*

- a. What mass media (newspapers, magazines, radio, television...) do you usually use?
- b. With which mass media do you spend more time with? Why?
- c. What for? Do you use it for any special reason?
- d. What mass media do you use to keep yourself informed, to know the news?
- e. Why do you prefer this mass media over the others?
- f. For instance, what mass media did you use to follow the last electoral campaign?
- g. (*Only for immigrants*): What is the best way for you to be informed about events in your country?
- h. What mass media do you use mainly for entertainment?

Part Three

Computer and internet use: *Let's talk about computer and internet use*

- a. Does your family have a computer? How long have they had it? In your home, where is it?
- b. Who was the first person to bring a computer home?
- c. Do you have your own computer?
- d. What are the main uses of a computer for you?
- e. Does your family have access to the internet at home? How long have they had it? Is it broadband?
- f. Where can you access the internet at home?
- g. How often do you use the internet? (*if they access in different places, ask about the most frequent*)
- h. Do you usually use the internet outside home? Where? How frequently do you do it?
- i. In general, for what reasons do you use the internet? Why?
- j. Do you use the internet for different things in different places?
- k. (*This question assumes the person speaks Portuguese; if this is not evident ask if the person use the internet in Portuguese*). Besides the Portuguese, do you use the internet in other languages? Which?
- l. How did you learn to use the internet? Were you helped by any family members? Who? Were you helped by a friend? Were you helped by a work colleague?
- m. Do you usually use the internet with anybody else at home?
- n. And with your friends, do you normally use the internet with them?
- o. Do you usually play videogames? How do you play (*computer, gaming consoles and so on...*). And what about the other family members?
- p. (*For those who use the internet outside the home*). When you use the internet outside the home, do you usually use it with anybody else?
- q. (*For those who don't use the internet*). If you don't usually use the internet do you know where you can access it?
- r. Why haven't you done it yet?

- s. If you don't use the internet yet, do you have any idea what could you do with the internet?

Annex 2

Media and Generations in the Italian society

Script for the focus groups

Warm up

- Now we'll have a talk about you and your siblings...
- Please, introduce briefly yourselves (age, job, family...)

1. Generational identity and the 1980s: representations and meanings

A. Memories, representations and experiences of historical events (1980s)

- Please, tell me how did you live in the 1980s ... What the main historical events you remember between the end of 1970s and of 1980s?
- Which is the more meaningful year, and why?

B. Accounts of biographic experiences during the 1980s (Aim: collecting spontaneous personal "bildungsroman")

- Where did you live? /what did you do in those years? What personal events did mark your experience?

C. Mediatic representations, everyday life, media practices and material consumptions (Aims: media diets; time and space management of media in the everyday life; motivations and criteria of selections; media repertoires and meanings)

- What did you do with media? Where did you use them, what did you read / listen to / watch? With whom? When?

2. Generational identity and the formative years: we-sense and generational semantic

D. History

Memories, representations and experiences of historical events of the formative years (11-21 years) (Aim: collect and draw a map of main historical / generational facts)

- Which historical fact and events do you remember as mainly relevant in your youth?

E. Individual biography

Accounts of biographic experiences during the formative years (Aims: collecting spontaneous personal “bildungsroman”; recollecting personal positions in the life-cycle; linking personal positions and historical events and memories; searching personal interpretations of historical events)

- Where did you live? /what did you do in those years? What personal events did mark your experience?

F. Collective identities and generational belonging (Aim: tracking the presence of generational we-sense)

- *How the life and the society were? What the mood of those years?* (Topics: material life; material consumptions; free time and amusement; family life; social relations and friendship; school and job; participation and so on)

3. Media presence and roles in the generational we-sense and semantic

G. Cultural and media habits: practices and meanings (Aims: media diets; time and space management of media in the everyday life; motivations and criteria of selections; media repertoires and meanings)

- What did you do with media? Where did you use them, what did you read / listen to / watch? With whom? When?
- Mini group task: write a “generational manifesto”; Now try to write down your collective account: “We are those who ...”

Annex 3

Globalisation factor table, proposed by Terhi Rantanen

	Great grandparent, year of birth?	Grandparent, year of birth?	Parent, year of birth?	Child, year of birth?
Profession				
Home country				
Place				
Time (calendar)				
Changes in lifestyle				
Education				
Change in class				
Family				
Travel				
First overseas journey				
Language spoken				
Media and communication in his/her childhood				
Major remembered media event(s)				
Media and communication nowadays				
Interest				
Ideology				
Resistance to				
Identity				



Part II

MEMORY, GENDER
AND IDENTITY



Chapter 5

Narrating Gender as Collective Memory in the 50th Anniversary Celebrations of RTP

Cláudia Álvares

1. Introduction

In 2007, the Portuguese public service broadcaster, RTP, commemorated 50 years of existence. The site created with the objective of celebrating the collective memory of RTP boasts a link to the channel's pivotal broadcasts over this time period, ranging from 1957 to 2007. Such broadcasts were chosen for special reasons which are linked to how a particular imagined community (Anderson, 1983) wishes to remember itself. They are revisionist to the extent that the programs offer viewers a new memory of themselves through the selection of what RTP producers now consider to be the channel's most important broadcasts

This article focuses on how, from the vantage point of the present, the history of women's visibility in the public sphere of television is constructed. It thus analyses the particular types of narratives designed to include or exclude women from the collective memory in a particular historical conjuncture, and the framing of such narratives in 2007 from a novel perspective that corresponds to contextual 'shifts in notions of female identity and in the social and political roles of women' (Melman, 1993: 5-6). In this manner, I hope to show how the enunciation of 'imagined' [female] communities (Anderson, 1983) in a novel context can contribute to the resignification of a particular reading of the female signifier.

[Media, Gender and the Past:
Qualitative approaches to broadcast audiences and memories, pp. 125 - 138]

In particular, I wish to argue that the process of narrating gendered memory is inseparable from the construction of a particular notion of historical female self that does not excessively ‘trouble the present’ (Wilson, 2008: 401). This memory is indeed a ‘post liberal’ feminist (Kark & Waismel-Manor, 2005: 4-5) one, constructed in today’s supposedly ‘enlightened’ context where the rights of autonomy and equality (Rowland-Serdar & Schwartz-Shea, 1991: 4) for women are uncontested from a juridical standpoint (McRobbie, 2009: 55). Such media-memory is oriented towards women who understand that they do not have any more rights to fight for; it is up to them to individually strive to accomplish their ambitions in a society that no longer places restrictions on their goals.

While many studies have pointed to media representations as influential in shaping popular perceptions of the past, we cannot presume that consumers are passively duped in this process. Rather, this paper argues that ‘individuals accept, value or prefer certain images of the past because these versions find favour within wider society’ (Wilson, 2008: 392). In other words, these versions correspond to the ‘preferred’ understandings (Hall, 1980: 136) of gendered representations of the past that reproduce a socially normative consensus on a supposed evolution that marks a stark opposition between past and present.

2. Female Protagonists of News

Between 1957 and 2007, the following women appeared as subjects and objects of the selected excerpts of RTP news: Elizabeth II, in a 1957 official visit to Lisbon that inaugurates Portuguese televisual ceremonies, described by Dayan and Katz as ‘media events’ which create a ‘sacred space’ by promoting communal spirit on the basis of unified experience (1992: 89); Jane Fonda, in a 1971 visit to Hanoi with the objective of denouncing air raids promoted by the Pentagon and disseminating the pacifist ideology of the antiwar movement; the first Portuguese test tube baby’s mother (1986), who, despite appearing in a news clip in which she talks of the child, retains anonymity due to being referred to solely as ‘Carlos Miguel’s mother’; British prime-minister Margaret Thatcher, expressing staunch belief in British victory over the Argentinians in the Falklands

War in 1982; Princess Diana, whose death in 1997, receives extensive coverage, with the camera focus alternating between the Parisian Alma Tunnel crash site where she lost her life, the royal funeral at Westminster Abbey and images from Diana's past, first as bride and then as philanthropist holding the sick and needy, be it in rural Pakistan or in the minefields of Angola; and, lastly, Portuguese Fado singer, Amália Rodrigues, whose funeral in 1999 provides the background for the reconstruction of her biography as being propelled by destiny, the very force that animates this national song.

Amongst the fifty news clips analysed, only six women appear as principal protagonists of news. Amongst these women, four are foreign (i.e. three British and one North-American) and two Portuguese. Independently of their professional role and social status, almost all of these women have gained visibility and recognition in the televisual public sphere due to the construction of public personalities that demonstrate an 'affective function' by speaking for a group or a cause (Street, 2004: 435, 438, 446): Jane Fonda disseminates the values of the antiwar movement; Margaret Thatcher's incursion into the Falklands is represented as an attempt to mobilize public involvement in defense of the values of democracy in the urge to overturn the military junta responsible for genocide in Argentina; Princess Diana is depicted as the Queen of Hearts who bravely reaches out to the unfortunate, independently of colour, disease or creed, as she readily picks up and embraces crippled African children as part of an anti-landmine campaign.

Elizabeth II's visit to Portugal took place at a time when Portuguese TV had just started to become operational. As such, we can assume that TV news was still attempting to define modes of framing protagonists within a particular hermeneutic code. Rather than associating Elizabeth II with any cause, emphasis was placed on what royalty symbolized in terms of luxury and wealth; as such, news clips were mainly descriptive of the parade that accompanied the royals and the sumptuous decors of the Palace the Queluz dining room. However, even Elizabeth II can be interpreted as fulfilling an affective function through the metonymic representation of the 'pomp and circumstance' (as is affirmed by a voice-over in the piece) of British royalty in a Portuguese republican context that wishes to perform up to par with its counterpart.

Curiously, the two Portuguese female protagonists are associated with a cause in a broader sense. Portuguese Queen of Fado Amália Rodrigues' fairy tale biography from rags to riches could have transformed her into a symbol of social mobility, somewhat akin to the American Dream. However, the selected news pieces underscore the essential passivity of Amália's character. As commentator Vítor Pavão dos Santos claims, 'Amália used to say of herself that she had never done anything to have that career, that that career had simply crossed her destiny; similarly, she used to say that she hadn't lived life, but rather that life had lived through her'. Amália is thus represented as a figure fulfilling a destiny that had been laid out for her, beyond her will and agency. This in itself represents the definition of Fado, literally corresponding to fate or destiny. Thus, one can interpret Amália's discourse as part and parcel of the sentiment of fate that is translated through this cultural manifestation of a Portuguese imagined community (Anderson, 1983), presuming an open negation of free will.

The first Portuguese test tube baby's mother, in turn, is represented as having the character traits of fortitude, optimism and joy, all of which make of her predestined for the role of motherhood. Interviewed at home shortly after giving birth, she states, 'Carlos Miguel arrived home and hasn't cried yet; he just eats and is a quiet boy. I hope he remains like this.' The apparent banality of this excerpt is symbolic of the affective function of motherhood, a category which in itself bestows an identity to an anonymous woman who has submitted herself to assisted reproductive technologies so as to become a carrier of this gendered identity

3. Women in the Background

Despite the few women that appear as news protagonists, plenty of women appear as background figures of the news stories. The contexts in which they appear are as follows: fashion (miniskirt, lingerie and bikini) (3); demonstrations (student and union) (2); celebrations (including religious processions and funerals) (4); the exercise of a profession (journalist, shop cashier, seamstress, politician,

singer, doctor, teacher, military service) (8); victims of gunfire and conflict (5); wives (4); walkers-by (1); voters (1).

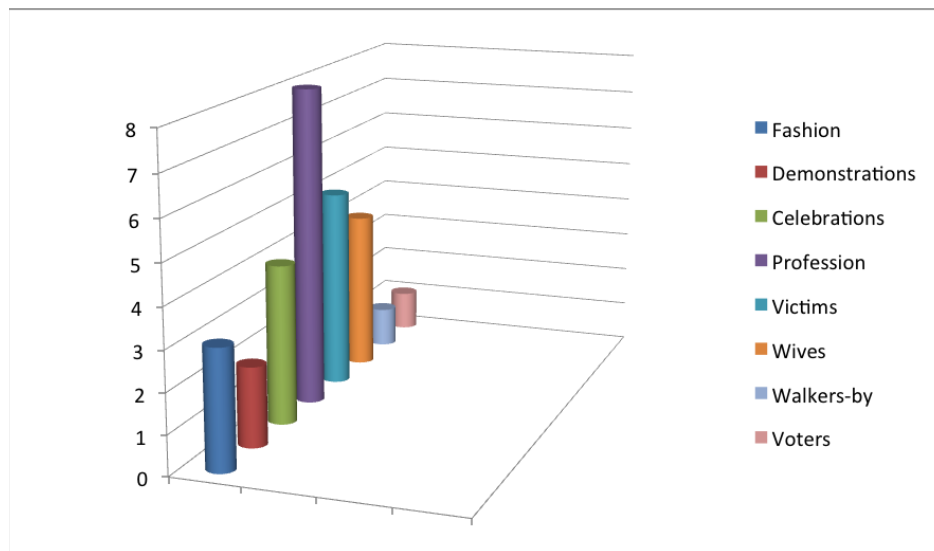


Chart of Background Figures

Women were indeed ubiquitous in celebrations, such as in the funerals of Pope John Paul II and Princess Diana, openly venting their emotions through gestures such as covering their face with a handkerchief in hand, or heads bowed and hands clasped as in prayer, or grieving in the queues to lay down flowers. As victims, emotion is similarly explicitly conveyed, with the moment of terror being either captured in a facial expression or in the body's movement. Often, such victims are of an Asian (East Timorese) or Middle-Eastern (Southern Lebanese) origin, since these are the geographical stages for conflict that the media have singled out as 'common'. The women who fall under the category of 'wives' are usually the spouses of presidents or prime-ministers, who accompany their husbands, holding hands, quietly affirming themselves as the other half of the team.

Interestingly, although there are various references to the professional practice of women, the latter are seldomly given voice as professionals, appearing simply as fleeting images that are secondary to other topics or discourses. Fashion is a fluctuating category, for although it is rarely mentioned in the news pieces, there is an attempt to draw a clear link between changes in fashion and women's behavior and emancipation. The miniskirt and the bikini become symbols of liberation, with the showing of the body corresponding to the increased visibility of women in the public sphere. This theme is warranted to be important enough for RTP to have singled out the miniskirt as the background topic of the 1964 pivotal broadcast.

4. Women Commentators

The broadcasts that are selected by RTP TV producers as representative of the most important events for each year rely on the expertise of commentators, who explain the news excerpts from the vantage point of the present. Amongst the fifty excerpts viewed, only four women appear as commentators, two of whom perform this function in more than one programme. Presuming that television contributes to the formation of memory through the reinforcement of certain readings over others, these comments constitute a 'mediating factor' (Dhoest, 2007: 31) that should be taken into account in understanding viewer decodification. In helping to decode images of the past, such commentators seek to guide viewers' understanding by framing images from a perspective that does not excessively trouble the commonsensical understanding of the present (Wilson, 2008: 401).

Writer Lídia Jorge, for example, attempts to contextualize the importance of the miniskirt in 1960's Portugal as a symbol that indicated change in behaviour amongst the young, contributing to foster a generational gap based on attitudinal differences: 'We felt that [those in power] were square and old-fashioned, that their time had run out and that change was in the air. This is the time when women start to take the pill.' A voice-over follows, stating that the miniskirt anticipates sexual emancipation, the hippy and the student pacifist movements, radical politics or the opposition to any dominant system. As such, the miniskirt

connotes slogans such as ‘it is forbidden to forbid’, associated with May 1968. The voice-over thus establishes a connection between changes in fashion, liberal behaviour, modernity and the fall of a pre-modern right-wing dictatorship that based itself on a censorship that the young refused to accept.

Journalist Diana Andringa comments on the student demonstrations of 1967 that followed a flood in Lisbon, the consequences of which the regime sought to cover up. She is extremely laudatory of the work of the Student Associations in the rescue of the individuals affected by the flood, in which she herself took part. ‘I remember these student associations, many of which [the right-wing political dictator] Salazar had banned, crossing Lisbon in buses, with placards openly stating their affiliation. And police officers would allow them to pass, indicating that this group of illegal and subversive students had been suddenly recognized as performing a great job!’ ‘The rescue effort resulted almost entirely from the initiative of the Catholic students, such as the Student Associations, who were heavily involved in the relocation of families, the distribution of medication, food and blankets. Everything else was totally inefficient.’ The commentator clearly voices opposition against the right-wing dictatorship, accusing it of complete inefficacy; Catholicism here becomes a progressive force and ceases to be the monopoly of either Salazar’s or his successor Caetano’s regimes, gaining leftist connotations. Later, Diana Andringa is again invited to comment on broadcasts pertaining to the year 1970. Here, she again takes recourse to personal experience, this time as ex-political prisoner of the Salazar regime, to sustain her rather emotional viewpoint that the ‘country festively celebrated the death of Salazar’.

