

### Citation for published version

Clua, A. [Anna] (2004). Where is Audience Ethnography's Fieldwork?. In *Global Media Studies* (pp. 57-71). Routledge.

### Handle

<http://hdl.handle.net/10609/149710>

### Document Version

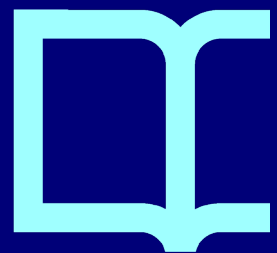
This is the Accepted Manuscript version.  
The version in the Universitat Oberta de Catalunya institutional repository, O2 may differ from the final published version.

### Copyright and Reuse

© Routledge

### Enquiries

If you believe this document infringes copyright, please contact the Research Team at: [repositori@uoc.edu](mailto:repositori@uoc.edu)



# WHERE IS AUDIENCE ETHNOGRAPHY'S FIELDWORK?

Anna Clua

What is a place(1) What gives a place its identity, its aura? These questions occurred to the physicists Niels Bohr and Werner Heisenberg when they visited Kronberg Castle in Denmark. Bohr said to Heisenberg:

*Isn't it strange how this castle changes as soon as one imagines that Hamlet lived here? As scientists we believe that a castle consists only of stones, and admire the way the architect put them together. The stones, the green roof with its patina, the woodcarvings in the church, constitute the whole castle. None of this should be changed by the fact that Hamlet lived here, and yet it is changed completely. Suddenly the walls and the ramparts speak in a quite different language. The courtyard becomes an entire world, a dark corner reminds us of the darkness in the human soul, we hear Hamlet's "To be or not to be." Yet all we know about Hamlet is that his name appears in a thirteenth-century chronicle. No one can prove that he really lived, let alone that he lived here. But everyone knows the questions Shakespeare had him ask, the human depth he was made to reveal, and so he, too, had to be found a place on earth, here in Kronberg. And once we know that, Kronberg becomes quite a different castle for us.*

*(Heisenberg, 1972, p. 51, quoted in Tuan, 1977, p. 4)*

In 1999 I spent five months in Denmark. One day I decided to visit Kronberg. What I could see, after a first gaze at the map, was that Kronberg was labeled there as Kronborg. When placing myself at the middle of the castle's courtyard I could not hear any human soul's deep whisper, but instead the reverberating sound of a repertory of military marches played by a band of Danish girls dressed in red and white miniskirts. I felt just like a tourist. And then I realized that Hamlet's castle could only become possible as an imagined castle, whatever its name.

## Contested spaces

During the 1970s, the conversation that Heisenberg and Bohr maintained about Kronberg was a very useful illustration of the relations of space and place in geographical terms (Tuan, 1977). For "space" was an abstract concept that became concrete when turned into "place." "Place," thus, was the lived, perceived, experienced space invested with human values. The 1970s were precisely the period when the so-called "humanistic geographers" like Tuan came into terms with phenomenology. They were engaged with trying to challenge positivistic physical geography by introducing the issue of human perception of space (or, more concretely, the issues of spatially constricted human perceptions and of humanly constricted space perceptions).

By the same period, another kind of critical geography (expressed, like humanistic geography, on the margins of the hegemonic academic expression of "Geography") was developed through radicalism and Marxism. Borders between (abstract) space and (particular, perceived, individualized) place began to blur, and new topics attracted the researchers' attention. One important issue was that of social transformation. "Radical geographers" claimed for themselves political commitment and activism, within and beyond academic borders (Peet, 1978). Changing social structure, they said, means changing space, as well as changing space means changing social structure. Richard Peet (1998) explains how radical geography transformed into Marxist geography as follows:

*Radical geography was a quest for social relevance at a time of contradiction and crisis in capitalist society. But social relevance produced a contradiction inside radical geography, between political objectives which were virtually unlimited (i.e. aimed at the transformation of society) and analytical capacities which were claustrophobically constrained by the techniques, methodologies and paradigmatic boundaries of conventional scientific concepts. Thus, radical geography was radical in topic and politics, but not in theory or method of analysis. (p. 75)*

Marxist geographers defined space as the material produce of the labor forces as well as the social struggle scenario. Social structure (both as product and as mode of production), Marxist geographers said, forms part of the dialectics of historical materialism.<sup>1</sup> Power, knowledge and space became very important features for the understanding of historical social inequalities, which were also seen as spatial inequalities (via center-periphery increasing dichotomization, in many senses), under capitalism.<sup>(2)</sup>

