NEWS MEDIA CONSUMPTION IN THE TRANSMEDIA AGE
Amalgamations, orientations and geo-social structuration

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Technological convergence and altered dynamics of content circulation, what is here referred to as "transmedia textures", change the ways in which news is consumed. This is in regard to both how individuals navigate and orient themselves through representational spaces and flows, and how their media practices amalgamate with other activities in everyday life. The aim of this study is to explore how altered dynamics of amalgamation are related to various news media orientations and how these relationships correspond to forces of structuration. The study applies a communication geographical analytical framework and combines quantitative and qualitative interview data from Sweden. The empirical data illustrate how the spatial practice of news consumption changes into an increasingly amalgamated, mobile practice. Transmedia textures flourish within geo-social settings marked by relatively affluent, mobile lifestyles and cosmopolitan news orientations. However, it is also shown that transmedia textures, due to the forces of geo-social structuration, sustain sedentary lifestyles, corresponding to more locally oriented news media practices.

KEYWORDS   communication geography; convergence; everyday life; mobile media; news consumption

Introduction

Today the lives of the globe's citizens are wrapped around a seemingly endless encounter with material and symbolic modes of communication. Newspapers are read on buses and trains, car radios are tuned to the morning news, joggers listen to talking books while exercising and people make love in front of the television. The mediated experience of modernity is one of "a whirling phantasmagoria" (McLuhan 1951, v). (Stevenson 2010, 22)

Along with other forms of media content, news today tends to flow smoothly between different types of platforms, as well as between users. News outlets distribute their material through multiple channels, and media users may access news material by means of different platforms, from different places and while on the move. News consumption is now "unfettered by wires and cables", freed from previously quite well-restricted, space–time constraints (Hemment 2005, 32), and news is accessed in the "interstices" of the scheduled and routinized activities throughout the course of the day (Dimmick, Feaster, and Hoplamazian 2010). Altogether, technological convergence and

altered dynamics of content circulation change the ways in which news is consumed, in terms of how individuals navigate and *orient* themselves through representational spaces and flows, and how their media practices *amalgamate* with other activities in everyday life. What we are witnessing is thus more than a technological and representational transition; it is a multi-layered spatial transition that can be described as a shift from *mass media textures* to *transmedia textures* (Jansson 2013a).

As the opening quote indicates, media practices have a rather long history of amalgamating with various forms of spatial practice. Also the consumption of mass media such as newspapers and radio news often entails the combination of virtual and corporeal mobility (Urry 2007). The paradigmatic shift from mass media textures to transmedia textures (which also manifests itself through the materialization of various "hybridized" textures), however, implies that virtual and corporeal mobilities are combined in increasingly diversified and open-ended ways as media users may access any virtual space (including "news spaces") from any geographical location through their miniaturized transmedia technologies. Such a shift, and its potential consequences for the practice of news consumption, we argue, is in need of further scrutiny. This study sets out to shed empirical light on some of the potential novelties (as well as continuities) pertaining to the "places and spaces" of contemporary news consumption—a topic that to date has not been sufficiently attended to in the field of journalism studies, as noted by Peters (2012).

Not many studies have explored how the altered dynamics of amalgamation are related to various news media orientations and how these relationships correspond to forces of structuration (Giddens 1984). The aim of our study is to do this via two analytical steps. Firstly, we investigate how transmedia textures materialize through concrete practices of media use, in general, and news media consumption, in particular. We use both qualitative and quantitative interview data (gathered through ongoing Swedish research projects) to highlight how mobile news consumption amalgamates with different types of spatial practice, and how such patterns unfold in different social and geographical spheres of society. This means that we are interested in news consumption as a site of *geo-social structuration*, constituted through socially stratified modes of appropriation and orientation. Not only are the expanding opportunities for consuming and circulating news while on the move unevenly distributed in social and geographical space (due to the level of various technological resources); the media practices as such, and the ways in which they are carried out *in space*, contribute to the social classification of media users and their lifestyles.