Radio Journalist Aura Miguel is commentator of two programmes of a religious nature, respectively dating from 1981 and 2005. In the first programme, she attempts to justify the miraculous nature of Pope John Paul II’s assassination attempt survival on the basis of his belief in the intercession of Our Lady of Fátima: ‘the doctors who received the Pope did not understand how he resisted death. Despite having lost a lot of blood, none of his vital organs were affected. If he lived, it was thanks to a Miracle. The Pope himself recognized this. He attributed this miracle to the intercession of Our Lady of Fátima, due the assassination attempt having occurred May 13, the day of Our Lady of Fátima.’ Aura Miguel’s justification for the Pope’s survival is of a completely speculative,

irrational nature; however, her argument is framed according to the logics of scientific rational deduction, where a conclusion necessarily follows from a stated premise. The conclusion legitimizes Fátima as a place of worship and miracle-working.

In the second programme in which she appears as commentator, Aura Miguel contextualizes the immense outpour of emotion visible in the funeral procession of Pope John Paul II in 2005 within the phenomenon of widespread popularity enjoyed by the Pontiff amongst both religious and non-religious publics ‘He was charismatic, we miss him even today. Even non-Catholics considered him a moral reference and authority. Affectively, he was a likeable character. People would treat him as a grandpa, a family member... he irradiated a tenderness and love that people wanted to absorb; at the funeral, religious and non-religious people alike wished to respond to what he gave them in life – and he gave it out until the end...’. In Miguel’s perspective, the Pope thus appears as a universal figure, linking individuals irrespective of creed, united in their respect for his moral authority, an ambiguous term which means little outside the traditional discourse of the Church. Traditional conservative family imagery of the *pater familias* is paradoxically used to convey characteristics of a liberal Pope, who irradiates a positive energy. Again, this discourse is based on speculative premises that legitimize the conclusion that the Pope is a world reference in moral authority.

The last woman commentator is political studies German expert Ines Lehmann, author of four books on German reunification and invited to speak on the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. This is the commentator who has the most scholarly and objective discourse on the theme she is exploring, describing in detail the double wall (Eastern Wall and Western Wall), separated by a death zone planted with booby trap bombs and landmines, Honecker’s regime and the euphoria that characterized the context of the change in political systems. Although she does refer to personal experience, stating that on the night of the fall of the Wall, she gave various East Germans hitchhike rides to the Western side, living an adventure only comparable to that of ‘the Portuguese April 25 Revolution’, her comments are generally more distant from an experiential lifeworld, approximating more those of the specialist commentator.

5. Discussion

From the above, we can conclude that a) there are few female Portuguese protagonists in the pieces commemorative of the 50 years of RTP; most of the women protagonists are foreign b) the few women commentators who appear essentially have an emotional, speculative discourse that takes recourse to *topoi* (Wodak, 2009: 42), commonsensical viewpoints on themes such as emancipation, freedom, charisma and authority, which, despite being essentially subjective in definition, are used to posit a hermeneutic frame that articulates a clear boundary between pre- and post-April 25 1974, as if there was a clear before and after in attitudinal terms. Pre-April 25 is conservative, pre-modern, repressive, oppressive and restrictive of Enlightenment rationality; Post-April 25 is liberal, modern, emancipatory, permissive and representative of the paradigm of Enlightenment values.

As Stuart Hall states in the famous essay 'Encoding/Decoding' (1980), there are professional codes which correspond to 'the position ... which the professional broadcasters assume when encoding a message which has *already* been signified in a hegemonic manner' (136). I want to argue that the taken-for-granted encoding of post-April 25 influences our understanding of the past in the RTP broadcasts. This consensually normative perception of post-April 25 is reinforced throughout the broadcasts so that a particular selective tradition (Williams, 1977) survives as narrative thread throughout the totality of the broadcasts. This concept of selective tradition can be articulated through the Gramscian concept of hegemony (1996), according to which the power of dominant groups is exercised, on a daily basis, through persuasive rather than repressive means. Through recourse to particular language and symbolisation that create 'a common sense', or social consensus, that helps 'shape popular life' (Hall, 1996a: 439), media texts provide ideological support for dominant power structures.

Such dominant power structures are all the more insidious because they perpetuate themselves through a pro-freedom, pro-rights, pro-liberty discourse that allegedly opposes itself against dominant structures of power. A moment symbolizing this 'political turn' in the RTP broadcasts dates from 1975, when a

woman in an audience dares to ask the military officers on the podium ‘What is a latifundium?’, to which a military officer replies ‘Before this, there is something else: there is woman from Grândola who has dared to ask a question front stage.’ So the revolution is indeed representative of an emancipatory moment that gives the subaltern, silenced woman voice. However, in this context I suggest that the silences of freedom in relation to the past be flagged up.

For example, the existence of female MP’s (Maria Baptista dos Santos Guardiola, Domitila Hormizinda de Carvalho, Maria Cândida de Bragança Parreira) in the Salazar regime or of other women who were important protagonists in the dissemination of the regime’s ideology, with frequent appearance on television in the sixties, such as Cecília Supico Pinto, are completely banned from the public sphere in these supposedly pivotal RTP broadcasts. Likewise, there is no reference to the fact that, in the 1960s, 34% of women worked in the tertiary sector and 26% in industry, not to mention the high rate of women employed in the field of education (Cova & Costa Pinto, 1997: 75, 80).

In comparison to other European countries at the time, what are the differences that these statistics indicate? Curiously, in the RTP broadcasts selected for the 50th anniversary celebrations, there is also no allusion to Maria de Lurdes Pintasilgo, the first woman to occupy the post of Prime-Minister, albeit for only five months, after the implementation of a democratic regime. This may be tentatively attributed to her leadership, in an early stage of her life, of the Mocidade Portuguesa Feminina, the women’s section of the youth movement created by the right-wing dictatorship which had a strong relationship with the Church (Cova & Costa Pinto, 1997: 84), the latter to which she remained affiliated as a progressive, left-wing Catholic from her University years onwards.

These silences are moreover reinforced by certain contradictions in the commentators’ discourse on key past events. For example, Catholicism post-April 25 is represented as sponsoring leftist values, with the Pope being depicted a liberal figure symbolic of Catholic universalism. However, in logical terms, the universal character of the Pontiff would elide this profoundly dichotomical view based on right and left. Another example we can point to is that of the easy association between the miniskirt and emancipation, which draws a correlation between revealing the body and liberation or social affirmation. This contradicts

the fact that there continue to appear few women protagonists even after the miniskirt era in these RTP broadcasts, indicating that change of dress does not necessarily lead to greater social protagonism. Moreover, the equation between miniskirt and liberation elides the fact that, from the moment that the body is given increased visibility, a generation of young women are 'expected to live up to ever narrower judgements of female attractiveness and to meet standards of physical perfection that ... only a mannequin could achieve' (Gill, 2007: 74).

6. Conclusion

Despite the discursive contradictions that manifest themselves in such broadcasts, there is a subjacent unifying thread in the representation of women protagonists and commentators. Both are associated with an affective function: while most women protagonists are connoted with an affective function in the collective sense, as they are frequently seen as speaking for a group or a cause, women commentators correlate with affect in the sense that they help to decipher the original broadcasts from an individual rather than collective point of view, focusing primarily on their own personal experience. This association of women with affect is essentially of an emotional and impressionistic nature. Subjacent to the dichotomy between rationality and irrationality is the idea that because woman's biology draws her closer to nature than man's, she is more predisposed to intuitive and emotional thought which lacks grounding in scientific logic (Humm, 2003: 235).

As such, despite the supposedly advanced and emancipated status that women have achieved post-April 25, the representations that they are subject to both as agents and objects of these RTP programmes privilege an understanding of women as close to the emotional sphere. These representations are not purposefully introduced to question the division between private and public spheres; rather, they simply unquestioningly reproduce a traditional divide that is an integral part of the socially accepted normative consensus of what being a woman means, before April 25 and after April 25.

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Chapter 6

Memory and life world on media reception: a phenomenological approach

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This text highlights the status of memory and everyday life in the media reception context. The centrality of these concepts emphasized the nature of media reception as social everyday practice that contribute to the building of shared meanings and identities.

To exemplify and support the relevance of this kind of approach, one makes use of the transcript of interviews conducted with female audience in the project “Media, reception and memory: female audiences during the New State”. This research project, approved by the Foundation for Science and Technology, in the institutional context of the University of Beira Interior, is researching the history of media reception in Portugal using mostly case studies of female audiences in a context of cultural subordination between the decades of 1930s and 1960.

The work draws upon empirical data collected in the project to discuss some epistemological foundations inherent to communicational research practices. The interviews were carried out near four individuals: three former workers of the textile industry and a relative of a former textile owner. The speeches of the protagonists reflect a time strongly marked, in the city of Covilhã, by a powerful social stratification developed around the existence of a then powerful textile industry that employed intensive labor force. .

[Media, Gender and the Past:
Qualitative approaches to broadcast audiences and memories, pp. 139 - 158]

I

The life-world possesses a communicative and dialogical nature that goes beyond the world of contemporaries presented “here and now”, building bridges with past and future experiences. That particular nature implies a special focus in the memory work in creating common horizons of meaning. Those common meanings go beyond the sharing of the same spatial and temporal coordinates, connecting and interlacing the threads that unite past, present and future.

This approach implies several consequences that should be carefully specified:

a. Firstly, the life-world, because of its historicity, has a certain objectivity at each given moment and situation. Memory is a constituent element of a social agent as a concrete living being, acting in the historical and cultural world, involving meaning production since the perceptive experience until the development of society with its history, traditions, norms, socialization, and classification schemes. Each agent faced this objectivity as somewhat already accomplished.

b. The historical and cultural nature of the life-world doesn't present the same degree of objectivity and facticity as a whole. There are constituents of the life-world more or less rigid and more or less fluid. Particularly, in our days, technological changes affect the concept of presence and co-presence, bringing life-world structures more flexible and porous. At the level of the spatial coordinate, its verifiable a change in the concept of presence that has become more evident with the television and, finally, with Internet and social networks.

The memory became itself, a phenomenon that has a mediated dimension. This fact is exploited by the cultural industry at the level of nostalgia and the continuous recovery of genres and stories: sequels, and even prequels that imagine previous events of a well-known film story.

c. Another common characteristic specific to memory and lifeworld is its symbolic nature. Language and communication play a pivotal role in the

construction of social reality. If the daily reality manifests its presence at every given moment, that is due to the existing possibility of establishing continuous communication with each of the remaining social players involved in the same world. Whole segments of the social world depend on the institutionalization of a common vocabulary (Berger and Luckmann, 1973:96). Language allows that the world in itself becomes a world for us. In the project's context, media are symbolic mechanisms of dissemination and amplification of memory that have its own phenomenology: they structure experience and add memory to memory.

d. Finally, despite the objective and constraining component that surrounds the social author, life-world, does not , in any way come to be a mere inert body that refuses change. In fact, we find ourselves in a universe surrounded by porous uncertainty. Characteristic conditions of modernity turn the life-world potentially more dynamic and reflexive.

II

Memory is linked to the typical nature of the life-world. The perception of social objects in the everyday life-world is constituted within a repertoire of fundamentally collective available knowledge. The interpretation of the world is based on previous experiences which are transmitted to us by direct agents of socialization. Social agents 'present' themselves in the world, using interpretative schemes organized according to past experiences and configurations of the kind "what is already known" (cf. Schutz, 1967: 84). Which means that in face of each new situation, the actor will act in the same way assuming that things will present themselves in a way identical to the way that were presented before.

The experience of receiving a media product that has never even been seen or heard is more than recognition of something "new". It implies a pre-existing cognitive *schemas* and shared horizons of meaning.

The persistent criticism by various theorists of mass culture to its stereotypical character identifies the effects resulting from the need to keep recognizable

elements that perpetuate the narratives and discourses, added by the need of providing easy recognition that will enable rapid investment return. .

Speaking in a phenomenological way, the meaning of human experience can only be achieved in the past tense. Consequently, the existence of a social world requires memory to become significant. Understanding the meaning of an experience only recognizable in the past is an epistemological challenge that goes beyond the use of quantitative methods or content analysis (without any disparagement by this type of approaches -necessarily very useful).

When one reflects on the significance of immediate experience one encounters something inaccessible to merely quantitative positivist epistemology, which is unable “to reconstruct experience” (Schutz, 1982: 31). According to the phenomenological concerns, one of the problems resulting from the disregard of social scientific research on memory is that quantitative methodology and positivist approaches do not captures the person as it exists within their living present. “(Schutz 1967: 184). One central question that crosses methodological and epistemological debate in the social sciences is the necessity of resuming a dialogue with the historicity of the subject, who should be recognized simultaneously as social and individual and irreducible to the process of creating ideal-types.

Our experience is almost always coupled with previous reflections on experience (Schutz, 1982: 32). Each experiment ‘stored’ in memory contains all the previous images for which it was modified “Every moment of our life is the memory of a previous one plus one more X” (Schutz 1982, 38). The gap between life of consciousness and external reality is processed through the retrospective attribution of meaning.

The meaning made possible by memory is not consequently revealed in quantification but with techniques that involve some participation in the narrative. In the case of life stories, that implies a set of procedures that add complicity and engender dialogue between interviewers and interviewed: a kind of choreography in which no one is reduced to the condition of a kind of frozen statue. In this sense, the interviews in the quoted project reveal a kind of strategic empathy on the part of the interviewer to which respondents react

accordingly with different factors: life experience, cultural capital, social class, individual traits.

For example the use of the word “masters” (“patrões”, not empregadores , employers) within a dialogue with a former textile worker from Covilhã, in the course of an interview refers to a universe of meanings from a well-defined social context: “In the house of your masters , have you never seen a radio?” , asks the interviewer.

III

The familial and typical nature of the life world implies a kind of tacit knowledge known as ‘knowledge by acquaintance’. Pierre Bourdieu (1978) discusses what he calls *habitus* as a set of principles with a relation of mutual implication that organizes practices and social representations. For Schutz (Schutz, 1975 b: 5) social agents routinely reproduce the conditions of this reality, which is apprehended through the use of typical behaviors that ensure the continuity of the social order.

The cognitive mechanism of typifying is understood as using classifications that take for granted certain basic features to the solution of practical tasks presented to the actors. There is an attitude of “thinking - as – always” that is dependent on a set of assumptions which the social actor, naively, does not recognize as problematic. However this is not necessarily deterministic. In the interviews referred to in this work, it occasionally appears a painful expression of injustice accompanied by a feeling that can be considered as a kind of resignation and not really an acceptance.

Applying this reasoning to the media field, the social construction of reality is offered as an element that cannot be characterized by simple beliefs in the hypnotic force of media effects. This construction of meaning always depends on who interprets context (Altheide and Snow, 1988). The content reception context has three dimensions: (1) a first one deriving from the logic and conventions of media products, (2) a second one, in which those products are received, and (3) still another, the social and cultural context in which meanings are created (Anderson and Meyer, 1988).

Additionally, another element that brings favor to the use of everyday life concepts comes to be the fact that media devices are an extension of body experience. The cane of the blind, more than being perceived as object, is perceived as an object that become a tool with which one perceives and constitutes the world (Merleau-Ponty, 1966, p. 60-61). The example is particularly interesting because of the way media devices intrude into everyday life imposing the “forgetting” or the invisibility of the technical object in the subject’s relation to the world. As part of the everyday, devices such as TV and radio, newspaper or computer added successive waves of meaning to the universe of social practices, reinforcing them, permeating them or contributing to its reflective questioning but always in a dialectic interaction with the pre-established contexts. Largely, this familiarity implies spatial sensory and bodily dimensions.

The marketing around the mobile devices, for instance, has to do with how to become part of our daily life. Concepts related to ergonomics, concern with the existence of “user friendly “ platforms and devices, the creation of productive and clear symbols (the most obvious are the computer icons) are examples of efforts by designers and engineers to deal with revolutions and transformations that occur in everyday life, making it discrete. The same can be said of the appearance of portability and mobility of vinyl record-players that were shaped like a small suitcase. With this reconfiguration, designers and manufacturers wished to become closer to the new circumstances that resulted from the entry of young people in the mass market. consumption. By the other side, the establishment of domestic space shows the contradictory dimensions of everyday life, the roles of agents present in the social space and the impact of their roles in their capacity as receivers. Some interviews give evidence of how the domestic stratification was also related with the access to media devices.

The interviewer asked the relative of former textile owners:
And what about the employees? Did they use it to listen to the radio?

Beatriz

Oh, yeah, they also had it in the kitchen. (...) And so I remember them being there listening to the radio soap opera and we making fun of them [laughs].

interviewer

And did you use to listen to the radio outside? Was there a time when you listen to radio out?

Beatriz

In the car. In the car.

Interviewer

You had it in the car ...