From the 1980s, the development of critical geography has been influenced by a great diversity of perspectives (e.g. poststructuralism, realism, social theory, postmodernism, cultural studies) that have produced new forms of conceptualizing space. The 1990s generated a prolific development of "new geographies" (Philo, 1991, 1999) coinciding with an extraordinary expansion of Anglo-Saxon publishers beyond disciplines and national markets (Barnett, 1998). I am going to focus attention here on recent debates about the controversial definition of "critical geography." Nowadays, there is a rich internal debate between different kinds of "radicalism" (mainly Marxist and postmodernist) within critical geography. Often the discussion is arbitrated by mutual misunderstanding, for Marxism is considered by some postmodern geographers as a deterministic-economicist grand theory, and postmodernism is considered by Marxist geographers as a market product and as a politically correct academic option. We can find the same tension in recent debates about the constitution of so-called "cultural geography." Andrew Sayer (1994), for instance, has interestingly presented this tension in terms of the political economy/cultural studies split within critical geography.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, there are many authors who go beyond all these confronted positions, as we may see through the interesting work of Edward W. Soja. Below I examine his important contribution and its relevance for media ethnography.

### **Spaces for going beyond**

Edward W. Soja focuses his attention on the way postmodernism makes explicit the usual lack of interest that social theory has in spatial issues. In Soja's opinion, postmodernism helps us to break away from the binary kind of modern thought, offering an alternative, a third way that is also an expression of the cultural politics of difference.<sup>4</sup> He argues that social theory has traditionally been elaborated around conceptions of history and human relations' temporality, but has failed to consider spatiality. Soja extends this argument by showing the limited way in which space has been observed through institutional academic disciplines such as Geography, Architecture, Urban and Regional Studies, and Urban Planning (expressed with capitals). In his critique of the limits of the academic/institutionalized knowledge of space, Soja makes an exception when talking about those academics in spatial disciplines "who have been engaging seriously with the recent literature in the broad new field of critical cultural studies" (Soja, 1996, p. 12, emphasis added).

Despite this critique, Soja's task has been in large part to bridge borders between fields of knowledge. First, he vindicates the inclusion of space in sociological and humanistic explanations. His effort to extend the academic constrictions of geography (as discipline) is concretely expressed by approaching Lefebvre's and Bourdieu's spatial thought (in a manner that helps to question the traditional confrontation of Marxist and postmodern thought), and also drawing from cultural studies (concretely through bell hooks's effort to take space into account from a radical postmodern position). Second, he appeals to our existing understanding of space by expanding those dichotomies (time/space, space/place, material-real space/symbolic-imagined space) that have traditionally grounded socialscience epistemology. And third, and most importantly, he emphasizes the importance of going beyond abstract conceptions of space by constantly developing empirical research. Soja's

contribution is not an easy one. He wants us to think, live and perceive space differently. This means to think space not only from our academic position (as a merely "conceived space"), but also from our position on (and transition through) the world as a "lived" and "perceived space," both "real-and-imagined," historic and dynamic, socially produced and reproduced under conditions of uneven development.

Soja (1996), thus, does not limit his claims to recover space as a "real space" (the Firstspace, as he calls it) as well as an "imagined place" (the so called Secondspace), but he also vindicates the other way of conceiving space: that is, "simultaneously real and imagined and more (both and also ..)." This Thirdspace "can be described and inscribed in journeys to 'real and imagined' (or perhaps 'real-and-imagined?') places" (p. 11). The term Thirdspace, although used here in another context, is borrowed from Homi Bhabha (1990, 1994), whose works Soja takes into account (just like other works about "difference" developed within cultural studies by Cornel West, Paul Gilroy, Stuart Hall or the above-mentioned bell hooks). The author posits the need for "the creation of another mode of thinking about space that draws upon the material and mental spaces of the traditional dualism but extends well beyond them in scope, substance, and meaning" (Soja, 1996, p. 11). Soja also attempts to develop, from a Marxist perspective, the definition of a cultural politics where space, knowledge and power are historically intertwined in order to shape the "spaces of representation" and the "representation of spaces." Soja takes these ideas from the work of Foucault and Lefebvre - two authors who have long reflected on "other spaces" where social differences are expressed.