Secondly, we explore how the (mobile) enactment of transmedia textures is related to orientations within the representational realm. Here, we are interested in the distinction between "local" and "cosmopolitan" outlooks, since they constitute opposing spatial orientations in relation to the news flow (see Merton [1949] 1968). Through our empirical data we are able to highlight historical continuities in terms of structuration, implying that the occupation of more privileged social positions and urban residency correspond to orientations towards the "extra-local world". Whereas such news orientations partly resonate with transmedia textural practices, they are not fostered by technological alterations. Rather, the composite patterns can be understood as extensions of social pre-dispositions rooted in habitus (Bourdieu [1979] 1984), and are thus integral to the structuration process.

Before presenting the analyses, we introduce our analytical framework, which is derived partly from the interdisciplinary field of communication geography, partly from

Giddensian sociology of structuration. In relation to the analytical framework, we also discuss previous studies conducted within our subject area. Thereafter, we present our empirical study, and discuss the quality of our data.

Communication Geography, Structuration and News Consumption

The relationship between space and (mediated) communication is multidimensional, and has become increasingly ambiguous due to altered technological conditions. Phenomena such as interactivity, convergence and automated surveillance tend to blur spatial boundaries, and problematize what used to be relatively fixed relationships between different channels, sites and actors of communication (such as sender versus receiver). During the last decade, such ambiguities have generated a growing interest in spatial issues among media and communication scholars (see Couldry and McCarthy 2004; Falkheimer and Jansson 2006), and a corresponding interest in the media among geographers (see Adams 2009).

This has ultimately led to the establishment of an interdisciplinary field of communication geography. In a recent article, elaborating Adams' (2009) earlier theorizations, Adams and Jansson (2012) map out the epistemological field of communication geography according to a quadrant model (Table 1). The vertical dimension represents variations pertaining to *geographical scale*, distinguishing the general ("macro") properties of *space* from the social specificity of *place*. The horizontal dimension depicts the space–communication nexus; the interchangeable relationship of space/place and communication as either *container* or *content*. Altogether, the model pinpoints four communication geographical fields of inquiry: *representations*, *textures*, *connections* and *structures*. Whereas the boundaries between these realms might be contested through empirical research, they provide relevant starting points for explorations of the space–communication nexus at different scales.

In our ambition to study media practices as a generative part of spatial production (geographically and socially) our study relates to the "micro" level of the model. Firstly, our study deals with *textural amalgamations*. Texture refers to the symbolic-material processes and arrangements through which communication and space co-constitute one another. They are made up of material objects and resources for communication, as well as the very communicative flows and dynamics that define certain places in social and cultural terms (Jansson 2007). This means that the dominant forms of media that saturate society at the structural level ("communication in spaces") also affect the very experience and sensory "feel" of ordinary, mundane places. For example, whereas the introduction of

TABLE 1

Applied conceptual framework for research in communication geography (after Adams 2009; Adams and Jansson 2012)

Geographical scale	Space–communication nexus	
	"Communication as container"	"Communication as content"
"Macro"	Connections (spaces in communication)	Structures (communication in spaces)
"Micro"	Representations (places in communication) *Orientations of news consumption*	Textures (communication in places) *Amalgamations of news consumption*

such mass media technologies as radio and television was paralleled by a shift in sociality, involving for example certain forms of scheduled togetherness, modes of talk and domestic design (see Williams 1974; Morley 1986; Spigel 1992), something similar is happening today. More and more spatial practices are either substituted for (as in the cases of banking or postal services) or amalgamating with the usage of transmedia technologies (see Schulz 2004).

The term "transmedia" is inspired by Jenkins's (2006) work on "transmedia storytelling" and refers to the increasingly inter-connected and open-ended circulation of media content between various platforms, where social agents are increasingly involved in the production of flows. Compared to mass media textures, transmedia textures are marked by integration and flexibility, meaning that different platforms are connected to one another in a seamless manner that also makes each separate technology relatively flexible. As Madianou and Miller (2013) discuss in their account of "polymedia", in integrated and flexible media environments individual choices of platform depend more on moral, emotive and situational circumstances than on mere functionality. In the case of news consumption, this means that there are a plethora of channels and forms available for receiving news, some of which are more or less adapted to personal preferences (e.g. areas of interest and modes of delivery). Ordinary users may thus move in and out of news flows via a variety of entrance points, forming liquid patterns of consumption. These processes not only give rise to new compositions and experiences of news materials as such, but are also part of the ongoing texturation of everyday life.