Beatriz

Yes, yes, we had in the car. My father had a radio in the car.
(Beatriz interview collected on 25/10/2012)

Ilda

“There, next to my house there was a person ... a neighbor who had a radio..
And it was funny that we listen to it when there was the war ... Not the war, the
independence of India.

interviewer

So the first time you saw a radio was in your neighbor's house?

Aida

It was in the ... I mean, we listened from the street. We walked down the street
and you could hear. He had the radio so loud to hear the football... It was not in
his house, it was in the street that we heard it

interviewer

Then, later, when you went to the house of Mr. Antunes ...

Aida

Yes, at the time I went to the house of Mr. Antunes, they also didn't have a TV
set. . They had radio sets but they did not have a television set. Then, ah ... I was
already there, in their home, when he bought a television.

(Aida, interview collected on 17/12/2012)

interviewer

When you bought the radio, where did you put it?

Paula

In the room ... with the television.

interviewer

On top of a piece of furniture?

Paula

A kind of furniture they had ... they called it a psyche, in one room and it was there that I had the television.

(Interview collected on 31/10/2012)

V

The mentioned familiarity of life-world implies to watch it as the world of evidence, but evidence and familiarity always implies its opposite. Thanks to this intuition, the phenomenological approach contributed to demonstrate how this instance is less stable than what it seems.

A first level of analysis of the strangeness relates to our immediate perception of the world. This is what is visible when an unproblematic routine is interrupted by something working as contrast to a previewed previous development assumed as a general expectation. (Schutz & Luckmann, 1973:11).

The reception of a media product without much critical requirement is made primarily on the level of recognition as it happens with the most obvious popular songs and film narratives. But, imagine that this experience is interrupted by a new element. The happy ending is disturbed by a detail that introduces the chaos instead of the expected happiness. The tune of the popular song of easy recognizable chorus is interrupted by an unexpected dissonance. The flow of evidence is broken by a discreet critical tone.

In fact, some popular culture have internalized these tensions and worked with narrative building by skillfully playing both the satisfaction of expectations and the introduction of unexpected surprises. Comedy and “suspense”, for example, work with this dichotomy.

A second level of strangeness is based on the existence of multiple realities. Actors perceive the world as a multiplicity of realities. Each of these provinces of meanings corresponds to diverse modes of relationship between consciousness and world. Aesthetic experience, media reception, religious experience, work are different ways of thinking and being in the world (cf. Schutz, 1975: 231). The consciousness of an agent reads the universe in a way that involves transitions between particular states of reality through different attitudes and states of consciousness, departing from and returning to the life-world, the peaceful world of everyday evidence, which becomes the anchor of these transitions.

Considering those dynamics, the reception of media products can open doors to experiences that challenge the everyday reality. The women interviewed lived in universes of meaning considerably stratified but media sometimes operate as open windows to other worlds: The work of Luís Silva e Helena Sousa (2003) show us how tv popular contests and foreign serials were elements that helped to intellectually prepare the generation of the 70s to the coming changes

Finally, a third dimension of strangeness concerns the fact that each community based on a natural attitude that is always marked by its ethnocentric character. The life-world inherent in the internal group presupposes a mode of knowledge incoherent, only partially clear and not completely free of contradictions. The fact that the in-group share this “relatively natural conception” assuming, with reasonable evidence, that “so far so, it will remain so” only reveals that the structure of the social world is based on a certain reordering of social relations. What is taken by evident is simultaneously marked by the possibility of an imminent challenge. After all, “what is taken for granted in the prevailing situation in the life-world is surrounded by uncertainty” (Schutz & Luckmann, 1973)

VI

The reference to the memory doesn't necessarily imply a still world, devoided of conflicts and opposite interests. In this sense, the notion of relevance is an important concept for the possibility of cultural studies of phenomenological inspiration. Thanks to this concept, we identify the fragment of the world to which we confer attention (retaining it in memory) accordingly social and collective interests. To admit that what we know is defined by individual and collective interests, is to recognize the existence of many possibilities for structuring the repertoire of knowledge about the world. It also implies that this possibility is socially determined, accordingly social interests.

That is, the memory of events is a process of social construction, in which intervenes numerous factors:

- a. the importance attributed to the experience in terms of certain social and individual interests (Moloch and Lester, 1993). This factor shows up on interviews conducted by the project. The interviewee's memories are determined by some particular gratification related with the acquisition of consumption: the 60s and the 70s, in spite of the low wages still practiced in textile industry, were also decades of social change with some weak processes of consumption democratization and the expansion of a fragile welfare state. One of the interviewees detects the particular year when she has made domestic purchases, including TV and radio.

Caroline

in my house, when I did marriage for the second time ... I bought a battery, bought a fridge, bought the radio, television ... ah, all derived from the battery. When the battery ran out, renewed replaced it. Throw it away and replaced it by another one. Until then it came ... Then had electricity installed at home ... home of the second marriage.

(Carolina, interview collected on 31/10/2012)

Another side of the situation is clearly manifested in the obvious satisfaction that an interviewee shows because of having owned a record player and a radio in a moment they constituted a factor of social differentiation. Access to technology and media is associated in his narrative to a memory of success. Moreover, memory provides a sort of gratification associated with happy moments to which succeeded the experience of decay.

Interviewer

You used to go to the attic and dance there with your friends ...

Beatriz

And we had our vinyl records, forty-five, seventy-eight rotations. We had a plethora of discs.

It is helpful to check the contrasts in order to understand that the social distinction is experienced at the level of the life-world:

Interviewer

And where have you listened to the radio for the first time?

Ilda

When I had a radio, I was a little grown up, then my fourteen, fifteen. It was at that time that I was helping to raise my nephews. The radio helped me to feeding them.

(interview collected on 29/10/2012)

Interviewer

where do you remember watching TV or listening to the radio?

Paula

After I left school I work as a maid,. Sometimes, when the Eurovision Song Contest or something special happened on TV, the masters called the maids so that they could watch. But it was not usual, an everyday thing, because at that

time it was like this: you there and me here. So there was those class differences. As I was a maid and they were the masters... .

- b. Another element is related with access to the material possibilities. See the account of the first contact with the TV (in the master's house where she worked as room maid):

Interviewer

How was it?

Aida

Alas, it was a joy, that day ... And on Sunday, we all got together to watch TV, there were those movies that I remember, Portuguese movies, and we all cried, sitting on the floor. (Aida, interview collected on 24/10/2012)

Another participant highlighted the gratification felt by the acquisition of the radio:

Interviewer

And how was that?

Maria

Oh, then workers started buying.

Interviewer

They started buying?...

Maria

Workers but not any worker. As I told you, my father was ... a section master and he did not earn such a bad salary at the time.

Interviewer

And how was that first radio? Do you remember it?

Maria

It was like this [with her hands draws the outline of a large, square radio}. It had wooden buttons.

Interviewer

Almost the size of a television.

Maria

Yeah, yeah.

(Maria cinterview, collected at 24/11/2012)

c. An element worthy of consideration is the relationship with the symbolic material. Dominant classes exhibited some hardly concealed disdain before the popular radio soap operas. These were presented as a model of romantic dramas to which it is applied the term “corny”. The interviewee recalls the house maids sitting in the kitchen listening to the soap operas. Even mass cult revealed this inner distinction around the cultural capital possessions.

Beatriz

I remember them being there listening to the radio soap operas and we made fun of them [laughs].

Interviewer

Why?

Beatriz

Because we thought that was a bit ... well it was a little ... [laughs.]

Interviewer

Did you ever come to realize what was the name of the soap opera and what was the story?

Beatriz

Oh no, no. Not at all. I remember they asked my mom to get a small radio to the kitchen, and they used to be there listening to soap operas. They were serials, they were called serials. Radio serial.

Interviewer

And you did not get to listen?

Beatriz

No, no, I was not interested whatsoever. I thought it was horrible [laughs].
(Beatrice, collected in interview 11/08/2012)

This assessment collides with another transcribed:

Aida: “I remember the soap operas when I was already married, living with my mother in law. Sometimes we wanted to start lunch and my mother in law, she had a small room next to the kitchen and we used to eat in that little rom. And my mother in law did would not eat while the soap opera was on. And then she cried and cried”

(Aida, interview collected on 24/10/2012)

Innovation, in turn, is identified with the consumption of Anglo–Saxon products..

Interviewer

Do you remember anything of the Emissora Nacional, Rádio Club Português...?

Beatriz

I also heard Emissora Nacional And Rádio Club Português, yes. But these were a kind of ... it was a kind of music that we did not like so much. This was for the most popular music and we preferred other kind of music. Still today. Pink Floyd ... I remember that we listen to it at the time. Good music of the sixties.

(Beatrice, collected in interview, 11/08/2012)

d. Finally there was relationship of subordination visible in the construction of domestic space that can be glimpsed in the handling of media objects themselves: who chooses the programs? Who has the right to use the remote control to turn the device on and off? Relations of subordination and domination are both experienced and imposed. Relations of subordination have a structural dimension, if you will, that cannot be ignored. However, everyday assimilation of social codes of subordination based on the gender gap were also visible. One interviewee, Aida told that in those days the shared image of man was far from being considered a companion.

Aida..

I think the old days, you know, women were very badly treated In those times I went to the school chapel to thank God for not having a father, believe me.

(Aida, interview collected on 24 - 10-2012).

VII

Bringing to everyday life “presence” of different social and cultural rights, the media and popular culture generate elements of reflexivity that undermine social habits and typifications. Interfering in the contexts of socialization (leisure time, family hierarchies, roles associated with gender), the construction of identities and the regulation of gender roles becomes more complex. Looking at the data provided by the life stories collected under the Project Media, Memory and Gender, it appears that a timid and contradictory evidence of modernity reluctantly lurked behind the audience listening to the singers and stars of the popular culture in the late ‘50s and ‘60s.

A curious element of this trait is the emphasis given by several interviewees to Simone de Oliveira, a singer in the 60s who sung lyrics written by José Carlos Ary dos Santos, a Communist and surrealist poet. She won the RTP Song Festival with a song which had somehow shocking lyrics to the taste of the time, showing unexpected allusion to the sexual pleasure related with motherhood. In the naïf world of a TV channel controlled by the conservative authoritarian regime, the lyrics raised some controversy:

Beatriz

Ah, Simone de Oliveira, I think ... I admire her. I think it's a great woman.... Yes, I remember that.

Interviewer

And do you remember this song being in the Festival?

Beatriz

Perfectly. Yes, yes, yes, I remember this.

(....)

Interviewer

But for those people who are more conservative, sometimes ... Were there any conservative comments ?

Beatriz

[Pause] Not with me. But I remember very well that

Aida

Simone de Oliveira. I remember her very well and even when she came to Covilhã when I was married ...

Another interesting element is the comment made before a movie starring Amalia Rodrigues in which the protagonist assumes a submissive posture before men:

Aida

What do I think? I think it is bad, there you have. She thought in a way that was not I do not think like that. I mean, that was for the theater, it was not true. This is not true. But ... No, men must not to rule women.

Interviewer

Did you not agree with her?

Aida

No sir.

There is always significant fragments of life- world that can somehow be questioned by media. During this process, the contingency and porosity of life-world is brought to light, exposing their vulnerability to questioning. However, this is no easy nor an immediate task.

If the repertoire of knowledge is given to us by traditions, by our predecessors, and also the symbolic material supplied by the media, a change of interpretation is also a challenge to background knowledge.

VIII

By adopting life story methodology we believe in a certain idea of reception as daily activity of collective construction of meanings and social meanings that govern the relationships between subjects. The assumed participation of the researcher in the research is emphasized by several authors, when referring to this method of qualitative research. The principal purpose of scientific activity is coherent organization of significant personal experiences. The research appears as a constant and disciplined effort to discover the significant order inherent in the experience. Accordingly, research is completed with the account of the journey of a researcher and the history of his involvement with the subject researched.

The interviewer situation itself constitutes an effort of what social scientists refer to understanding, that is an intellectual attitude that aims to make possible the capture of a meaning assigned to the action.

Walter Benjamin (1997), considered the art of telling a story an infinite event. Why infinite? Because “the event is remembered without limits, because it is just a key to everything that came before and after.” Narrating something is to exchange experiences. Therefore, each narrative includes the experience shared by the narrator and heard by the other, the listener. Reading the interviews conducted as part of this project, the narrative remains, after all, a process that originates ulterior meanings. Through it, we can approach the experience as it was remembered by the narrator. The form of the narrative keeps the values

and perceptions present in the experience narrated contained in the subject's history and transmitted to the researcher. The interviewer is then another social actor that perpetuates the memory, despite the availability of techniques for making the results of research clear, systematic and objective. The narrator does not present a report on the experience. He is giving opportunity for the other - the interviewer - to listen him and transform the narrative according to the interpretation.. It is assumed therefore that, in a certain way, the act of telling and listening an experience involves an intersubjective relationship, a dialogue that takes place in a universe of values and affection. Therefore, when working with the subjects narratives the interviewer participates in its history and in its reconstruction taking part in an unceasing profusion of meanings.

Conclusions:

1. The phenomenological contributions on life-world's memory when applied to media realities must incorporate the transformations of the experience.
2. Approaches that depart from the life- world life must deepen the elements of critical nature to identify situations related with power, legitimacy, recognition and subordination.
3. The interviewers in life stories cannot look at themselves as detached from social experience and memory. This does not mean abandoning the rigor. Before the multiplication of possibilities, a stronger effort of accuracy is demanded . In particular, it is necessary to identify procedures that avoid "false memories" and above all, to insist on identification of mediated and non-mediated memories. It's part of collective effort to overcome the positivist bias and the risks of dealing with persons as puppets.
4. Finally, this approach is not compatible with the traditional image of the reception theories. The concept of reception becomes a social practice. The

effects theory may be useful from the point of view of identification of major trends but must be considered in their own limits an heuristic explanation that involve some artificiality.

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Chapter 7

Gender differences and the influence of Emigration on the Memory of the first Television audiences in Spain¹

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1. Introduction

There are few historical studies on the social impact of television in Spain based on the memories of the audience. Nevertheless studies on how television was popularly received amongst the Spanish population are now being undertaken more frequently and are on a par with other countries. The reason behind this interest lies in the prominent role television plays in shaping the memory of the various social groups in contemporary society.

Television is instrumental in the processes of forming the historical and collective memory of its audiences, a memory which is characterised by the intangible role the medium plays as a forger, first of history, and secondly of memory itself. In this respect, an accumulated individual memory made up of specifically television related memories undeniably exists. This memory refers both to the relationship of the viewers, the audience, with television technology and its use, as well as to the memories of the programmes broadcast by the various

1) This article relies in part on the work in progress of the Research Project “Audiences abroad. Television memory and reception habits of Spanish emigrants and European migrants in Spain” (CSO2012-31261), funded by Spanish Ministry of Economy and Competitiveness (Spain) 2013-2015.

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channels in different countries over the years. The diachronic development of broadcasting itself has generated a “television retrospection” or “televised memory” (programmes, series, news, live broadcasts) that have become lodged in popular memory, creating a series of shared memories that influence, not only an individual’s identity, but also that of groups or the collective identity.

In this article, we aim to focus essentially on certain relevant aspects of this memory: memory associated with television in Spain and how gender differences or circumstances, such as emigration, have influenced how television is consumed. The memories of the first television viewers shed light on and provide a valuable first-hand account of their experience, enabling us to better understand this historical development in communication (Varela, 1999; O’Sullivan, 2007; Penati, 2013).

Research on television history should include the personal and collective memory of the viewers for two reasons:

- On the one hand, it stands as a research tool. The viewers’ oral and written memories are an element that should be taken very much into account when analysing television from a historical point of view. Oral sources, debate groups and other qualitative research techniques or quantitative methods are shedding light on reception studies. In addition, they offer a model of history that differs from the traditional official or institutional accounts that have dominated the scene in countries such as Spain, for instance.
- On the other hand, memory is not only a channel or source that can be used to reconstruct the history of television but an element that, in our opinion, should be studied in its own right within this field. For instance, contemporary attitudes towards the medium have clearly been influenced by the way a viewer or a community has embraced television over the years. Therefore, this memory is linked to the evolution of society, to technological change, to historical transformation, to migratory movements, to feelings of identity, etc. That “television memory” can even serve us to explain the success of certain trends and programmes rely heavily on viewer memory; or the exchange of digitized archives of old television shows on social networks.

Although our assumptions are based on the fact that memory is not synonymous or analogous to history, we firmly believe that viewer memory should be part of television history.

In our doctoral thesis entitled (Gutiérrez, 2006) we have undertaken a historical study of the social acceptance of television in the Spanish region of Andalusia during the sixties. The study was based on a multi-method research system which combined a questionnaire, qualitative focus group interviews and the use of complementary articles from the period. Those surveyed and interviewed were all persons over the age of 55 attending complementary training courses at all of Andalusia's universities and at a number of adult education centers in both rural and urban areas of Malaga and Seville. Most of the 500 who were surveyed and the 100 interviewed were women working either on the land or in domestic service and living in villages in Andalusia. These women, in spite of the economic development that took place in the sixties, did not have the opportunity to attend school in their day, though they were able to watch television from its beginnings (either in their own homes or in those of neighbours or relatives).