Foucault (1980, 1986), for instance, talks about the other spaces as "heterotopias," which he defines as "the space in which we live, which draws us out of ourselves, in which the erosion of our lives, our time and our history occurs" (quoted in Soja, 1996, p. 15). Soja is also interested in the way Foucault criticizes social theory historicism, with all the consequences that this criticism may have when reconsidering the spatiality of human relations:

*Foucault asked why is it that time has tended to be treated as "richness, fecundity, life, dialectic" while in contrast space has been typically seen as "the dead, the fixed, the undialectic, the immobile"? He answers his question by referring to a persistent overprivileging of the powers of the historical imagination and the traditions of critical historiography, and the degree to which this privileging of historicity has silenced or subsumed the potentially equivalent powers of critical spatial thought.*

*(Soja, 1996, p. 15; citing Foucault, 1980, p. 70)*

Lefebvre's (1991) claim for a "radically open" kind of knowledge is, according to Soja, an essential contribution. Lefebvre's Marxism is not only a theoretical approach, but also a way of demonstrating, all through his trajectory, that it is possible to be an idealist without having to renounce being a materialist - a position that Soja draws from to argue that it is possible to be a postmodern researcher and maintain a political commitment.

Significantly, Lefebvre's ideas opened up the possibility of thinking of space beyond the wall that modern Western thought has built between physical space and mental space (as well as between objects and subjects or between academic spatial disciplines). Lefebvre also made possible thinking beyond Marxist dialectics based on historical materialism. It was necessary to add spatiality to the historicity and to the social character of human relations (described by Marx as relations of production in a capitalist world). Lefebvre called this "triple dialectics," by insisting that the social, the historic and the spatial were real as well as symbolic (Soja decides to call it "trialectics"). To the question "Is it the consciousness that produces the material world or the material world that produces the consciousness?" Lefebvre answered yes to both, and posits in addition that there will always be an alternative answer that goes beyond constrictive formulations (of the scientific expression, the social expression, the political expression).

Another important contribution of Lefebvre's work is, in Soja's opinion, defining space as a terrain for social struggle and for vindicating the right to be different against the worldly homogenization imposed

by capitalism. The struggle for the right to difference may be represented at many levels, from "body and sexuality" to "global responses to geographically uneven development and underdevelopment":

*[Lefebvre} embedded these multi-sited struggles for the right to difference in the contextualized dialectics of centers and peripheries, the conceived and the lived, the material and the metaphorical; and from these concatenated dialectics of uneven development and differentiation he opened up a new domain, a space of collective resistance, a Thirdspace of political choice that is also a meeting place for all peripheralized or marginalized "subjects" wherever they may be located.*

(Soja, 1996, p. 35)

How space is represented differently and how difference is represented spatially are very important questions that should not be neglected by critical researchers. By expressing this idea (via Foucault and Lefebvre), Soja is calling for a political commitment that goes beyond the "objectivity" logic, the reason/ideology dichotomy, as well as the conservative immobility that still defines the academy and the academic definition of social reality.

### Audience geography

At this stage in the evolution in audience studies, to assert that mass media reception is a contextualized process might seem an obvious remark. But how audience studies produce the field where work is located, or how different "real and imagined" places produce different audience studies, are very important questions. Trying to answer them implies not only looking at the prevalent notion of "audience geography," but also looking at the prevalent notion of "geography."

Media reception studies often summarize audiences' activity as their ability to negotiate resistance in relation to hegemonic messages. As a result, by focusing attention on texts (both media and audiences' texts), researchers have been defining contexts as mere containers. Canadian communication researcher Jody Berland (1992) asserts that audience studies have been limiting the practices of the active audience within a "social-environment-as-given" (p.47). To bridge this gap, the study of the social uses of communication technologies must not neglect the question of how media technologies produce space; that is, how landscapes are both constructed around the uses of mass media, as well as described by mass media contents. Berland (1992) points to an interesting issue when asking why the changes in social production of space are related to

changes in communication technologies.<sup>5</sup> As she states, those changes need to be located "in the technological proliferation, cumulative privatization, and

spatial expansion of global capitalization" (p.47).

To facilitate talking about audience geography in a different way, there is first a need to conceive of places as having changing conditions, as the cultural geographer David Harvey (1989) suggests. Understanding places as transformative also leads us to the very important question of what is the researcher's place, because this "place" is also dialectically produced (as well as the ontological positioning, or the political commitments and social paths, or even the different ways of perceiving distances between the object and the subject, the real and the imagined, the possible and the impossible, the known and the unknown ...). Fieldwork landscapes may be represented very differently by researchers' accounts, depending on being (and/or feeling) a woman or a man, black or white, young or old, foreigner or native, as well as on being (and/or feeling) a well-established researcher or not being (and/or feeling) it at all. These are questions, in fact, that do not have to be considered apart from ontological positioning, political commitments and different ways of perceiving distances. Neither do they have to be considered apart from placing ourselves on the move. As Doreen Massey (1993) argues, the problem of talking about location arises when considering space as being instead of becoming: that is, when assuming a conservative or even a reactionary intellectual position.