Secondly, in furthering our understanding of news media usages as spatial practices taking place in a changing media landscape, the study focuses on how different groups *orient* themselves in relation to various "places in communication", that is, *representations* of/from different geo-social regions. Here, we start out from Merton's ([1949] 1968) classical distinction between "locals" and "cosmopolitans", that is, between those who are primarily interested in familiar places and events, and those who orient themselves towards the "extra-local", often international, realm of, for example, politics and current affairs. This basic distinction, it must be noted, does not advance any sophisticated approach to cosmopolitan*ism*, however. It does not make any claims in terms of the ethical standards guiding different subjects in local or cosmopolitan directions (see e.g. Chouliaraki 2006; Madianou 2013), but rather distinguishes between different scopes of engagement and potential action. As several scholars have subsequently pointed out, cosmopolitan news orientations (following Merton) often correspond to the possession of greater amounts of capital and thus to greater capacity to influence social processes also in local settings (see Gans 1962). In recent years this has been discussed particularly in relation to urban gentrification, where emerging lifestyles tend to integrate a desire to sense the "'action/pulse/rhythm/opportunities' of the global at the scale of the local" (Rofe 2003, 2520). This transformational condition, through which urbanism is culturally re-encoded and socially reconstituted through the spatial praxis of mobile middle-class populations associated with the service and information economy (Zukin 1982; Featherstone 1991), is also a condition of intense symbolic mediation (through the circulation of various news media as well as popular culture, marketing, fashion, and so forth).

Our interest in relating an analysis of local versus cosmopolitan news orientations to the growing prominence of transmedia textures in everyday life is thus a way of providing an updated account of "geo-social" structuration processes. Giddens (1984) defines structuration as the ongoing reproduction, and successive negotiation, of structures of

power and dominance in society through everyday practices. A key advantage of the Giddensian approach to structuration is that it encourages us to think about practices as mutually forming and formed through intersectional structures (involving such dimensions as class, gender, ethnicity and infrastructural conditions). Structure is thus integral to practice so conceived. This also involves practices of spatial production; the construction of territories and boundaries of belonging and control through which orders of social space are projected on to symbolic-material geographies (from the domestic sphere to geo-political space). Similar points have been made by Bourdieu, who sees the practical dispositions of *habitus* as an important mechanism of geo-social segregation and distinction, whereby social structures are "translated, with more or less distortion, into physical space, in the form of a certain arrangement of agents and properties" (Bourdieu [1997] 2000, 134). Both Giddens and Bourdieu provide important tools for linking communication geographical issues to broader concerns with social space and power. More concretely, they help us to interpret how contemporary patterns of media amalgamation and orientation are related to the geo-social "arrangement of agents and properties".

Based on what we know from studies of earlier media transformations (technological and institutional), and about the distribution of local and cosmopolitan orientations in social space, our hypothesis is that the "transmedia shift", or "transmediatization" (for a broader discussion of this concept, see Jansson 2013a), foremost implies sharper differentiations within general structuration processes. This hypothesis can be grounded in four observations. Firstly, the diffusion of innovations tends to follow a socio-economic logic where people with much economic and educational capital are better equipped and often more interested in adopting new innovations (Rogers [1962] 2010).

Secondly, earlier analyses of how the differentiation of television programming has affected viewing patterns (e.g. in Sweden) have consistently shown that broader repertoires of choice sustain further specialization on behalf of audiences (see Reimer 1994; Bjur 2009). This is also to say that the divisions between different types of news consumers, as well as between news consumers and "non-news consumers", tend to expand when people have more to choose from (see Strömbäck, Djerf-Pierre, and Shehata 2012).