Their written and spoken testimonies provide a counterpoint to the traditional institutional history of the medium. They offer a view "from below" of the structure of the consumer society in Andalusia during the years of the "economic miracle" under Franco's dictatorship. The topics covered in that study range from the introduction of television technology to the social settings cultivated for its consumption from the very beginning, as well as the best-remembered images and characters from the early years of TVE.

Through that study, and with the help of their memories, we discovered the different ways in which television technology was adopted by men and women. It became evident in the research that there were some clear differences in how this medium was adopted and how television was first consumed. Among sectors of the population with few economic means and with lower levels of educations, these differences were revealed to be largely gender related (between men and women), as well as based on specific personal circumstances (place of work, emigration abroad, etc.). In this respect, many Spanish men (mainly from Andalusia), followed shortly after by many women, formed part of the mass

emigration of workers to various European countries just as television began to develop in Spain during the 1960s. This defining factor, emigration, is now included in a new area of research, which we are exploring in relation to the memories of the first Spanish television audiences.

In an environment inhabited by concepts such as new frameworks and challenges for the history of television in Europe, we cannot ignore the fact that, in many European countries, audiences have acquired –similar or different– experiences throughout the history of television. Those experiences are now taking on new forms, thanks to technological advancement and the digitization and globalization of formats. In the second part of this article we will be looking into the notion of audiences pioneering the “globalisation of television reception”, which concentrates on displaced audiences.

The term “displaced audiences” refers to those groups of viewers who are, in our opinion, highly appropriate subjects on which to base an analysis of the viewers’ relationship with television over the years, and even of practices that are live on today. These audiences consist of people who emigrated from their countries of origin for different reasons (economic, political or recreational) and have spent their entire lives watching television in an environment that is not their own by birth.

Based on the Spanish case (and considering both Spanish émigrés and European foreigners residing in Spain), we argue that research on Europe’s television history cannot be completely understood without factoring in the population movements that led to the creation of groups and communities of viewers that existed outside the majority in the countries where they resided.

2. Memories of the social reception to television in Spain

Since its launch in 1956, and during the Franco dictatorship, television gradually emerged as the most popular source of information, along with radio, for most of the population, despite the regime imposing its censorship on its content. By the mid 1960s TVE (Televisión Española) had achieved widespread social

penetration amongst the population as a whole. Alongside its value as a source of information, perhaps television's success resided mainly in its capacity to offer entertainment to much of the working class, who would initially have been unable to afford a television set. It comes as no surprise, therefore, that audiences describe television at the time as a "necessary luxury."

The highly diverse "television audience" rapidly expanded across the entire country with the proliferation of TV sets in public places (bars, shops), official locations set up in rural areas by the government (such as the "Teleclubs" instigated by the Franco regime and set up in schools and parishes), and especially in homes in the towns and cities, first in the homes of the more "well-off" families, and eventually extending to more humble homes thanks to credit and deferred payment facilities.

Women and men embraced television technology and enjoyed the programmes in markedly different ways, on account of the unequal role each of them played within society under the dictatorship in both the public realm and in the private sphere. Under Franco, women were assigned a subordinate role to men, which was sanctioned by the moral code stemming from the ideology of the Catholic Church and from the dictatorship itself through the *Sección Femenina* (Sánchez López, 1990; Ramos, 2011). However, with the advent of the economic and social changes of the 60s, women began to enter the workforce in conjunction, in many cases, with the experience of emigration. This had its consequences for television.

According to the reconstruction of the oral memory of the first Spanish television viewers, the social context at the time meant that male social supremacy prevailed in the audience reception of television. This supremacy translated as male dominance in the home and in the public sphere. The head of the family, the husband or father, was the person who decided whether to purchase a television set for the home. Besides, men also had the opportunity to access collective viewing in the bars and taverns, from which women, at least initially, were barred. The exclusion of women from public spaces was relaxed somewhat over time.

With regards to programme contents, women, according to their recollection, quickly became fond of the fiction genres (series, soaps, films) and entertainment

(such as quiz programmes), while men manifested a stronger preference for sports or news programmes. This difference in tastes, however, was not quite so evident at the outset, and memories may have been influenced by what David Morley describes as the “cultural distinction” effect (Steiner, 1999). It is clear that the attraction of television was similar for both men and women, a fact corroborated, for example, by the huge popularity of televised bullfights. As such, the greatest differences between the sexes resided initially more in the “how,” “where” and “how much” television women watched and not so much in which programmes they preferred compared to men.

2.1. Bars and taverns - places for male television entertainment

Bars and restaurants were quick to stoke the allure of television in the early days in a formidable way; they were far more comfortable than the windows of the shop fronts where the curious public saw their first programmes. However, the closed space of the bar or tavern constituted for many years an essentially male territory for relaxation.

Women did not have their own clearly defined space outside the home, comparable to that which the men enjoyed in the bars. On the whole “free time” was an exclusively male concept, while women, if they did snatch a few minutes of leisure time, would devote themselves to the home or to family relations.

Women visiting bars alone or accompanied by other women was something never or rarely seen during the early years of television. This state of affairs endured for many years. The only women in these bars worked in the kitchen, and even during moments of rest (such as late on Saturday night), they would watch television from behind the bar with their daughters, in the background, away from the rest of the customers.

The women interviewed who spoke of why they could not visit bars, explained that it was a social norm that was instilled into them since they were children, that it was deemed as sinful and something they were even forbidden outright from doing by their husbands. For them, going to a bar alone, even to watch television, was a luxury, with the only exceptions being special occasions

such as fairs or Holy Week when they could go accompanied by their husband or family members:

“Before we couldn’t go to a bar. A woman in a bar? On the other hand, now... It was for men, that’s all. On Fridays, the men would leave work, and go out for an aperitif, a drink, for their beer or whatever, but women, no. Women going to a bar? Not at all... No way...” (Woman born in Málaga in 1942).

Even when fathers took their children to the bars to watch the television, it was normally the boys (and not the girls) who went. A survey published in 1965 in the religious magazine *Mundo Cristiano* explained that for male Spanish teenagers at the time, bars were also the place where they watched the television (21.1 per cent of those surveyed). However, girls and female youngsters stated that they normally watched television at school (21.5 per cent) or at relatives’ or friends’ houses. “Girls are less frequently seen among the audiences of drinking establishments. They prefer to go to educational institutions or to their friends’ or neighbours’ houses,” the survey adds (Vázquez, 1965: 23, 109). This is explained by the girls’ supposed preference for “activities that do not require energy or drive. Everything we would consider as passive has a higher score amongst girls” (Vázquez, 1965: 45-46).

Nevertheless, through emigration and living outside Spain for some time, women acquired customs that were less influenced by the rigid morality that gripped those living in rural areas and even in towns in Spain. These émigré women had no qualms about visiting a bar with their husbands or occasionally without them, and would even demand from their husband the right to accompany them.

Although the taverns were almost exclusively a male domain, family cafés and bars (where food was also served) were viewed as less “suspicious” or “dangerous,” thus gradually opening up to the possibility of women visiting them. Soon mixed cafés even began to spring up; these were the popular *churrerías* or similar establishments where courting couples would go for an afternoon bite

to eat, thus expanding public leisure venues to the presence of females and to shared television viewing outside the family home.

In any case, the process of the gradual entry of women into these public places is referred to throughout the interviews as a slow and steady conquest. Naturally, for those women who worked outside the home, various opportunities arose for them to discover television.

2.2. Television in the workplace

Most of the men and women interviewed in our research belonged to the working class, and were employed in work in the fields, in domestic service or in food related industries. Their memories about their working environment and television also offer a significant insight. On the one hand, gender differences were highlighted by two distinct places of work: the private houses where the women worked as maids and the farmhouses where the men were responsible for the rural tasks.

Thousands of women left the rural regions for the provincial towns, other Spanish regions or other countries to work as domestic servants (Meléndez, 1962). The men were mainly employed as hired hands on the farms of bourgeois families, where they were sometimes accompanied by their wife and children.

Those who could not afford a television set owing to its prohibitive cost, watched television at these places of work. The women employed as maids remember how grateful they were that their masters would allow them to watch some programmes on certain days or on a daily basis. Sometimes, a few masters and mistresses would agree with their maids to bring forward the time of the evening meal so that all of them, including the maid, could watch Spanish Television's most popular programmes. This gesture was remembered most often in relation to historic occasions, such as the first time man landed on the moon.

“When [they landed on] the moon, I remember the moon, and when those astronauts raised the flag. We didn't have a television in my house, but I was

working, serving, and the owners called us in the early hours of the morning to watch the television” (Woman born in Lebrija (Sevilla) in 1947).

Not all masters or bosses were that generous. In rural areas, labour relations were not usually as easy as in the homes, and the workers often had to watch television behind the backs of the bosses. When they were not allowed or invited to watch, they would do what they could to satisfy their curiosity: by watching through windows, through gaps in doors that were ajar, etc.

On the whole, the memories of these early television viewers is strongly associated with the happiness they experienced with this new medium, but also with the difficulties in accessing it due to their economic and social circumstances. This economic situation drove hundreds of thousands of Spanish men and women to emigrate to various European countries. The memories of these displaced audiences, including those who returned quite quickly and those who never returned, are also important when analysing Spain’s social memory with regard to the early years of television.

3. First television experiences of Spanish emigrants in Europe during the 60’s

For thousands of Spaniards emigration was a phenomenon that would become crucially intertwined with television. This has been demonstrated with recollections of Spain’s earliest viewers and press reports published at the time.

The present situation in Spain is once again mirroring to the one that prevailed five decades ago in the sixties, when the country exported its workforce. Thousands of young people from the more economically-backward regions (notably Galicia and Andalusia) moved either to other cities in Spain or abroad in search of a brighter future. At that time, the development of television was in its formative stages. Moving abroad allowed thousands of Spanish emigrants to see, for the first time television-sets, in a moment when television sets were not even available to the majority of the Spanish population.

According to official statistics, just over two million Spaniards now reside abroad. Nearly half of them live in different countries of Europe. However, these figures are way below those recorded during the emigration process of the sixties and early seventies (Babiano, 2002; Babiano y Farré, 2009).

That migratory process (happened during the Dictatorship of General Franco) alleviated potential domestic conflict, both economic and political in Spain. But the emigrants endured hard times at first, when they started working abroad. Many Spanish emigrants returned to Spain in the Seventies because of the World Economic Crisis. They found after their experiences abroad a more developed country where TV had the biggest following within the media.

Returning to the topic of TV, it is interesting to notice that the relationship between the development of TV and the emigration process run parallel to each other. In 1956, the state television channel, Televisión Española (TVE). And in the same year, the National Emigration Institute was created, as a government institution that played its role in the key years of Europe's economic rebuilding process.

According to the recollections of people interviewed, the language barrier encountered in other countries didn't affect the emigrants' excitement for their new-found TV experience. For some social classes, particularly the unqualified (manual workers, labourers, maids), television in Spain was for many years a luxury beyond their reach. The economic problems faced by most of the Spanish population meant that buying a television set was difficult. Emigration, however, made it possible. The emigrants interviewed frequently commented that the families back in Spain were able to buy TV-sets with the money they sent them (Björkin and Gutiérrez, 2008).

During the 1960s, many Spanish emigrants turned to radio as their vehicle of choice to stay in touch with the reality of their home country. The Spanish Dictatorship promoted the creation of a "Radio School System," in an attempt to both boost the level of education of the Spanish audience at home and of Spanish listeners residing in other European countries. The cultural element was reinforced by a number of "Spanish centres" that started to pop up in the European cities with the largest proportion of Spanish labour (for instance, there were 226 in Germany in 1966).

However, the situation began to change gradually as of the 1970s when television became more widespread. In many countries, both radio and television broadcasts featured programmes in different languages designed specifically for the emigrant population. These programmes were generally created either by European channels or by the Spanish Government, and played a vital role in easing the emigrant's sense of being uprooted (Calvo et al., 2012).

Televisión Española itself began organising an “artistic delegation” in the middle sixties that took the form of a televised tour involving famous Spanish singers and presenters, who would perform in various different cities to “brighten up” the emigrants' lives. In Holland, for example, the directors of the Philips company lent their support to the staging of one of these musical festivals for its Spanish employees in December 1966 (*Diario Sur*, 13-12-1966: 24). TVE's artistic embassies would perform annually around December to liven up the Christmas season for workers who were not able to spend the holidays with their families in Spain. These entertainment programmes were also filmed by TVE and broadcast for the Spanish audience.

In 1967, the “Friendship Embassy” –as it was also known– gave a Christmas performance in Bonn that was briefly covered, as a demonstration of patriotic enthusiasm, by the press: “Spanish emigrants packed out the large auditorium and were blown away by the stunning performances of artists whose pilgrimage took them to Switzerland, Belgium and Germany. Spanish workers were able to reconnect with the memory and the flavour of their homeland during this solemn Christmas season” (*ABC*, 14-12-1967: 109).

Germany's third channel started to broadcast a weekly programme specifically for Spanish emigrants in 1965. But the most popular programme would be “Aquí España”, a production of TVE broadcast in Germany by ZDF (1969-1992). For those Spaniards who moved to other countries, certain channels, such as Italian RAI, were obviously more popular because of the similarity between the Italian and Spanish languages. In any case, television gave the emigrant's children born abroad the chance to learn foreign languages and integrate better.

Spanish emigrants in Switzerland had an even vaster linguistic selection to choose from. The Swiss Broadcasting Society – no stranger to customized programmes for communities of emigrants– created informative programmes

for the Spanish population in the style of those designed for Italian workers. The most notable television contribution was “Tele-Revista,” a programme that debuted in 1973 (Calvo et al., 2012). The format mirrored a similar show created for Italian emigrants in Switzerland called “Un’ora per voi” (1964 and 1989) – a coproduction between the Swiss broadcaster, the SSR and Italy’s RAI, with the support of the Italian Foreign Affairs Ministry. However, the Spanish “Tele-Revista” was a fortnightly show that focused more on information and less on entertainment. “Tele-Revista” concentrated on news that affected the Spanish reality and Spanish workers in Switzerland.

The interviews to the viewers clearly showed that the nostalgia caused by living so far away was eased television. Broadcasts of football matches, usually involving the Spanish national team or Real Madrid, were joyfully received by men and women alike. The feeling of belonging and “national pride” ensured that these sports transmissions carried immense emotional significance for all Spanish emigrants.

The habits acquired by female emigrants were different to the Spanish women living in Spain, as they were not subjected to the rigid constraint of the Dictatorship. Returned emigrants brought their TV-sets which they had purchased abroad with them. They also had acquired in the habit of watching foreign channels in non-Spanish language. Our research found that many of them continued this habit and, consequently, they were amongst the first to install satellite dishes in Spain during the 80’s (Gutiérrez, 2006: 264-276).

In short, the recollections we collected from early emigrants revealed that their experience was twofold: the difficulties they encountered in adapting and the benefits reaped from the experience. As far as television is concerned, the survival in the collective memory of experiences related to emigration goes a long way to explaining the tastes and consumption habits of more recent times.

3.1. Audiences abroad: Television memory and reception habits of emigrants

Finally, we would like to sum up the goals of a new research into the consumption trends and the television memory of those Spanish emigrants who did not return to Spain and also European citizens who have been living in Spain for several decades. The research project is untitled “Audiences abroad. Television memory and reception habits of Spanish emigrants and European migrants in Spain”.

The mass emigration of Spanish citizens for economic reasons in the 1960 coincided in great part with the beginning of another process. It was the arrival of population from a host of European countries who settled in different Spanish regions. Spain’s tourist industry boomed in the Sixties and had a strong impact on turning Spanish Mediterranean coastal areas into top tourist destinations – first as holiday spots and then as fully-fledged “homes away from home”– for citizens travelling, mainly, from Great Britain, Germany and Nordic countries.

The motivation that led these European communities to set up on Spanish soil differed greatly from those of Spanish emigrants. Nevertheless, their experiences abroad as non-native viewers –as displaced audiences– allow us to compare their trajectories.

Spain is one of the top countries in the European Union (EU) in terms of foreign residents (5.14 million foreigners in June 2011). Of those foreign citizens, 2.2 million (i.e. 5% of Spain’s total population) are EU citizens. Madrid, Barcelona, Alicante, Valencia, Malaga and the Balearic Islands are home to half of the EU foreigners, with more than 125,000 residents in each province. Out of the total number of citizens, 210,896 are more than 60 years old. The province of Alicante boasts the highest number of elderly foreigners, with 55,000 residents; followed by the province of Málaga, with 22,700 people over 65 years old, and the Canary Islands with 20,600 senior foreigners (figures from Spanish Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2011).