Assumed forms of thinking about audience location have often produced a poorly dimensioned, and even static understanding of geography. The problem is not merely this way of assuming what is

space (often reproducing the terms of pure physical geography), but its definition as a context per se, and at the same time as one more context just like "others" (as race, gender, social class, etc.). Space is thus considered in a flat and superficial way. Although past audience research has attempted to consider contexts in relation to their dynamism and complexity, the vast majority have treated space apart from time and from the "other" contexts mentioned above. In fact, these other numerous contexts are scarcely observed in relation to time/space and, then, in relation to each other.

By thinking about space we may look at the way audiences are located not only geographically but also historically. This means trying to look at local media reception practices within the Western communication system of late capitalist society that is becoming more and more "global." Hegemonic political economy talks about the new information's spatial order that shapes the world. In this "global village" consumerism landscapes are called the "natural environments" for social action. And this is, in fact, the idea of "natural environment" that many researchers reproduce when locating audiences' activity. On the other hand, critical political economy recognizes the influence of capitalism in producing and organizing social spaces, through processes of privatization of media ownership and regulation, as well as through "mobile

privatization" (Williams, 1974) of media reception.<sup>6</sup> In my opinion, there is an extended confusion when defining audience contexts as "natural

environments" and pretending at the same time to be defending a critical point of view. What becomes problematic is not the context of media reception (as a place for consumerism), but precisely its taken-for-granted definition within researchers' discourse. Thomas Tufte (1997), for instance, has interestingly analyzed the generalizations about television and everyday life (as well as about the location of their encounter) made from a naturalized British point of view in Roger Silverstone's work (1994).

David Morley has recently developed a very comprehensive definition of "home" in relation to other concepts like "media," "identity" and "space" (Morley, 2000). Nevertheless, trying to see how this theoretical concept of "home" works in practice is, as Morley recognizes, not easy. On the other hand, his way of thinking about ethnographic fieldwork (Morley, 1992) does not help to answer this question either. Morley's methodological assumptions have already been discussed elsewhere (Flores, 2001). My concern here is the argument that Morley has been using all through his works (see also Morley and Silverstone, 1990) to defend the idea that fieldwork must be placed in the sitting room. As an example, consider the author's last words in a 1996 text entitled "The geography of television":

*If we are to understand how any (post) modern sense of identity, community, or nation (at any level) is produced, then we shall need to confront, among other things, the domestic setting of its production, via the consumption and use of broadcasting and other ICTs. To this extent, a "retreat" into the domestic sphere may precisely be the detour we need to make, if we are effectively to understand these "larger", more obviously "political" questions.*

*(Morley, 1996, p. 338)*

Precisely because of presenting the postmodern approach as the starting point for including space in a more open kind of audience research (as in fact Morley does in his text), it makes no sense to conclude that what "we need to make" is a "retreat" into a "sphere" (the domestic one). Positioning ourselves far from the "global village" kind of discourse does not necessarily mean that we have to locate fieldwork in what may be considered the opposite extreme (the household). On the other hand, by equating the political "obviousness" with "larger" questions, are we as ethnographers not retreating in many more senses? In any case, where does the "detour" on the way back home take place (as the scenario for identity production via broadcasting and electronic media consumption)?

There is not a simple answer to this last question. The construction of cultural identity (around the sense of community, even the sense of nation, to which Morley refers) is not necessarily better placed "into" the domestic sphere than *in relation to* those "other things" among which television "consumption" may be considered. I think, for instance, about the bars on the street where I live. During a football game between the traditionally rival teams of Barcelona and Madrid, these places become specially overpopulated. Streets and bars are important locations for people encounters, to the extent that they

constitute places where identities (for example, Catalan and Spanish national identities) are represented or even confronted. At least that is what happens in the neighborhood where I live in Barcelona, as well as in the little village where I come from, although the sense of "we" and of "others" may differ from one place to another. For instance, being a woman in a bar of a little village where everybody knows each other (that is, the village where I come from) makes me almost an invader specifically when a football match is on the television.

Rather than saying that we need to retreat into the micro-scale, what we need is to get out of the generalizations that this academic prescription may involve. We should ask, for instance, who is the *we* that we mention, whose detours are we talking about, or which ones may be seen not only in a theoretical way, but as the common detours through which we *use* to go home everyday (whatever it might be understood and lived as *home* - just like bars or streets - in the different places where fieldwork is located)?

### **Where is audience ethnography's "somewhere"?**

James Hay (1996) has analyzed Janice Radway's call for an interdisciplinary kind of research through which to approach "dispersed audiences and nomadic subjects" (Radway 1988), as well as Lawrence Grossberg's response to Radway's proposal (Grossberg 1988). In both cases, ethnography's way of looking at space is shown as a problematic issue.