Thirdly, and related to the previous point, the very technological affordances of new media have historically tended to lead in contradictory directions. As Tomlinson (2001) points out in relation to the issue of "mediated cosmopolitanism", the very same technological affordances that enable media users to expand their views towards *cosmos* and the distant other (if they have any such ambitions) are the affordances that may tie people closer to the *hearth*. "Technologies of cosmos" and "technologies of the hearth" may thus be one and the same thing. This condition is likely to become even more relevant in times of multi-functional transmedia forms, which may sustain social cohesion at the local level as well as extended global networks (see also Silverstone 2007; Ling 2008).

Finally, when it comes to local versus cosmopolitan news orientations, empirical analyses from Sweden have shown that "the local" constitutes a kind of common denominator among news media audiences, while interests in "extra-local", national and international news are further stratified in social space (see Nilsson and Weibull 2010; Lindell and Jansson 2012; Weibull 2012). These patterns also resonate with empirical analyses holding that cosmopolitan value orientations—understood as a form of "global openness"—are often nurtured through the interplay between educational capital, international mobility and news media consumption (see Phillips and Smith 2008; Lindell 2012).

Empirical Data

In order to accomplish our aim we have combined analyses of two sources of data. The first source is a representative SOM survey (Society, Opinion, Media) conducted in the region of Värmland (Sweden) in autumn 2010. Bordering to Norway, Värmland is located in mid-western Sweden. As with many provincial regions in Sweden, Värmland is experiencing an ongoing urbanization process wherein rural inhabitants increasingly move to the residence city Karlstad or larger nodes such as Stockholm, Oslo and Gothenburg (Nilsson, Aronsson, and Norell 2012). Starting on 24 September 2010, the questionnaire was distributed to a total of 2000 people between the ages of 16 and 85 over the course of 20 weeks. The answering rate was 56 per cent (1120 respondents). The questionnaire contained a broad variety of questions dealing with opinions, attitudes and habits related to, for example, lifestyle and politics, and also included a set of background variables. Our focus here is on two separate areas: firstly, the consumption of news via mobile media devices, and secondly, geographical orientations within news flows. The first area, which provides a general indication of what groups consume news on the move, thus allegedly enacting transmedia textures, is covered through a question dealing with how often respondents read news from two of the main online news sources, *Aftonbladet* and *Expressen* (also well-established Swedish tabloids) on their mobile devices. The second area, which relates to the issue of local versus cosmopolitan orientations, is covered through a question about how important respondents find news from different regions of Värmland, as well as certain extra-regional centres (Stockholm, Oslo and Göteborg). In order to understand how these phenomena relate to various processes of geo-social structuration, they are analysed in relation to various demographical variables.

We hold that these questions maintain valid information about the issues scrutinized here. However, certain limitations must be mentioned in both areas. Firstly, it would have been valuable to include a greater variety of news sources and platforms for providing a better take on transmedia textures. Appropriations of certain brands are socially and culturally structured/structuring practices as such. Secondly, as for the question of news orientations, it would have been beneficial to include also more distant (worldwide) places for reaching more distinct indications of cosmopolitan outlooks. Still, by way of constituting indicators of "extended frames of reference", our variables and subsequent analyses capture the "extra-local" in the Merton ([1949] 1968) sense of the word.

Our second data source consists of qualitative interviews gathered within the research project "Secure Spaces: Media, Consumption and Social Surveillance". The project revolved ultimately around issues of mediated surveillance, privacy and social control. However, the rich empirical material, consisting of 36 qualitative interviews from three different settings—a relatively sedentary Swedish small-town area; suburban migrant communities of Turkish and Kurdish origin; globally mobile dwellers in inner-city Stockholm—also covers questions of everyday (media) practices and experiences in a mediatized society. They thus illuminate textural conditions as well as orientations within the news flow with a particular focus on new (trans)media technologies. For the purpose of the present analysis, we have incorporated findings from the interviews conducted in small-town contexts (winter 2010–2011) and inner-city Stockholm (spring 2012). From these contexts we gather vivid illustrations of what the transition from mass media to transmedia textures might imply in social and spatial terms.