This project aims to focus on these two migratory realities –both past and present– to analyse how television is consumed, particularly by mature viewers: citizens who have spent decades living abroad. The analysis touches on both Spaniards emigrated to other European countries and European seniors living in

Spain. Their experiences abroad as non-native television viewers –as displaced audiences– allow us to compare their trajectories.

Despite the different origins of these two groups or audiences (Spaniards living abroad and European citizens living in Spain), both communities share a series of experiences, television uses and generational coincidences in terms of their relationship with television. They also have some common points, such as all being elderly, having permanent residency away from their home countries and belonging to minority groups in their target countries. At the same time, both groups have continuously updated their TV-technology so that they can access their native countries' broadcasts. It is likely that they both have strong emotional links with TV programs that appeal to their national identities.

The introduction of satellite signals and the end of the monopoly of State-owned channels in the 1980s led to a substantial change in television, and in the lives of many groups of emigrants living abroad. Similarly, the arrival of global television channels, the development of digital technologies and the Internet put an end to the stagnant national conception linked to those State-owned channels. The creation, monitoring and production of multiple international channels linked either to States or different cultural communities has been undertaken not only to convey information to displaced audiences, but also to strengthen, create or recreate and maintain cultural traditions and contents. These channels have developed symbolical contents that have been interpreted differently by the first generations of emigrants and by the children they had abroad (Chalaby, 2005; Peñafiel, 2008; Echegaray y Peñafiel, 2011).

In this way, the principal aim of this project is to offer a comparative study between reception habits in two different groups of television audiences. Concerning television, there are some factors that can be compared, such as their member's experience being part of an audience which is away from their national television systems. This has led to similar implications in various processes, namely, appropriating technological changes in order to have access to their home country broadcasts, as well as the possibility of strong emotional links with television programs or messages that appeal to their national identities.

Therefore, the theoretical framework for the proposal ties in with research on the transnationalization of television, comparative studies, research on the

relationship between minority ethnic groups or communities (Warnes and Williams, 2006) and the shows broadcast in their countries of residence, and with historical television reception studies. We also want to identify the role played by television in their integration processes and in building individual and collective memories. This historical study on the media will be based on the following objectives:

- Analyzing television habits and current consumption strategies, as well as reconstructing the television memories of the Spanish citizens that left their country during the 60's and stay abroad.
- Collecting and analyzing oral data about viewers experiences from non-Spanish European living in Spain around the same time. In this case, people on the Costa del Sol will be interviewed.
- Investigating the contribution television has made to the lives of both samples groups through qualitative methodologies; defining individual, gender and group reception habits, information and leisure routines; and also rating their representation as a group in their target countries.

A qualitative methodology, based on audience studies and oral history, will provide insight into, among other issues, different gender practices, how they value nostalgic television content that appeals to their national identity, and will also compare the efficiency of international broadcasts in each of their countries and pinpoint the dominant preferences throughout their history as displaced audiences.

4. Conclusion

Through the interviews we have established that, although the men worked outside the home, they had access to places exclusively for them and much more time than the housewives had to watch television programmes. In the case of working women, they had to attend to their housework in addition to their work as domestic servants or in industry, which left them even less time for watching

television. When exercising their television watching memory however, it was the female interviewees who displayed a greater capacity (or expressiveness) than the men when verbalising their memories.

The female interviewees also had fewer reservations about confessing their viewing preferences, both past and present. They accept their relationship with television in a natural way, as well as the unique social function that it still holds today in their lives and how it provides them with entertainment and shapes their knowledge of reality and their personal memory.

Women saw television, especially at first, as a provider of entertainment for their husbands and children. It is perhaps for this reason that they have many memories of children's programmes. This fact is also highlighted by the women who emigrated and lived for several years in Europe, as television helped their children to socialise and integrate into their new country. The project underway will help us examine more deeply some of the aspects we have discussed in order to discover, amongst other aspects, whether or not these differentiated practices between the genders were maintained and how they were established after having set up residence in another country.

In fact, worldwide migratory phenomena (particularly some of the cases mentioned specifically in connection with Spain) have gradually laid the foundations for the constitution of a global audience. In the framework of a new notion of television (illustrated in processes such as technological convergence, the multiplication of channels, the arrival of unlimited broadcasting and interactivity), the field of research that focuses on audiences and, particularly, on the concept of television memory will be instrumental to the study of television viewing from a historical perspective.

Reception studies and the reconstruction of how audiences experience television both play a vital role in our understanding of phenomena as critical to contemporary history as migratory dynamics, the development and the social and technological advancement of television, as well as the representation of emigrant audiences in their countries of residence, or the role played by television in the processes that configure the collective memory.

Technology may have contributed to reducing (or increasing) the feeling of nostalgia or rootlessness experienced by emigrant audiences; initially by

means of public channels catering to the diverse population and then via national satellite television and the possibilities opened up by the Internet.

At present, the circulation of audiovisual archives and the fact that they can be commented and exchanged on social networks has brought about a close connection between personal and collective memory, with users becoming individual agents as both producers and consumers of the media memory. In view of this “new digital memory” (Hoskins, 2001), historical academic research on the memory of television audiences (not limited to programmes and broadcasts, but including also reception processes) can further advance a fruitful research trend based on the social significance of television, the context of the transnationalization of television, the persistence of the national identity and, ultimately, how the TV History has influenced contemporary historical transformations.

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Chapter 8

Postcolonial Memories of Media reception and construction of collective belongings: the case of Portuguese Muslim Women of Indian and Mozambican origins¹

Catarina Valdigem Pereira

I. Introduction

This paper explores the colonial and postcolonial gendered positions and senses of belonging of Portuguese Muslim mature women of Indian and Mozambican origins, currently based in Lisbon metropolitan area, and who migrated from Mozambique between 1975 and 1989, in the aftermath of this country's decolonization, through an analysis of their memories of media reception/practices. It draws on the material collected within the context of a

1) This paper is funded by FEDER Funds through the Operational Program Competitivity Factors – COMPETE – and by National Funds, through the Science and Technology Foundation – FCT within the scope of the project PTDC/CCI-COM/119014/2010. I wish to thank José Ricardo Carvalheiro for the opportunity to present this paper in the conference “Gender and the Past: Qualitative Approaches to Broadcast Reception” in the University of Beira Interior, Covilhã, 28th February, 1st March 2013. I also want to thank Carolyne Birdshall, Gareth Stanton and Ivan Darias Alfonso for their suggestive and useful references/ thoughts in support of my arguments and analysis in this paper.

wider ethnographic PhD research², which is in its completion stage, and which explores the importance of different range of objects (namely objects of home décor, food, and media objects) and their related practices in the processes of reproduction of collective memories of belonging among different generations of Portuguese Muslims of Indian and Mozambican origins.

While I have not been exclusively focused on the role of the media in the acts of memory, nor have I framed the analysis of media memories from the perspective of memories of media reception/‘media practices’, much of the data collected throughout my 12 months of ethnographic research still provides rich insights onto how memories of media uses, appropriations and practices both in colonial and postcolonial Mozambique, have defined the construction of my interlocutors’ positions of identity and senses of belonging in Postcoloniality. I have also not been focused on a gendered approach all through this research – which constitutes one of the themes of this conference - opting instead to look at how both identities and senses of belonging are objectified and continued across generations according to collective ethno-national and religious communities, both politically and affectively, and which are in this particular case associated to ideas of ‘Portuguese-ness’, ‘Indian-ness’, ‘Mozambican-ness’ and ‘Muslim-ness’. However, partly due to my own gender and age identity in the field, the data both collected and analyzed here carries clear female point of view, through which is also possible to draw some hypothesis regarding the formation of the postcolonial Lusophone gendered subjects of both Indian and Mozambican origins currently living in the post-metropole.

Despite the fact that South Asian women in diaspora have been depicted according to an Orientalist perspective, recent researches show that they have been playing an important role in both the construction and transformation of traditional gendered identities (Puwar & Raghuram, 2003). My goal here is to explore the processes of reproduction and/or transformations of ethnic, racialized and religious gender roles through an analysis of memories of ‘media practices’ discursively produced by Portuguese Muslim mature women of Indian and

2) My PhD research has been granted by the Portuguese Science and Technology Foundation (FCT), with the reference SFRH/BD/27884/2006

Mozambican origins. For this purpose, I will be approaching media reception as 'media practices' (Couldry, 2004) in order to analyze what and how do these women recall doing with and towards the media that they used to engage with from colonial to post-colonial time-contexts in Mozambique, in an period that preceded their migration to Portugal. These memories of 'media practices' include memories of uses, appropriation and a whole life done with the sounds of the Radio, with cinema outings, as well as with the vinyl discs and respective sounds, and also the audio/video cassettes both reproduced and recorded in private and public spaces over a period of 20 years that ranges from the mid 60's to late 80's, prior to their migration to Portugal between 1975 and 1989. Such analysis draws also on a biographical account of these women's lives in order to understand the wider subjective and collective contexts of living within which they recall their media practices.

Furthermore, I have also been particularly keen on understanding the extent to which such memories of media practices can provide some insights onto the role of the media in the construction of collective belongings and imagined communities (Anderson, 1983-2006) that corresponded to different ethno-national communities being enacted and facilitated within an Overseas Portugal under the Portuguese 'New State' regime. Whilst concerns about how images of India and of the Empire have been constructed and imagined in the diaspora within the British postcolonial context have already started being tackled (Gillespie, 1989; Manuel, 1997; Puwar, 2007; Qureishi & Moores, 1999, Roberston, 2008), as far as the Lusophone postcolonial theory is concerned, not only this field still has a long way to go, but it also has terribly overlooked all these media terrains of knowledge all together. In particular, in what refers to 'Portuguese Muslim of Indian and Mozambican origins' not only these have been mostly perceived according to an ethnicized and religiously differentiated identity traits (Abranches, 2007; Tiesler, 2000, 2005, 2011; Tiesler & Cairns, 2007; Gould, 2007; Malheiros, 1997), but their Lusophone postcolonial condition has not been fully explored. Even though this reflection has already been initiated (cfr. for instance Bastos, 2005, 2006; Bastos & Bastos, 2005, 2006; Leite, 1996; Vakil, 2004a, 2004b), very little is still known regarding how memories of the Portuguese empire have been produced in colonial Mozambique,

among those who have been born and brought up there, and how this spatio-temporal ideological substratum has provided the means for the construction and negotiation of collective imaginaries and communities of belonging over time and space, that articulate overlapping ethno-national and religious identities associated to senses of Portuguese-ness, Muslim-ness, Mozambican-ness and India-ness, to say the least. Additionally, almost nothing has also been produced regarding how these subjects have engaged with different media contents and objects as to construct or defy collective senses of identity and belonging in the colonial period and their implications in their Lusophone postcolonial condition. The ways through which these overall processes are today remembered need then to be further discussed in ways that can contribute to better explain these subjects' identity positions and senses of belonging, including their gender roles, in a Lusophone postcoloniality.

II. A theoretical framework and a few epistemological considerations for the study of sensory and material collective memories of belonging

The theoretical framework giving shape both to this research and paper articulates theories about 'Postcolonial Identities' and 'Collective Memories' and depart from the assumption that senses of Identity, Home and Belonging are not only politically defined (Hall, 1996a, 1996b) but also affectively, sensory and bodily constructed and reproduced across times and spaces (Ahmed, 2000; Ahmed et al., 2003; Brah, 1996; Fortier, 2000; Joseph, 2007; Rushdie, 1982; Treacher, 2000). Following this line of thought I have been first arguing that ethno-national and religious identities are constructed on the basis of the work of imagination (Appadurai, 1998; Rushdie, 1982), which enables the creation of 'Imagined Communities' (Anderson, 1983-2006) to which collective senses of belonging get to be built upon. However, and because the construction of collective senses of belonging do not only depend on political imaginary processes, it remains also important to consider that these processes can also be traced back to the affective, sensory and embodied memories of lived experiences of locality (Brah, 1996),

which define “what one smells, hears, touches, feels, remembers” (Ahmed, 2000, p. 89) and that get to be stored in one’s mind and body (Seremetakis, 1994b). These will also most likely be recalled with and through one’s body and mind, which keep these sensory and affective experiences as if they were holders of an abstract and an actual “Memory case”; a case full of memory objects, which are intrinsically attached to former pasts, and that when continuously bodily perceived and recognized hold in the body and mind the power to endure a collective sense of the past. These correspond therefore to ‘traces of memory’ through which collective pasts can be both remembered as a memory of the senses that were once stored and kept in the body along a lived experienced of locality (Brah, 1996; Seremetakis, 1994a; Treacher, 2000), and that hold also the potential to be continued, by means of an affective identification with significant others’ objects of memory and attachment (Brah, 1996; Dijck, 2004; Shammas, 2002; Treacher, 2000).

The main concepts of memory in use here correspond to Halbwachs’ (1980, 1992) notions of Collective Memories and Social Frameworks of Memory, which generally refer to the memory of the group(s) of belonging. However, and because Halbwachs had circumscribed ‘memory acts’ to both its mental and discursive faculties, I have also been keen on critically assessing the limits of such account by proposing a material and embodied dimension to these processes as to suggest a framework that can also better give an account of the different forms of remembering. This has thus integrated an epistemological reflection of how to tackle the concept of collective memory, which I will not be able to develop within the scope of this paper, but which integrates a mnemonic bodily and sensory expression of a ‘habitus’ (Bourdieu, 1990) of group, as well as ‘habit-memories’ (Connerton, 1989), as a ‘memory-action’ (Bergson, 2004b). All these concepts allow for an integration of not only the conscious processes of remembering, but also of the unconscious re-enactments of a group memory of belonging, within which one was once socialized, and that can be bodily performed. To mention as well that through Bourdieu’s concept of ‘habitus’ (1990, p. 53), it becomes clear that the bodily practices are defined by a progressive incorporation of regulations, which operate as mnemonic forms of disciplining the bodies, according to which the past is constantly brought into the present

tense. Many of these regulations are often interiorized unconsciously through the subject's relationship with 'a world of objects', by means of which "principles coherent in practice" (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 74) get to be both internalized and objectified, hence acting the past into the present. Therefore, apart from further explaining the social workings of Bergson's psychological notion of "memory-action", Bourdieu's proposal allows also for further discussion regarding the role of things of diverse nature in shaping collective memories. Once located within habitual and ritualized practices and within a repetitive body movement produced by means of a motor-habit, sensory objects of both material and immaterial nature tend then to become intrinsic to the bodily practice, and therefore to the collective sensory memories that animate them. However, one cannot assume that such bodily workings are doomed to mere repetition. In any objectification of the habitus, which implies subject-object relationships, is shaped by change. Therefore, and just as any other objects that the subject relates with, media objects are also endowed with the possibility of transformation. Therefore, in this paper I will be exploring the role played by media objects, perceived from a both immaterial and material point of view, in both the construction of collective imagined communities discursively expressed by my interlocutors, and in the long term processes of reproduction and/or challenge of the collective senses of belongings, which these subjects have been implicated in all through their life experience in Mozambique from colonial to postcolonial time contexts. This discussion integrates thus the analysis of Portuguese Muslim mature women of Indian and Mozambican origins' discursive memories of use, appropriation and the whole range of practices undertaken in relation to radio broadcasting, music and film, within both domestic and public spaces. I am here adopting Nick Couldry's (2004) concept of 'media practice', through which an exploration of what these women remember doing with, about and around particular media, can be put into practice, along with an also gendered memory approach. By doing so, I explore the significance of the recalled and remembered media contents, objects and practices in shaping and changing senses of attachment to the collective worlds intrinsically professed and claimed, as well as others implicitly associated to collective communities, despite the eventual converse identity positions. This approach entails therefore the analysis

of the re-remembered both embraced and refused, embodied and affective, senses of collective belongings, produced within the context of past media practices, in order to further understand my interlocutors' postcolonial gender positions.

III. Methodological Remarks

The material discussed in this paper results from a twelve months' sensory and tasteful ethnography (Stoller, 1989) among different generations of Portuguese Muslims of Indian and Mozambican origins currently based in Lisbon. I initiated my fieldwork by approaching the public space of the Lisbon Islamic Community, based in the Lisbon Central Mosque, where many of these subjects gather in social and religious events. Apart from immersing myself within their communitarian life, practices and activities, I sought also to gain access to these individuals' most private realms, such as the family-household units, where I believed to be able to find more intimate emotional and sensory expressions of belonging-ness.

My research was also guided by an intergenerational approach, which intended to gain access to both the sphere of the parents, migrated from Mozambique in the years that followed this country's independence, in 1975, and that of their children, 18 plus, who were mostly born in Portugal. Even though I asked to meet and talk with both the mothers and fathers, I was mostly directed by the youngsters in the field to their mothers, often without a clear reason on why would they be my most appropriated interlocutors. While this is not the place to explore the hypothesis for this gendered bias, it is important to mention that despite the described field constrains, eleven family-household units agreed to collaborate in this research. Within the context of each family-household, two members of each generation (at least a parent and a child, 18 plus) contributed with at least a life-story interview. In addition to the life-story interviews, I also applied an audio-visual research technique among my most participative interlocutors, which I designated as 'Photographic Exercise', in order to understand the role played by the most cherished objects in the construction/ change of collective belongings. In a universe of 23 interviewees,

11 are parents, out of which 9 are mothers in the household and only 2 fathers; 12 are children, out of which 6 are young women and other 6 young men.