In many respects, Radway's proposal for a multidisciplinary project offered a useful way of beginning to rethink assumptions underpinning communication and media studies that had set the parameters of audience analysis for decades. And her valorization of ethnographic methods has also been central to debates reshaping audience study since the 1980s. But ethnography, as Lawrence Grossberg (1988) noted in his response to her essays and as others have argued since, has not been particularly sensitive to the mobility of subjects through everyday life. What remains implicit in Radway's proposal (and even in Grossberg's response to it) is the spatial problematic - a more full-fledged consideration of the issue of everyday life as a spatially constituted field of practice (Hay, 1996, p. 363).

One interesting point of Hay's analysis is the consideration of the important role that critical geography has to play in order to rethink ethnographic audience research. In fact, some Latin American authors were also calling, by the same period, for a more dimensioned way of defining space (Gonzalez, 1995; Jacks, 1994). Hay's approach to critical geography, thus, is part of a broader (although unconnected) current. This current also includes critical geographers' interest in approaching cultural studies. Hay (1996) asserts that, by that time, "critical, Marxist geographers" had not "discussed media or the issue of the audience" (p. 370). But if we look at "critical geographers" without relegating them to the category of "Marxists," we can find quite a few exceptions to Hay's assertion (see, for example, Burgess and Gold, 1985; or Jackson, 1989, 1993; or Morley and Robins, 1995).

Moreover, according to Hay, critical reception studies' tendency has been to map audiences in a "Euclidean geometry" way, while critical geography has already gone far beyond this. Hay offers Doreen Massey's (1993) work on "power geometry" as an effective way to "describe how the relative mobility of different social groups and different individuals is part of a terrain of other kinds of flows and interconnections." Or, as Hay notes, Massey's elaborations of power geometry conceptualize mobility as "part of non-Euclidean geometries of social relations and power" (Hay, 1996, pp. 369-370).

There are some other interesting works in critical geography through which

we may approach "change" and "mobility" questions. Doreen Massey's previous works on regional geography and the study of "localities" (Massey 1984, 1985) are excellent examples of how critical geography has approached social structuration theory (concretely through Anthony Giddens's proposal). Torsten Hagerstrand's (1982) time-geography has had an important role to play in Giddens's works (1984, 1985), as well as in cultural geographers' works dealing with social paths and rhythms in everyday lives, in biographies, and in collective histories.

Ien Ang (1996) analyzes what adopting a "radical contextualism" perspective means for audience research. Stating from this perspective that media reception takes place in a dynamic and complex process means adding the problematic of placing researchers' activity in the fieldwork. "The ethnographer cannot be

'everywhere' but must always speak and write from 'somewhere'" (p. 254). As she points out, it makes no sense to try to find a solution for this. What Ang rather vindicates is the ethnographer's consciousness of where he or she is placed in every specific studied case. The very important thing, in any case, is to maintain coherence with political positioning. For "our curiosity about the audience is never innocent" (using Ang's starting point).

Drawing on Clifford Geertz (1988), Ang states that ethnography may "help us to locate and understand the gradual spectrum of mixed-up differences ...that comes with the progressive transnationalization of media audiencehood" (Ang, 1996, p. 260). Ang's suggestion of observing contexts ethnographically also requires avoiding "succumbing to sweeping generalizations" of cultural imperialism and globalization issues. Nevertheless, to avoid talking about globalization issues does not mean talking about decontextualized particularities. In my opinion, one of the most difficult and interesting questions recently posed by media ethnographers is how to deal with the global/local hybridization (Kraidy, 1999; Jacks, 1999; Tufte, 1999, 2000; Jacks and Tufte, 1998).

## Conclusions

Media ethnography should not consider space as a fact, but as a challenge: that is, as the object/subject of critically inquiry. This requires the introduction of new questions and thus opening the "field" to new horizons. For instance, how are social change and social difference represented on space? How does space change and differ (genealogically as well as geographically) in people's minds and everyday life? How do media - and their social use - change and differentiate space? To what extent does space - as conceived, perceived and/or lived space - create changing and different media uses? Can these changes and differences help us to define different cultural identities within the so-called "information society"? How can it contribute a deeper understanding of "the global era"?

Media ethnographers have just begun to locate fieldwork in spatial terms. However, there has not been a sufficient effort to look at audiences beyond naturalized places (for instance, the household). Looking at space differently (as the geographer Edward Soja suggests) means asking new questions and thus opening the scope of media ethnography. It means also opening research to a more interdisciplinary understanding and practice. When doing fieldwork, media ethnographers need also to explicate place "on the move": that is, as transformative yet situated in terms of power, economics, history, etc. As such, we have to be able to recognize and talk about the difference (and also the inequalities) that space makes in media reception. The question is not so much whether space is global or local, the public sphere or the private sphere, the rural or the urban, the "in" or the "out," the "here" or the "there," etc., but rather what is the constant friction that is revealed and given shape by space, and how does that friction serve as a creative force?

Why is space important for media ethnographers to take into account when defining "fieldwork"? Above all, there is the question of not conceiving space from a totalizing and/or a constrictive point of view. I also have tried to show that theoretical statements can only become operative in practice starting from constantly putting into question our condition as researchers within the academy and as political actors within society. Thinking of space in that way gives us the possibility of reflecting on this paradox, and on the insufficiency of just talking theoretically or just doing empirical research.

In fact, nothing keeps us from going beyond. Jody Berland and James Hay (from very different theoretical statements) call for a "non-taken-for-granted" definition of space in audience research. As Hay (1996) asserts:

*"Defining" audiences is a spatial project. It underscores that listening, reading, and viewing occur in and around particular sites and through a social world organized geographically. But it acknowledges that these activities simultaneously produce "paths"*

*- from one site to another - through everyday life, and that these paths elude modes of inquiry that privilege certain sites in everyday life. (9. 364)*



Some audience researchers have already focused their attention on the global/ local encounter (often better defined as "friction"). In any case, what this text has been trying to convey is thinking of space as problematic. This is the very reason why space matters. Soja's "postmodern geographies" could provide media ethnographers with suggestions for critically redefining the "field" in which empirical work has been traditionally placed. Fieldwork should not be described as something placed on a specific, fixed, determined, or even taken-for-granted space. On the one hand, fieldwork has to be placed in the struggle scenario of difference's representation (as far as space has a political meaning that media ethnographers use to neglect). On the other hand, media ethnographers need to locate their footsteps on a space that is both part and container of people's (and our own) vital paths, of our transient histories and biographies, of our hybrid identities, of our transpiring feelings and transgressor imaginations.

The main purpose of this chapter has not been to talk about field experience, nor do I pretend to offer an exhaustive account of the different perspectives from which space has been treated in audience research. Rather, it represents an attempt to bridge borders between complementary but yet for the most part disjointed theoretical trajectories. During the last ten years audience cultural studies and critical geography have been trying to approach each other within a theoretical frame. Up until now they have been reflecting on common methodological issues using exactly the same terms, and sharing the same critical and non-positivistic epistemological positions (Evans, 1988; Herbert, 2000). But, at least in my own academic context, audience ethnography has not been developed, for instance, by going beyond the kind of boundaries (that separate departments or faculties, that separate theory and fieldwork) marked on the academic map. Nevertheless, as Clifford (1992) has stated, placing ethnographic work in the field also has its constrictions, and I think it may specially be true in the case of interdisciplinary and international research teams, where cultural boundaries may also exist. In order to approach it in a different way, in this chapter I have tried to pinpoint the idea that researchers, as well as any other members of a studied community, can be "travelers" in some sense, crossing moving borders. And this creates another kind of gaze into real-and-imagined "common" places.

By trying to focus attention on the claim for "bridging borders," I have found challenges everywhere. The most important one has been that of approaching critical geography as a media ethnographer. In any case, it wasn't my intention to remain within these pages like a frozen Mediterranean in the courtyard of Hamlet's castle. I am aware that I have been talking about ideas (or about questions that may arise from these ideas) more than about facts and practical or relieving answers. But I really hope to have just made a little step towards taking space into account when doing fieldwork, and to have found a place for it here, among the pages of this book.

## Notes

1 Concretely, Edward Soja uses the term "socio-spatial dialectic" (Soja, 1980), while David Harvey talks about the "historical-geographical materialism" dialectics (Harvey, 1989). Richard Peet has expressed it as the "spacial dialectics" (Peet, 1981).

2 We can find a good example of what "radical geography transforming into Marxist geography" was about by looking at the journal *Antipode: A Radical Journal of Geography*, founded in 1969 at Clark University in Worcester, Massachusetts. David Harvey's (1989) trajectory is a good example too.

3 For going deeply into the roots and further meanings of geography's controversial "cultural turn," see Cosgrove (1989), Jackson (1989), Philo (1991), the provocative Mitchell (1995), or Sayer (2000).