III.1. The life-story interviews

The life-story interviews allowed me to understand my interlocutors' both personal and collective memories through which identity positions and senses of belonging could be withdrawn within the context of both diachronic and asynchronous narrative. The life-story interviews intended also to further explore the production of discursive memories associated to different stages in the life-course of both the individual and the family/group of kin, such as childhood, adolescence, adulthood, and which are associated to the social, historical and political reference points that have shaped life and experiences of "uprootings/regroundings" (Ahmed, et al., 2003) from India, to colonial Mozambique, and thereafter to Postcolonial Portugal. The focus on these different stages in the life course of the individuals sought to understand the extent to which my interlocutors place themselves within the perspective of different social frameworks of memory (Halbwachs, 1992), which they are able to think of reflexively and which they claim to be part of regardless of their actual lived experience. However, within the perspective of their lived experience of locality (Brah, 1996), I gave also prominence to the memories of routines and practices in both domestic and non-domestic socio-spatial contexts, giving also priority to the social relationships and networks established by the ego throughout different stages of the life-course and of the socio-historic-political frameworks which her life got inevitably intersected with. A special attention was also paid to the media uses, appropriations and practices of the past as these too often integrate routines and a whole range of other social and cultural practices which compose the everyday life, with significant repercussions in one's senses of identity.

The script was divided into two main temporalities of analysis - the Past and the Present - which despite being in itself already artificial³, has yet enabled me to formally and analytically separate time-frames and contexts of living that are inevitably interdependent, simply by requesting such reflexive effort from the interviewees. This script was thereafter adapted to the different generational groups that participated in this research.

III.2. The mature female participants in the field

In this paper I will only be yet drawing on my mature female interlocutors' interview materials (9) who were born in two different periods: one that goes from 1951 to 1960, and another that goes from 1961 to 1968. Although all were born in colonial Mozambique (with the exception of one woman who was born in Karachi, Pakistan in 1962), they were also born to parents of South Asian origins or of mixed race heritage, resulting from mixed-marriages between native Mozambicans, and populations of Arab, Indian, Pakistani and Portuguese origins (who have also been either born in different locations of colonial Mozambique, or who have, migrated to Mozambique in the beginning of the 20th century, at an early age⁴). As a result, my mature female interlocutors were also born in different cities and locations in Mozambique, such as Lourenço Marques, Beira, Porto Amélia and Nampula, apart from the pointed exception. All of them have nevertheless settle down in the former city of Lourenço Marques, where many of their memories with the media are then located. However, due to perceived class, ethnic and racial differences, this universe of mature women, mothers in the family-households, participating in this research cannot be taken as

3) To mention that all times, both those perceived as past and as present are inevitably past, since the discourse over them constitutes already a reflection of previous experiences regardless of the time frame of reference. However, one can also argue that insofar as whatever is past constitutes as well an object of reflection in the present, thus being *not even yet past* (Schwarz, 2004).

4) For details on this migration wave and group Cfr. for instance Leite, 1996 and Malheiros, 1996.

homogeneous, with implications in their reflective memories of belonging and identities claimed, including those produced in the course of their relationship with the media in the past in Mozambique.

Most of these women fled Mozambique together with their family members in the aftermath of its independence in two different periods that range from 1975 and 1980, and between 1981 and 1990. The majority migrated from Mozambique in the first 5 years after the independence due to different reasons. These varied from: a) forced positions of citizenship that needed be taken due to family members' affiliations, and which in the case of women is often connected to their marriage and to their husbands' change of citizenship from Mozambican to Portuguese; b) the fear to be taken by the ruling party, Frelimo, for educational camps where ideological education would be provided; c) the fear for one's life, which in the case of one of my interlocutors, led her parents to send her together with her siblings back to India, where they stayed with the family members for almost 4 years, before their definite migration to Portugal; d) and the lack of socio-economic and health resources, which made the family life in the 'postcolony' (Mbembe, 1992) unsustainable. These decisions cannot yet be fully detached from the political 'positionings' that these women and their family members held before and after the independence of Mozambique, nor from their senses of identifications with both real and imaginary homelands (Rushdie, 1982).

IV. Broadcasting Portuguese-ness and a Western sense of identity in the city of Lourenço Marques: Radio Memories

The earliest memories of broadcasting media recalled by my mature female interlocutors refer to memories of the Radio. These remembrances date in the great majority of the cases from the late 1960's and early 1970's, when these women were still in their teens, and when they were living in their parents' or

grandparents'⁵ home in the old city of Lourenço Marques. References are also made to how the radio used to either bring the whole family together around particular radio programmes - which would also structure the family daily time - or to simply be always tuned in as to animate the domestic space and to serve as a background for domestic activities around which women would gather. The name of the radio station recalled is yet vaguely mentioned and designated most of the times as "the Portuguese".

While there is no historical reference to a Radio Station called "The Portuguese", very little is also known regarding the different radio stations broadcasting from and tuned in Mozambique, let alone its role in the Portuguese Empire. It is yet known that the Radio in Portugal emerged along with the technological innovations that had enabled the transmission of information through radio waves, and along with the New State regime in the beginning of the 1930's, thus serving to a great extent the State interests, which needed also to be disseminated to the Portuguese territories overseas. Therefore, and although the Portuguese radiophonic landscape was founded with a private station - the 'Radio Clube Português' - this, together with the 'Radio Renascença', another private one, and with the Portuguese National Station served the New State agenda and intended to transmit the farthest possible, namely to the colonial territories (N. Ribeiro, 2005). However, despite the colonial regime's endeavours to use the emerging Portuguese Radio Stations, both private and public, for propagandistic political and religious purposes, it is also noted by Nelson Ribeiro, who has produced some of the most extensive historical account of the Portuguese National Radio Stations in the twentieth century, that due to the technical difficulties in broadcasting in short waves for the Portuguese territories overseas, each colony was left to develop its own radio project (N. Ribeiro, 2005, p. 99).

In what concerns the emergence of the Radio in Mozambique very little has been yet written to tell the history of the Radio in that former Portuguese territory, and its precise and detailed relationship with the colonial regime. The

5) One of my interlocutors, Sameeha, was raised with her grandparents in the city of Lourenço Marques.

very little historical information available with regard to radio broadcast in Mozambique, results from the very punctual and brief personal and professional textual and aural testimonies and memoirs disseminated by enthusiasts of the Radio, such as Maria Helena Brandão (1970) and Chris Turner (2004-2009), about their experience in the first Radio Station being created in Mozambique still in 1933, and which came to be known as ‘Radio Clube de Moçambique’ (Radio Club of Mozambique). Founded originally in 1933 as ‘Grémio dos Radiófilos da Colónia de Moçambique’ in the city of Lourenço Marques by a group of Portuguese entrepreneurs, the ‘Radio Clube de Moçambique’ soon faced technical and financial difficulties that forced the suspension of its activity for a few weeks, despite its popularity in Mozambique, the old Rhodesia, and in South Africa. It was therefore only after gaining the support of the Ministry of the colonies, and therefore of the Portuguese colonial regime, that provided both financial and managerial support to the Radio, that the station gained in 1935 the name of Radio Clube de Moçambique and a new life until 1975, when it was then nationalized and turned into Radio 5 (Turner, 2004-2009).

Broadcasting from Matola, a neighbourhood in the old city of Lourenço Marques during colonial days, the ‘Radio Clube de Moçambique’ is then likely to have played an important role in the construction of an imagined sense of Portuguese-ness in colonial Mozambique around the capital of the former colony. Even though broadcasting in/ through different stations in Portuguese, English and Mozambican southern dialects, the Radio Clube de Moçambique would repeat the same hourly soundscapes⁶, which would announce Portugal and Mozambique as if these were contiguous territories and as if no borders neither land nor seas existed between them both. As it is also celebrated by Chris Turner (2004-2009) in his ‘LM online museum and Sound Archive’, the voice of Dona Emilia and other female announcers would be heard every hour saying “Aqui Portugal Moçambique, fala-vos o Radio Clube em Lourenço Marques, transmitindo em ondas curtas e medias” / “Here Portugal Mozambique, calling

6) According to Schafer a “soundscape is any acoustic field of study.” from whatever acoustic source and “consists of events heard not objects seen.” (Schafer, 1977, pp. 7-8)

you from the Radio Clube in Lourenço Marques, transmitting on short and medium waves”.

Even though neither these tunes in Portuguese language, nor the name of the Radio Clube de Moçambique, are recalled by my interlocutors, it is yet very likely that these soundscapes would have played an important role in the construction of a collective and imaginary community of Portuguese-ness, which is then recalled when referring to the radio listened at that time as “Portuguese”. After all, the repetitive broadcast of such words would have promoted a symbiotic unity between Portugal and Mozambique, which was in fact at the heart of the colonial interests. These interests were not only expressed through the transformation of the colonies into “overseas provinces” in 1951, but also in the General Overseas Bulletin of 1956, in the event of the visit of the President of the Portuguese Republic at that time, General Craveiro Lopes, to Mozambique, during the launch of the new transmitter of the Radio Clube de Moçambique, which was able “to take the Portuguese voice everywhere, namely to the Portuguese pockets abroad, ‘which constitutes a valuable spiritual link to the Nation’” (NA, 1956, p. 111), just as it has also been expressed in similar events related to the Portuguese both private and national stations by the New State (Cfr. N. Ribeiro, 2005). While it is certainly indubitable that the representative of the State saw in the launch of the new transmitter of the Radio Clube de Moçambique an opportunity to spread the colonial ideological interests, this is not yet enough revealing of the implication of this Radio Station in the Regime’s propaganda. And yet, as pointed above, the fact that a contiguous geopolitical message was repeatedly being projected in Portuguese language in and by the Radio Clube de Moçambique, is also suggestive of this Radio’s operation under the shadow of the Portuguese imperial regime, thus justifying my interlocutors remembrances of the local “portuguese” Radio.

In any case, and despite the doubts in the clear identification of the identity of the ‘Portuguese radio’ recalled as the main radio station and means of communication used by Portuguese Muslim mature women of Indian and Mozambican origins - which even a historical account would not also be able to solve due to incommensurable epistemological perspectives that a historical and a memory account entails - what seems to matter the most is the fact that an

image of Portugal was being enabled via audio broadcasts. If such perception can be clearly derived from the simplistic identification of a 'Portuguese Radio', which is also likely to result from the fact that it was broadcasted in Portuguese language, it can even be further corroborated by my older interlocutors' memories of the news about the colonial war. This is because, as a significant process and tool of the Empire, the colonial war (and all the mechanisms used to legitimize it) seems to have facilitated the construction of the image of the Portuguese Empire and in the projection of a "not so small country", which my interlocutors were also able to appropriate and represent.

Assia - We used to listen to the news of the period, of the war.....even at school we used to learn a lot about Portuguese history, isn't it? It was....Our education was related to....to Portugal. Our ...school, books....we learned the [Portuguese] rivers, all that!

(Assia, married, housekeeper, born in Lourenço Marques, Mozambique, 1955)

However, and as noted in Assia's account above, news of the war listened through the radio would not enact such construction of Portuguese-ness in a simplistic manner, requiring also further sources, such as the Portuguese schooling system. Furthermore, and regardless of the degree of affiliation and of identification of these women's families with the Portuguese colonial regime, their words denounce the extent to which a collective image of Portuguese-ness was also dependent on these women's affective relationships with soldiers participating in the war. This is because if many of my interlocutors got interested in the news of the colonial war, hence appearing to embrace an imperial Portuguese-ness, this was also due to the direct involvement of many of their family men's in it, as soldiers in the Portuguese Army, or due to their own involvement as godmothers of war. For instance, Sameeha, a lady born in 1961 in the Island of Mozambique, to Mozambican born parents of mixed heritage, and who later on came to live with her grandparents based in the city of Lourenço Marques, recalls listening to the 'the Portuguese radio' in the early

70's, which she described as "a sort of Radio Renascença"⁷, primarily within the context of her uncle's participation in the war. The radio became then the main source of information of her cared one in the war.

Sameeha - We used to listen to the Portuguese radio.

Catarina – Do you remember any particular radio programme that used to be broadcasted?

Sameeha – At that time we used to listen to programmes so, as there was the military service and my uncle went to the north of Mozambique, which was a war zone, we used to listen to ...I remember a programme that was about discs on demand and about the exchange of messages; they could send messages from there to us, and us from here to them. Therefore, I remember this radio a lot because I was very attached to this uncle of mine, who was younger. It was as if we were siblings. Therefore, when he went to this war zone, we used to cry a lot, I really do not know why! And then I remember that radio that had discs on demand...We used to listen a lot to Roberto Carlos, Nelson Nede, Lenita Gentil, and so forth....those.... thus....Natércia Barreto, that you might not know.....

(Sameeha, Married, works in a Family Business, born in Ilha de Mozambique, Mozambique, in 1961)

But as Sameeha' interview excerpt presented above also suggests, the significance of the radio in my interlocutors' lives was often beyond its informational role as well as the possibility of providing news of war. In fact,

7) The comparison of the "Portuguese radio" tuned in colonial Mozambique with "a sort of Radio Renascença" is curious considering that not only the Radio Renascença emerged as a Portuguese private Radio station supported by the Portuguese New State, but it has since its start in the early 30's emerged as a predominately Catholic Radio Station (Cfr. for instance N. Ribeiro, 2005). Therefore, if recollections of "the Portuguese radio" in Mozambique trigger in Sameeha associations with the Radio Renascença, it thus means that the appropriated sense of Portuguese-ness projected by the former are equivalent to a certain image of a Catholic Portuguese presence, which she has also been socialized with, despite her and her family's Muslim affiliation. It is also important to note that the Catholic Church integrated to a great extent the voice of the regime, which came to be politically challenged and contested after the Carnation Revolution (Cfr. Pimentel, 2007).

musical programs, playing the hits of time, bands, singers and musical genres, and even in fewer cases entertainment programs are also quite often recalled as marking my mature female interlocutors' daily relationship with the radio equipment in the domestic space. In the case of this later genre - entertainment - both Sameeha and other women recall listening to radio serials and how these would clearly structure their everyday domestic activities. These domestic activities would range from sewing, cooking to food preparation, which would be mostly the family women's responsibility. Sameeha, for instance, recalls these being undertaken in a sort of feminine communal context, where daily domestic and personal deeds were all done at the sound of the evening radio serials. The radio serials would then operate as a "background texture" to the female activities of the home (Tacchi, 1998), that would structure the everyday life in the home, and in particular among the women of the household, who would there remain in congregation for longer periods than men.

Apart from the recalled evening radio serials at the sound of which most of the domestic women's activities were undertaken, one of my interlocutors recalls also listening to daily, at lunch time, a Portuguese humorist radiophonic theatre that gained a significant projection in Portugal, where it was on the air for around 50 years: 'Os Parodiantes de Lisboa'. No further sensorial nor textual memories of this program are kept, and no clear identification of the radio station where it used to be broadcasted is also provided. However, 'The Parodiantes de Lisboa' is remembered as part of the family-household routine: "For me it was even a ritual - lunchtime coincided with that programme." says Noor, born in the old city of Lourenço Marques in 1963. Despite being just one isolated recollection within the scope of my other mature female interlocutors' memories of the radio, "The Parodiantes de Lisboa" is, as it is remembered, yet likely to have projected a certain image of Portugal, via Lisbon and its comedians, hence being its significance in the remembered colonial Mozambican radio soundscapes worthy of notice.

Despite the value attributed to the variety radio shows recalled, memories of music broadcasted and listened are perhaps the most significant ones within the scope of my interviewees' narratives of their past relationships with the radio equipment in the home. These memories suggest yet important differences in

the musical taste both between my interviewees' generational group and their parents', and among my interlocutors, depending on the ethnic/national position stated to me.

While most of my interviewees, especially the older ones, recall enjoying the most listening to English speaking popular music, such as the Beatles, the Rolling Stones, the Abbas, the Pink Flyod, Michael Jackson, Stevie Wonder; Brazilian music, such as Roberto Carlos; and also in some cases to Portuguese music, such as Nelson Nede, Lenita Gentil, Natércia Barreto, they also stress the fact that their parents would rather listen to the Indian soundscapes, when tuning in an Indian or Ceylon radio station in Mozambique. Not much more is mentioned regarding these 'Indian radio stations' tuned in, but several questions can yet be raised regarding which radio waves could be reached and heard in that Western side of the Indian Ocean, as well as their uses and appropriations in colonial Mozambique. However, such accounts constitutes a clear evidence that Indian/South Asian soundscapes were tuned in and preferred by the first generation of South Asian migrants in that formerly colonized country, who would eventually seek in familiar soundscapes a sense of connection to a remote homeland, as well as of the generational difference in the musical tastes recalled. Most of my female interviewees appears then to belong to a generation that sought and embraced musical change and with it an intergenerational transformation with repercussions in their postcolonial senses of belonging.

Secondly, despite such intergenerational sign of change, important trans-generational differences are also observed with regard to my interlocutors' music choices. Within the scope of my female interlocutors, those who recall and stress their preference for Portuguese and Brazilian artists and tunes tend also to claim a stronger sense of Portuguese-ness, whereas those who conversely recall and show preference for English speaking bands and music titles tend to also claim and demonstrate a stronger attachment to an English/ South African, Western, if not transnational sense of identity. Such diversity in the identity positions and in the inherent musical tastes professed by my interviewees suggest as well that even though a certain image of the Portuguese empire was being promoted via the Portuguese Radio(s) tuned in colonial Mozambique, this was also not completely alien to the western and transnational soundscapes, through which

a Portuguese, European, Western and even Oriental imagined worlds were permanently under construction.

As yet, such imaginative work of construction of a national and transnational communities potentially enabled during colonial days in Mozambique cannot be simply drawn from the analysis of my interlocutors' remembrances of the 'Portuguese Radio'. Another significant example of radio broadcasting that is remembered by fewer of my interlocutors living in colonial Mozambique, is recalled as "a South African / English Radio Station". Even though there could have been several South African radio stations presented in English language tuned in by my female interlocutors, the history and the analysis of the memory of those audiences is still to be done, in order to provide a more thorough account of the many identity processes to be reflected upon within the Portuguese colonial context in Africa. However, with regard to my interlocutors, one of the mentions to be made is that those who also claim a higher status and/or by those who show a cultural interest in the South African cultural universe, based on their own familial connections established there, show also a preference for the radio stations broadcasting in English language. Moreover, one of my interlocutors recalls listening to a radio station that was dependent on the Radio Clube de Mozambique, and that was also broadcasted from the city of Lourenço Marques, but in English language - the "B Station".

The significance of the 'B Station' resides on the fact that it constituted during the life time of the 'Radio Clube de Mozambique', a Radio station that used to be presented both by British and South African announcers, thus disseminating other European and Western identity repertoires for those living in southern Mozambique, beyond those spoken in Portuguese language. In fact, apart from the regularly heard voice of Dona Emilia and other Portuguese female announcers that repeatedly welcomed audiences with their welcoming and farewell tunes, the 'B station' would also give voice to David Davies and David Gordon, with similar hourly sounds with jingles such as "check your time by the BB time", "This is the B service of Lourenço Marques radio Portugal Mozambique" (Turner, 2004-2009). Here it is an ID jingle from the "B Station" voiced both by Dona Emilia and David Davies in 1968. Such marriage between the Portuguese and the South African Radio entrepreneurship started at an

early stage of the history of the 'Radio Clube de Moçambique' as a result of an observed commercial opportunity by some Austral companies operating in Southern Africa in advertising their goods to Southern African audiences, which was not at time supported by the state broadcasting radio channel in South Africa - the SABC (Cfr. the audio documentary in Turner, 2004-2009 online radio museum). This means that 'The Radio Clube de Moçambique' could be heard all through Southern Africa, being also claimed by Chris Turner that those who are today "over 40 and lived in South Africa in the 60's and early 70's" will remember the LM Radio - the 'B Station' of the Radio Clube de Moçambique - soundscapes with fondness⁸.

For Ranya, who recalls listening to this particular Radio Station, the importance of the 'B Station' is intrinsically associated to a source of modern European and Western music, which she remembers enjoying listening, to and to which she attaches a sense of modernity. Apart from the fact that such sense of modernity is likely to have been promoted by means of broadcast of music that would come from other sites in the globe, and that would cross transnational borders, a word should be said regarding the jingles that would regularly identify the 'B Station' as a modern Radio, and that in part corroborates the construction of such perception. Jingles such as "The Station ahead of its time" and "Who keeps you up to date and in the know, LM Radio" would indubitably continuously convey a sense of progress and of being more updated than any other radio channel (Turner, 2004-2009). For this reason it is not surprising that memories of this radio are attached to such sense of modernity.

However, and apart from such potential appropriation of the modernity conveyed by the 'B Station', the exposure, access and engagement with these musical genres would also match a generational interest in breaking with the parents' preferred musical tastes. This is because Ranya, who was born in the old city of Lourenço Marques in 1954 to Indian born parents, and who claims belonging to a high Indian caste, praises highly the 'B Station' insofar as she

8) For a aural documentary of the LM Radio from the 1936 to 1975, when it came to an end, see Chris Turner's LM Radio online Museum in <http://www.lmradio.org/Sounds.htm>. The first part of this 6 parts' documentary can be found in http://www.lmradio.org/Sounds/LM_Radio_Story_CD_01.mp3 where a brief story of the commercial radio is also presented (Turner, 2004-2009)

remembers this Radio as the one she and her siblings used to prefer listening to, especially during her school exams, for playing very modern music, by contrast to the music and soundscapes preferred by her parents. In this sense, she describes how the ‘B station’ constituted an alternative to the remote radio waves that her parents were able to tune in from India and Ceylon, in the old city of Lourenço Marques. By listening to ‘B Station’ Tia Ranya would then be able to escape her parents’ musical tastes and auditory practices, and by doing so, she and her siblings would also be able to embark in new cultural and identity universes, which would almost literally speak to their age and identity projects, as young students in a colonial society where the white and the European values were the ones valued the most.

Catarina – Did you use to listen to the radio?

Ranya – I used to listen.....my parents no, because they used to listen more to the radio from India and Sri Lanka, I don’t know what they use to tune in, but us....we didn’t like it. We, the youngsters used to listen to....there was a radio that was.....ai...what was it?? It was a channel that used to broadcast modern musics!...South African....your parents must know it....I completely forgot.....

Catarina – Was it the “B Station”?

Ranya – It was! Wasn’t it? That’s it! And so we used to listen to it ALWAYS! I studied listening to the “B Station”, because there were the DJs who were amazing....they were called DJs because they were announcers; they were amazing, and we at that time of the examsthey used to interact with us and these sort of things.

(Ranya, Divorced, Consultant at an International Car Company, born in Lourenço Marques, Mozambique, 1954)

Even though shaped by my own interference and identity in the field, Ranya’s interview excerpt presented above is then quite suggestive of the extent to which the Portuguese universe was neither always nor exclusively imagined within the context of reception of radio broadcasting. By being exposed to an English-speaking radio channel, such as the ‘B station’, my interviewees were

also open to English-speaking identity repertoires, via a South African presence, through which other empires was also imagined. Partly embracing the English influence in colonial Mozambique, similarly to what is also stressed by Marta Rosales (2007) in her research of the material culture consumption by the catholic Portuguese elite in that location, Ranya emphasizes as well the extent to which the 'B Station' constituted then a source of modern cultural repertoires, thus positive in its perception just as in the case of the former. Additionally, and similarly to Rosales' findings, the English presence in my female interlocutors' lives is also clearly and positively recalled as shaping their everyday life practices and habits. What this evidence then suggests are multilayered processes of colonial mimicry (Bhabha, 1994) being promoted simultaneously and with reference to two different European Empires (though the British colonial empire had formerly ended earlier before the Portuguese) through practices listening to radio broadcasts, where the 'B Station' transmitting in English language appears to play an important role in the transformation of traditional musical tastes among the youth of South Asian origins.

V. Imagining India and re-enacting forms of Indian-ness: the "Lourenço Marques/Maputo Indian Social Cinema Scenes"

But just as my interlocutors' memories of radio broadcasting in colonial Mozambique show the extent to which the radio contributed to change traditional family musical tastes, memories of practices of listening to Indian music suggest as well that other social habits to which forms of Indian-ness have become attached, had been continued across generations outside of India.

Whether or not claimed as preferred, references to the Indian soundscapes, namely general Indian music listened in the past, often trigger memories of practices of going to the cinema in order to watch and listen to Indian films in the capital of Mozambique. The uses of Indian music did not exclusively constitute a public practice, inasmuch as my female interlocutors also claim to have usually listened to this kind of music in their parents' home, firstly through

the gramophone and later on (after Mozambique's independence) through the audio-cassette player. However, the public space and the media cultural practice of going to the local city cinemas is recalled as one of most significant events in which these women were not only able to be exposed to Indian audio-visual scapes, but also, if not mostly to have one of the best leisure times of their childhood and youth days.

Catarina - And regarding for instance Indian music, did it have any place in the life of the family? I mean, was there any interest and did you use to listen to?

Assia - We used to listen....we used to watch, we used to go to the cinema too....We used to watch many Indian films on the weekend, and this was a main leisure activity at that time. But at home no. At home no. My father, I mean.....no....we were not the type that would watch Indian films [in the home]. Well, back then we also did not have (laughs) ...I think we did not.... cinema was really much more in the cinema houses, isn't it? Only now we turn on the video, a cassette, that's it....at that time we did not have that, it was more....[cinema]

(Assia, Married, housekeeper, born in Lourenço Marques, Mozambique, 1955)

Catarina - Do you remember listening to Indian music during your childhood?

Noor - Yes, in the Indian films, the ritual....everyone, not only the Islamic community, or Indian, even the Africans, they also liked Indian films a lot. Therefore everyone would go and see them.

Catarina - So you'd go to the cinema.

Noor - Yes.

Catarina - Would it be in any particular day?

Noor - On Sunday and Saturday....

Catarina - And would the whole family go at that time?

Noor - Sometimes. Otherwise it would be either with friends or cousins....

(Noor, Married, High-school Teacher, born in Lourenço Marques, Mozambique, 1963)

Such mnemonic and associative order between sound and image remains curious insofar as remembered musical genres show then to have the intertextual ability to trigger memories of the visual and of the wider socio-cultural practices that also inform the acts of listening and watching. Even though it might not be surprising to encounter such marriage between music and film from the perspective of Indian film industry and production - taken here in a general sense to refer to popularly designated as Hindi films, Bombay films or even Bollywood films - considering that Popular Hindi Cinema/ Film has been founded in such intrinsic audio-visual relationship (Ganti, 2004), from the point of view of the audiences, and especially of the memories of the uses of both Indian music and film, such 'mnemonic intertextuality' demonstrates as well that 'media practices', as an "open set of practices relating to, or oriented around, media" (Couldry, 2004, p. 117) constitute a significant paradigm in the analysis of memories of the media. It is through the musical texts that are re-produced along with particular images in the screening of a film, and which get to be inscribed in one's mind and senses once they are used, that a whole social and cultural 'media practice' (Couldry, 2004) is also recalled.

References to Indian music (and films) tend then to prompt in my interlocutors a whole structure of their collective memories of their outings to the local cinema houses located in different neighbourhoods of the capital of Mozambique. Not many remember the Cinema theatre/ house where they used to go, though a few mention "The Varieté" and a few cultural associations located in different city neighbourhoods where Indian films would be screened. Moreover, there is not always a clear recollection of a difference felt between these outings to the cinema before and after the independence of Mozambique. However, the outings to the cinema as a general practice of 'going to the matinée' are remembered along with the journey and the spaces moved across on the way to cinema and/or after the cinema, both during colonial and postcolonial times, with an extreme joy. These are also recalled within the context of which family and friendship memories, showing the extent to which this used to be a social

event of great relevance. For this reason it would be of importance if the film screened would not be a complete novelty. What mattered was that the social gathering. In this sense, the dignifying ‘object of memory’ of both Indian music and film is constituted by the social and cultural ‘media practices’ (Couldry, 2004), which in this particular case corresponds also to a ‘social cinema scene’, a ritual where “certain geographies (journeys and buildings) operate as sites of memory.” (Puwar, 2007, p. 255) and where the social gatherings there taking place constitute the principal affective object of remembrance.

Hoor - (...) just notice his patience [Hoor refers to her father]! On Sunday morning, we used to wake up, take our breakfast and go to Costa do Sol for lunch. (...) we used to have lunch and then we would go for the matinée. It used to be a film that we would have already seen around 10 times, but our friends would go and everyone else also wanted to go! (...) We had already seen them! As, of course, there were no new films in the cinema, they were always the same being screening...

Catarina - What films were those? American, or were they....

Hoor - No! Indian!

Catarina - Indian. And was there a place where they used to screen only Indian films?

Hoor - Indian films! But we were already tired of those Indian films, we already knew them by heart, but as our female friends would go, we also wanted to go. And he...we used go out for lunch, and he, poor thing, wanted to sleep his siesta, but he wouldn't. He would instead take us to the matinée. (...) Do you know where the cinema was? The distance was huge! Let's say its from my place here to Mafra⁹. He would take us to the matinée, and there the weather was very hot. We would end the matinée at around 4:30 and then we used to go to the marginal. (...) For us to go....in order to be with our friends, then there were the boys...and there was the family...well, that used to be a party. But then our female friends would say that they were going to another cinema - because there was another film and

9) ‘Mafra’ is a Portuguese village located in the north of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area.

so they would go. Therefore, we would start mooning for my father....”Let’s watch it” and there we had no lift; we needed to go up the stairs, in order to go home we needed to come up to the 5th floor. So, in order to avoid going home we would go out for dinner and then at night we would go to the 8 o clock session, to the cinema.

(Hoor, married, Staff member in a Family Business, born in the old city of Lourenço Marques, Mozambique, in 1968)

Therefore, just as Nirmal Puwar (2007, 2009) refers to with regard to the historical social cinema scenes in the UK, the practices of going to the cinema narrated by my interlocutors are also described as weekly rituals trips experienced together with family members and friends. These socio-cultural events are also described as regular points and opportunities of socialization among many populations of Indian origins and others of Mixed-Mozambican background, mostly the youngsters, regardless of religion. For this reason, the ‘Indian Social Cinema Scenes’ in the capital of Mozambique constituted a “zone of social contact” (Puwar, 2009, p. 60), where the main goal would be the ‘media practice’, rather than the film screened that is in fact likely to be known by heart, just as Hoor mentions above.

But the significance of the practice of going to the cinema to both listen and watch Indian music and films lies also on the fact that it operated as a social, cultural and even temporal structuring practice in some of my interlocutors lives, around which habits were created through a ritualization that came to shape a ‘habit memory’ (Connerton, 1989) of how ‘to act Indian’. This is because, it is through these continuous media practices that most of my interlocutors’ socialization was made, hence contributing to the construction of historically located and affectively defined memories of imaginary senses of Indian-ness, which most recognize, claim and/ or reproduce in two main different ways. Firstly, along with ritualized outings to the cinema, where sounds and images of Indian-ness were repeatedly projected, a ‘habit-memory’ of these ‘social cinema scenes’ was also progressively internalized, as to constitute a ‘habitus’ (Bourdieu, 1990) of group to be re-enacted at any later event. As I will be discussing in the following section, even when the circumstances of that ‘social cinema scene’

have progressively changed either due to the ideological transformations that shaped the availability of goods including media products after the independence of Mozambique or due to the mere introduction of the VCR and TV set in the home, which led to a progressive domestication of such 'media practices', or even due to the migration paths to Portugal that forced many of them to change many things in their life style, similar 'media practices' around Indian audio-visuals tend yet to be continued by some of my interlocutors, thus enabling the reproduction of practices that allow an Indian imagined community and world to be continued, especially through 'the way of the body'. This is because most of my interlocutors claim to continue setting up/ seeking the right the context for the practice of watching of Indian films in the home with the family. Alternatively, in the case of some of my other interlocutors these practices are refused and denied all together in present days, being argued that there is no longer time nor patience to watch an Indian film and that the new Hindi films and music have also changed significantly from what they used to be during their childhood. Nevertheless, I argue that those who continue claiming a strong sense of Indianness seem also to derive it not only from a consanguineous narrative of kinship, which they insist in narrating, but also from a mnemonic recognition of Indian identity repertoires projected in the Indian audio-visuals firstly screened and appropriated in these 'Indian social cinema scenes' of the capital of Mozambique, which they grew up with.

VI. Postcolonial Gendered memories of Audio-Visual Recording and Reproduction: Remembering a country under transformation

Most of my interlocutors' memories of broadcasting, namely of the radio, prompt in them remembrances of audio reproduction and audio recording practices, within the context of which further collective memories can also be retrieved. However rich, memories of the radio mean for many a return to the soundscapes of the past that are located in contexts of media practice, where the on demand audio reproduction was already common, though shaped by the use of different

types of technology in use along different periods of their own history. A similar situation occurs with these women's memories of Indian film/ cinema, which tend also to trigger in them memories of audio-visual reproduction, through which a continuity to the 'Social Indian Cinema Scenes' is given continuity, this time in the domestic space and during the postcolonial time context. All these memories appear to be rooted in the periods under analysis, as well as, in my interlocutors' generational group and respective time-frame of migration from Mozambique to Portugal, within the context of which different technologies and media practices are also remembered as salient, both in continuity and change.