4 This idea has been developed through Soja's trilogy (1989, 1996;2000), although. I only quote here the second book.

5 Jay G. Blumler poses another interesting question that may be considered complementary to Berland's one: "Do prevalent notions of 'the audience' change in response to changes of media structure, and if so, how?" (Blumler, 1996, p. 97).

6 William's (1974) concept of "mobile privatization" has been used by media researchers during the last decade (see for instance Berland, 1992; Morley, 2000; Silverstone, 1994; Tufte, 1999).

## References

Ang, I. (1996). Ethnography and radical contextualism in audience studies. In J. Hay, L. Grossberg and E. Wartella (eds), *The audience and its Landscape* (pp. 247-262). Boulder, CO: Westview Press, Harper Collins Publishers.

Barnett, C. (1998). The cultural turn: Fashion of progress in human geography, *Antipode* 30(4), 379-394.

Berland, J. (1992). Angels dancing: Cultural technologies and the production of space. In L. Grossberg, C. Nelson and P. Treichler (eds), *Cultural studies* (pp. 38-55). New York: Routledge.

Bhabha, H. K. (1990). The third space. In J. Rutherford (ed.), *Identity, community, culture, difference* (pp. 207-221). London: Routledge.

Bhabha, H.K. (1994). *The location of culture*. New York and London: Routledge. Blumler, J. G. (1996). Recasting the audience in the new television marketplace?. In J. Hay, L. Grossberg and E. Wartella (eds), *The audience and its landscape* (pp. 97-111). Boulder, CO: Westview Press, Harper Collins Publishers. Burgess, J. and Gold, J. R. (eds) (1985). *Geography, the media and popular culture*. London: Croom Helm.

Clifford, J. (1992). Traveling cultures. In L. Grossberg, C. Nelson and P. Treichler (eds), *Cultural studies* (pp. 96-116). New York and London: Routledge.

Cosgrove, D. (1989). Geography is everywhere: Culture and symbolism in human landscapes. In D. Gregory and R. Walford (eds), *Horizons in human geography* (pp. 118-135). London: Macmillan.

Evans, M. (1988). Participant observation: The researcher as research tool. In J. Eyles and D. M. Smith (eds), *Qualitative methods in human geography* (pp. 197-218). Cambridge: Polity Press.

Flores, C. (2001). La metodologfa cualitativa en la investigaci6n de la recepci6n televisiva. Analisis comparativo de las tecnicas y los supuestos. Research work presented at the Department of Journalism and Communication Sciences, Universitat Aut6noma de Barcelona (October).

Foucault, M. (1980). *Power/knowledge: Selected interviews and other writings, 1972-1977*, ed. C. Gordon. New York: Pantheon.

Foucault, M. (1986). On other spaces. *Diacritics* 16, 22-27.

Geertz, C. (1988). *Works and lives: The anthropologist as author*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Giddens, A. (1984). *The constitution of society: Outline of a theory of structuration*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Giddens, A. (1985). Time, space and regionalisation. In D. Gregory and J. Urry (eds), *Social relations and spatial structures* (pp. 265-295). London: Macmillan.

Gonzalez, J. A. (1995). Coordinadas del imaginario: Protocolo para el uso de las cartografias culturales, *Estudios sobre las culturas contemporaneas* 1(2), 135-161.

Grossberg, L. (1988). Wandering audiences, nomadic critics. *Cultural Studies* 2(3), 377-391.