Therefore, if the vinyl disk is recalled as an important 'media object' of the colonial days in both its materiality and immaterially in the late 60's and early 70's, by those who migrated in the immediate aftermath of Mozambique's independence, the audio-cassette as well as the TV set and even the VCR are remembered at a latter stage, mainly between the 70's and the 80's, by those who have left Mozambique in the 80's. These substantial differences in both the periods recalled and type of technologies used constitute as well the grounds for different sorts of gendered collective memories worth of a systematized analysis and reflection, as these tend also to support my interlocutors' memories and perception of a country under transformation, namely ideological and that refers to the shift from colonial to postcolonial time-space context.

Regarding these women's memories of the audio reproduction, those who have mostly lived in that African country during its colonial occupation recall vinyl discs and respective sounds within the context of their family-household soundscapes. These would often be played in the social areas of the home considering that the gramophone used to be mostly placed in there. For this reason memories of the vinyl disc and of recorded music are often attached to gendered family memories. Gendered, firstly because all women's point of view inevitably entails a gender point of view; secondly, because they also highlight a very clear differentiation of media practices based on the domestic gender power roles. Those who hold and narrate memories of the audio-reproduction reflect, and yet not much critically, the fact that most of the vinyl discs they used to listen to were often purchased and owned by the male members of the family. Therefore, their discourses of the past demonstrate the extent to which they used

to follow the choices and decisions of the men of the home. In this sense most of the women interviewed mention to remember enjoying listening to the music of their brothers' or father's vinyl discs, which 'were played' in the family home. The lack of critical reflection about the gender power of the purchase, possession and even reproduction of the vinyl discs suggest that these women are also not so conscious nor so uncomfortable with the fact that they were not the ones picking, buying, owning and even eventually playing the vinyl discs in the home, and that the simple fact that they had access to those tunes constituted an enough reason for them to enjoy and feel empowered.

Assia - Many, many programmes. There were programmes that at that time....I mean there was a lot of music of the 60's....I had a brother that used to love those long plays and had loads of discs; we used to listen to a lot if music from the Beatles, the Rolling Stones, Roberto Carlos; it was a great mix.

Catarina - And did you use to buy discs?

Assia - Yes, yes. My brother loved it. He actually had a collection of discs at home and that's it....My father also liked music a lot....We used to listen to news of the period, the war....

(Assia, married, housekeeper, born in Lourenço Marques, Mozambique, 1955)

Ranya - Yes. My father had those giant gramophones, and.....and my brothers used to buy discs and discs, and I grew up listening to Indian music.

(Ranya, Divorced, Consultant at International Car Company, born in Lorenço Marques, Mozambique, 1954)

Therefore, along with memories of the recorded music are then, as demonstrated above, often narrated memories of gendered power relationships with the technological devices and objects that allowed these tunes to be played. However, while most of my interlocutors did not claim to have owned nor chosen many of the vinyl discs played and listened in the home, having been instead socialized along and with them by the hand of the family men, they

do also claim to have enjoyed them, showing some shared musical tastes with most of their brothers and, in fewer cases their father. These findings echo old evidence concerning the unequal gender power relationships beneath both men and women engagement with technology (Gray, 1992; Morley, 1986 – 1993) since just as it is demonstrated in the lines above, my interlocutors were not the ones in power to choose and use the audio player of the time without the male's permission and surveillance.

However, while it might appear that such narratives reflect a simple subordinated position towards the men of the home, a few considerations resulting from a more extensive analysis of their life-stories, within the context of which other memories of media practices were also collected, demonstrate as well that other subliminal ways of inverting such undeniable unbalanced gender positions within the household were also embraced by my interlocutors in relation to the media, hence proposing a more complex frame analysis of their actual gender power and agency in the family and in the home. This argument can be particularly illustrated through the revisitation of their memories of the radio stations and contents mostly listened/ preferred by my interlocutors, and which were also generally classified as modern and progressive, in contrast with their parents' radio preferences for the Indian radio stations tuned in. This can also be illustrated by taking into account the fact that these radio stations are also often recalled for providing them with the possibility to choose the music tracks in programmes such as 'on demand disks' and the 'hit parades', which most of them remember doing. Furthermore, and while the practice of listening to the radio is not in the majority of the times recalled as an individual practice, in many of the cases this corresponds to media contexts that escape the parents' surveillance and control. In this sense, while my interlocutors' memories of the media, particularly of audio-reproduction, are unquestionably collective and male dominated they also show to imply an exploration of gender media practices defined by a certain degree of agency, by means of which individual processes of identity construction could be at least sought after.

And yet again, returning to my female interlocutors' memories of audio practices, these have also been deeply interconnected with their memories of a country under transformation, which all saw happening in first hand, but

that only those who remained in there at least until the later 80's have really experienced fully in their daily lives. Therefore, to remember the vinyl discs or even any other sort of audio reproduction for these latter women - who have actually migrated to Portugal in the 80's, already after the first big wave of migrations produced with the decolonization - means also to remember the political and socio-economic life transformation, which has clear implications in the perceived liberties, everyday life, consumerist and media practices. Not only old media practices, such as to buy vinyl discs, start being deeply difficult to maintain after the independence, but also new media practices, such as the audio-recording, start gaining a bigger significance.

Amilah – Sometimes we would record the radio...because as it was in Samora's time; there was nothing! We were limited, do you know that? There were no films from abroad; everything was censored. Everything was chosen on the basis of communism.

Catarina – But before the independence would you have access to more things?

Amilah – Yes, yes. We had access to everything! Even though it was a Portuguese colony we had access to everything! Everything, everything everything!

(Amilah, Married, Manager of a Family Business, born in Karachi, Pakistan, in 1962)

Taking from the example of Amilah's account presented above, while the period before the independence of Mozambique is recalled for its abundance and for the possibility of buying a wide range of vinyl discs and other goods (such as 'coca-cola', for instance) on the streets and shops of the capital, the period after is remembered by the extensive use of the audio-recorder in the home to both record and store what comes to be perceived as rare soundscapes for later times. Although it is arguable that these practices of recording are common to the period, since the domestic audio recording practices start becoming more and more disseminated in the 80's, Amilah's reference presented above is yet suggestive of how these practices have in fact been locally appropriated and

adapted to the socio-political and economic circumstances, and how they might also have constituted a practice of resistance to the communist regime. In fact, in a time of scarcity of food, resources and even of freedoms, which this 'postcolony' (Mbembe, 1992) (just like many others) fall into, as it is recalled by most of my interlocutors that migrated to Portugal during the 80's, the audio recording possibilities seemed to still allow my mature female interlocutors to keep in tune with sounds which they could still identify with, beyond the ephemeral moment of the broadcast. Such point not only raises several questions regarding the socio-cultural and economic-political contexts of life that my interlocutors had benefited from while in colonial Mozambique, but also regarding the perceptions of modernity and progress of the colony, by contrast to what it was thereafter perceived as a 'postcolony'. To explore such theme allows also one to further discuss the transformation in the kind of collective imaginaries and forms of belonging from both colonial to postcolonial times by those who had undergone colonialism and that might be today either in the 'postcolony' and / or 'postmetropole'. This is because one must not forget that while before the independence the dominant tunes available on the radio and even in Vinyl Disc would integrate western, English speaking popular music, Brazilian and Portuguese popular music - hence facilitating as I have demonstrated earlier identifications with a Portuguese and an European identity and life-style - after the independence all these tunes and values are banned, hence reducing the possibilities of attachment to those imaginary worlds. Alternatively and as it is characteristic of the construction of a 'Postcolonial Nation' (Cabral, 1973; Fanon, 1959-1967), the perceived as pre-colonial cultural expressions were promoted in all fields of culture in Mozambique, thus endorsing and fostering anti-colonial identities on the basis of a unified Mozambican Nation (Graça, 2005). However, questions remain unasked as for the actual ability of the formerly expressed cultural manifestations to be continued, and as for those who have had an intermediate power position within the colonial context in Mozambique - such as my interlocutors - to continue many of their habitual social, cultural and ethnic forms of expressions in both the public and private spaces.

While my interlocutors who have continued living in postcolonial Mozambique until the 80's do not always clearly mention (nor remember) for

instance stopping their already embodied 'Social Indian Cinema Scenes' in the public space, many do yet recall the impact that the introduction of the first TV set and Video played in their own habitual "Social Indian Cinema Scenes". Clandestine imports of TV and Video player equipments through which the use of Indian films could be continued are then remembered as a significant moment of their lives for two of my interlocutors, who are in this case sisters. Such event mark in their cases not only the possibility to endure the 'Social Indian Cinema Scenes' so fondly recalled, but also the re-enactment of already embodied forms of Indian-ness, though within the domestic space.

Catarina - So, do you remember your first television? What memory do you have of it?

Saphira - We did not sleep the whole night! When my father makes us the surprise, there was none for sale in the city of Maputo in Mozambique, because that was the period of the war. Therefore, it came from South Africa. We were the third family to buy a television and video. And on the day that it arrived, it arrived at night. So, after dinner, my father told us: 'Look daughter, daughters, today I'm going to make you a surprise. I bought....it's going to be a gift for you and it is a television and video. And when the man came to delivery it was really mid-night.

Catarina - Midnight. So you did not sleep the whole night.

Saphira - No, no. And from then on....

Catarina - What did you watch?

Saphira - It was a film, and it already had a video film, and Indian film, and on the first weekend we invited our friends to come and see a matinée there, at home.

Catarina - What was everyone's reaction?

Saphira - You were one of the first families to have a television and video....

Catarina - One of the first, that's right....and the video, to watch the films.... the latest films....the most recent films in video. It was a great joy, it was a great party!

(Saphira, Divorced, Manager of a Family Business, born in the old city of Lourenço Marques, Mozambique, in 1967)

Catarina - And how was it....I mean those moments?

Hoor - It was very nice! We used to change the whole living-room, we used to make a type of a cinema, and then we would put the chairs. The older would be seated in the front, and us, the youngsters would be in the back. We used to be there 3 hours.....we would cry, because you know in the Indian films there are those scenes.....then we would cry whenever the films were really sad, and then after we would try to hide, isn't it? Each one of us in his own way.....

(Hoor, married, Staff member in a Family Business, born in the old city of Lourenço Marques, Mozambique, in 1968)

The introduction of the TV Set and the Video player in the domestic space is then recalled as a very fun event by a few of my interlocutors, who have remained in Mozambique until the early 80's. Such event constitutes the mark and sign of the progressive privatization of the 'Social Indian Cinema Scenes', which despite being habitual in colonial Mozambique appear also to have been continued thereafter, hence contributing to the possibilities of continuity in the forms of appropriation of images of Indian-ness all through the period that goes until my interlocutors' migration to Portugal in 1983. As a result, and following the arguments presented so far, especially concerning the censoring of the wide range of media contents, which were once available and preferred by my interlocutors, and the observation of the progressive privatization of the Indian media practices, I would also advance the hypothesis that Mozambique's independence might have contributed to the re-ethnicization of the population of Indian origins settled there. This is at least a sense I get from my interlocutors' memories of their media practices professed and re-enacted all through my fieldwork, since most of those who have migrated to Portugal during the 80's appear to have intensified the uses and consumption of Indian soundscapes and even mediascapes, especially in the home, and more strongly proclaimed their imagined Indian-ness. Alternatively, those who have migrated earlier, right after the independence of Mozambique, show complex and multi/ambivalent positionalities on the basis of their Portuguese-ness, European-ness, which is in some cases mediated by a sense of Mozambican-ness (a Portuguese one) that has

also been fostered via the radio stations listened to, apart from their imagined Indian-ness.

VII. Concluding Remarks

A clear-cut conclusion for this long paper is not easy to find. Firstly due to the deep complexity of the task of analyzing memories of past 'media practices'; secondly because this particular paper explores postcolonial memories of processes that hold entangled pasts and with them overlapping senses of time, history, power, identity and belonging; thirdly because of the large volume of data, which I have attempted to synthesize and discuss here as thorough as possible.

What can yet be said in a way of conclusion is that Portuguese Muslim Women of Indian and Mozambican origins currently based in Lisbon, who fled their homes in Mozambique in two different periods that go from 1975-1980 and from 1981-1990 following that country's independence, hold several memories of media practices located all through their sensory lived experience in colonial and postcolonial Mozambique. These constitute a fundamental compass to the understanding of their current gendered identities and senses of belonging, insofar as they represent important temporal markers of these women's life stories, allowing them to organize past temporalities of lived experience. They constitute also a crucial epistemological tool in the comprehension of these women's identities and belongings inasmuch as they carry their subjective and affective contexts of a past everyday life within which different phases of their life course get to be narrated along with multilayered collective frameworks of belonging, such as the domestic group, friendship groups, ethnic group, national group and other forms of imagined/ lived communities. In this sense my mature female interlocutors' memories of media constitute collective memories (Halbwachs, 1992) of belonging to different imagined communities (Anderson, 1983-2006), which despite the complex ambivalences resulting from the colonial and postcolonial experiences, tend also to reflect overlapping, past and present senses of Portuguese-ness, European-ness, Indian-ness and of transnational identities. A declared sense of Mozambican-ness is apparently left out of this

overall analysis and processes. However, it is important to note that this often gets entangled with narratives regarding their colonial forms of Portuguese-ness, as well as with their postcolonial perceptions of life in Mozambique in the aftermath of its independence. Additionally, ideas of Muslim-ness are also apparently left out of these imaginary and mediated processes, raising also questions regarding the past uses of Islamic media in the formation and construction of their muslim-ness all together, and concerning the ways which both a predominant catholic cultural message and other religious faiths conveyed along were or not filtered, and in which circumstances by these women.

While further questions can be derived from all these thoughts, the findings presented are illustrative of the extent to which the media remembered have played an important role in the construction of my interlocutors' identities and belongings. Portuguese Muslim mature women of Indian and Mozambican origins' most salient memories of the media refer to memories of radio broadcasting, print, music, cinema and of audio-visual reproductions and recordings. However, while these appear to constitute discrete 'objects of memory', these integrate in fact memories of 'media practices' (Couldry, 2004) for being inserted within the whole structures of memory, which the media was and is simply part of. It is within the perspective of their memories of the everyday life, of their household practices and activities, their weekly routines, as well as, of relatedness, siblinghood and friendship, and even of a country under transformation, that they recall their media practices, and that they also show to permanently negotiate their gendered and collective identities.

However, in making a close up of my interlocutors' memories of past media practices one is then able to see that different media have played a different role in the facilitation of processes of construction and transformation of overlapping collective senses of belonging. For instance memories of radio broadcasting, namely of what they recall as the 'Portuguese Radio' station, denounce the degree to which my interlocutors had constructed a collective sense of Portuguese-ness. This was also promoted by the dissemination of soundscapes which would stick together Portugal and Mozambique, and which apart from the hourly voice of the announcers would also integrate Portuguese and transnational sounds, as well as, news of the colonial war, where many of their relatives participated in.

Apart from a collective sense of Portuguese-ness, my interlocutors' memories of radio broadcasting reveal as well a progressive internalization of English spoken soundscapes. Not only such media practices entail in the memories of my interlocutors a certain strategy of resistance and subversion to their parents' musical tastes - hence rupturing with traditional convention of how to 'act Indian' - but it also appears to have endorsed a certain imaginary of both the English Empire, reflected in a certain 'English influence' similarly to the case of the Mozambican Catholic elite studied by Marta Rosales (2007), and of a transnational cultural geography, beyond the Portuguese "not so small country".

Moreover, memories of outings to the cinema suggest a progressive internalization of certain imagined ideas of Indian-ness. This is not only verified through the observations of a ritualized exposure to the Indian identity repertoires, which has been continued as a habitual 'media practice' (Couldry, 2004) from colonial to postcolonial times. It is also justified through the continuous recognition of these same repertoires in order to both adopt/ reproduce and/ or to refuse/ discontinue a pure and exclusive sense 'Indian-ness' in postcoloniality. Not having ever been to India, these women have only learnt and gained knowledge of India, as well as of how to 'act Indian' through such cinema outings, which, apart from other things not discussed in this paper, are also recalled as 'Lourenço Marques/Maputo Social Indian Cinema Scenes'.

Despite its apparent lower significance comparatively to the recalled memories of radio broadcasting, as well as, of the 'Lourenço Marques/ Maputo Social Indian Cinema Scenes', memories of Audio-visual reproduction and recording constitute also crucial temporal markers of my interlocutors both empowered and powerless gendered roles within the family home. It is when recalling their relationship with the vinyl discs they used to listen to in their parents' home, that they show the extent to which their musical tastes and choices were in fact dependent on the male ownership and preferences, which my female interlocutors claim yet to remember enjoying listening to. Furthermore, in what concerns memories of audio recording my interlocutors embark also in the narrativization of a story of a country under transformation, by means of which their identity positions are also left open to reconstruction.

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[Media, Gender and the Past:
Qualitative approaches to broadcast audiences and memories, pp. 223 - 226]

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