- Hagerstrand, T. (1982). Diorama, path and project. *Tidschrift voor economische en sociale geografie* 73(6), 323-339. Also in]. Agnew, D. N. Livingstone and A. Rogers (eds), *Human geography. An essential anthology* (pp. 650-674). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Harvey, D. (1989). *The condition of postmodernity*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Hay, J. (1996). The place of the audience: Beyond audience studies. In J. Hay, L. Grossberg and E. Wartella (eds), *The audience and its landscape* (pp. 359-378). Boulder, CO: Westview Press, Harper Collins Publishers.
- Heisenberg, W. (1972). *Physics and beyond: Encounters and conversations*. New York: Harper Torchhook.
- Herbert, S. (2000). For ethnography. *Progress in human geography* 24(4), 550-568.
- Jacks, N. (1994). Television e identidad en los estudios de recepción. In G. Orozco (ed.), *Televidencia: Perspectivas para el análisis de los procesos de recepción televisiva*. (pp. 55-68). Mexico DF: Universidad Iberoamericana, Programa Institucional de Investigación en Comunicación y Prácticas Sociales.
- Jacks, N. (1999). *Querencia. Cultura regional como mediafaO simbólica. Um estudo de recepfaO*. Rio Grande do Sul: Edicora da Universidade, Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul.
- Jacks, N. and Tufte, T. (1998). *Televisao, familia e identidade (parte de um projecco integrado)*. In A. A. Canelas Rubim, I. M. Ghislene Bentz and M. Pinto (eds), *ProdtffaO e recepfaO dos sentidos midiaticos*. Pocr6polis RJ: Vozes.
- Jackson, P. (1989). *Maps of meaning: An introduction to cultural geography*. London: Unwin Hyman.
- Jackson, P. (1993). Towards a cultural politics of consumption. In]. Bird, B. Curtis, T. Putnam, G. Robertson and L. Tickner (eds), *Mapping the futures: Local cultures, global change* (pp. 207-228). London: Routledge.
- Kraidy, M. (1999) *The global, the local, and the hybrid: A native ethnography of glocalizacion*. *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 16, 456-476.
- Lefebvre, H. (1991). *The production of space*. Oxford: Blackwell. (French original text: *La production de l'espace*. Paris: Anthropos, 1974.)
- Massey, D. (1984). *Spatial divisions of labor: Social structures and the geography of production*. New York: Methuen.
- Massey, D. (1985). *New directions in space*. In D. Gregory and Urry (eds), *Social relations and spatial structures* (pp. 9-19). London: Macmillan.
- Massey, D. (1993). *Power-geometry and a progressive sense of place*. In J. Bird, B. Curtis, T. Putnam, G. Robertson and L. Tickner, *Mapping the futures: Local cultures, global change* (pp. 59-69). London: Routledge.
- Mitchell, D. (1995). *There's no such thing as culture: Towards a reconceptualization of the idea of culture in geography*. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 20, 102-116.
- Morley, D. (1992). *Television, audiences and cultural studies*. London: Routledge.
- Morley, D. (1996). *The geography of television: Ethnography, communications, and community*. In Hay, L. Grossberg and E. Warcella (eds), *The audience and its landscape* (pp. 317-342). Boulder, CO: Westview Press, Harper Collins Publishers.
- Morley, D. (2000). *Home territories: Media, mobility and identity*. London: Routledge.
- Morley, D. and Robins, K. (1995). *Spaces of identity: Global media, electronic landscape and cultural boundaries*. London and New York: Routledge.

- Morley, D. and Silverstone, R. (1990). Domestic communications. *Media, Culture and Society* 12(1), 31-55.
- Peet, R. (ed.) (1978). *Radical geography: Alternative viewpoints on contemporary social issues*. London: Methuen.
- Peet, R. (1981). Spatial dialectics and Marxist geography. *Progress in Human Geography* 5, 105-110.
- Peet, R. (1998.) *Modern geographical thought*. Oxford and Malden: Blackwell.
- Philo, C. (ed.) (1991). *New words, new worlds: Reconceptualising social and cultural geography*. Lampeter: Sc David's University College (Social and Cultural Study Group).
- Philo, C. (1999). Mas palabras, mas mundos: Reflexiones en corno al "giro cultural" y a la geograffa social. *Documents d'Analisi Geografica* 34, 81-99.
- Radway, J. (1988). Reception study: Ethnography and the problems of dispersed audiences and nomadic subjects. *Cultural Studies* 2(3), 359-376.
- Sayer, A. (1994). Cultural studies and "the economy, stupid." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 12, 635-637.
- Sayer, A. (2000). Critical and uncritical turns. In I. Cook, D. Crouch, S. Naylor and J. Ryan (eds), *Cultural turns/geographical turns* (pp. 166-181). Harlow: Pearson Education.
- Silverstone, R. (1994). *Television and everyday life*. London and New York: Routledge. Soja, E. W. (1980). The socio-spatial dialectic. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 70, 207-225.
- Soja, E. W. (1989). *Postmodern geographies: The reassertion of space in social theory*. London: Verso.
- Soja, E. W. (1996). *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and other real-and-imagined places*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Soja, E. W. (2000). *Postmetropolis*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Tuan, Yi-Fu. (1977). *Space and place: The perspective of experience*. London: Arnold.
- Tufte, T. (1997). Television, modernidad y vida cotidiana: Un analisis sobre la obra de Roger Silverstone desde contextos culturales diferentes. *Comunicacirfn y sociedad* 31, 65-96.
- Tufte, T. (1999). Gauchos going global: Mobile privatization and ritualized media use. Paper presented at the 14th Nordic Conference for Media Researchers, Kungälv, Sweden.
- Tufte, T. (2000). *Living with the rubbish queen: Telenovelas, culture and modernity in Brazil*. Luton: University of Luton Press.
- Williams, R. (1974). *Television: Technology and cultural forms*. London: Fontana.