It must be stressed here, of course, that the transmedia shift must also be interpreted in relation to factors other than residential conditions. Nevertheless, the

general comparison between provincial and urban settings helps us clarify the geo-socially structured implications of technological shifts, in general, and the extended differentiation of news consumption, in particular.

News and Spatial Practice: Textural Amalgamations

At the general level, analysing the data from the 2010 SOM survey, it must be noted that news consumption via mobile devices is still a relatively restricted phenomenon: while mobile devices present new modes of news consumption they are mainly conceived of as interpersonal communication devices (Westlund 2010). In a preceding analysis of the same data, Karlsson (2012) found that only 4 per cent of the population in Värmland used a mobile device for accessing any of the news services offered by *Expressen* or *Aftonbladet* on a regular basis (at least three times a week). This can be compared with 6 per cent of the US sample accessing news through a mobile device on a daily basis in 2010 (Chyi and Chadha 2012). Furthermore, these digital practices are socially stratified, implying that younger people with higher education and more privileged social positions are at the forefront when it comes to appropriating them into their lifestyles. Men are also more inclined to consume news through mobile devices than women (Karlsson 2012).

These patterns of structuration can be further illuminated through an analysis of how mobile news consumption correlates with different types of international mobility (Table 2). The correlation is particularly significant with regards to work-related international mobility, suggesting that the new, liquefied mode of news consumption might even be considered a distinctive marker among "globals" (Elliott and Urry 2010), for whom miniaturized media are indispensable resources for keeping track of the world both privately and professionally.

Our qualitative material from inner-city Stockholm contains several interviews with individuals whose lifestyles represent these distinctive patterns of open-ended news media consumption. To these individuals the continuous enactment and reproduction of transmedia textures become tantamount to a life "in media" (Deuze 2011). During an ordinary day, involving urban mobility between different sites of work and leisure,

TABLE 2

Correlations between mobile news consumption and different forms of international mobility

	Mobile news consumption	Leisure-related international mobility	Work-related international mobility
Mobile news consumption	1 (889)	0.10** (856)	0.23*** (857)
Leisure-related international mobility	0.10** (856)	1 (1051)	0.16*** (1041)
Work-related international mobility	0.23*** (857)	0.16*** (1041)	1 (1049)

Measurements indicate strength in correlation between variables (Pearson's *r*). *N* values are given in parentheses.

The variable "Mobile news consumption" is an index (Cronbach's alpha = 0.63) created from two separate variables measuring the extent to which respondents read the two biggest evening papers in Sweden (*Expressen, Aftonbladet*) on their mobile devices.

Source: SOM survey conducted in Värmland in 2010.

$*p \leq 0.05$, $**p \leq 0.01$, $***p \leq 0.001$.

practices are typically accompanied by several digital platforms, whose affordances are applied alternately according to situational, moral and emotional convenience. These activity streams tend to get routinized according to established fixtures of circulation, such as the workplace or particular means of transport, but also involve respresentational flows that transcend the boundaries of individual technologies. This interchangeability of platforms (in relative terms) marks out the properties of transmedia textures and corresponds to Madianou and Miller's (2012) characterization "polymedia". At the same time, as we can tell from the broader picture of our project, the geo-social framework of our inner-city interviews represents conditions where the expansion of such textures is most intense. Clearly, the movement of "transmediatization" both responds to and reinforces certain types of lifestyles and life conditions to a greater extent than others, in particular those marked by fluid boundaries between work and leisure, and high levels of everyday mobility between social regions. Here, as described by one of our respondents, a 42-year-old male university teacher, news consumption interweaves with other media practices in a relatively seamless manner:

> Respondent 1: I use my iPhone for news and for listening to music, SMS and such, then I have a stationary PC at work … I have internet at home, on phone and on the computer.
>
> Interviewer: What media do you consider most important?
>
> Respondent 1: I think the telephone is also a computer, sometimes I sit with both, it depends on when. The phone's great when you're waiting or on the train, you can't really take out the laptop when you have 13 minutes to kill, but when I'm at work and I have the computer it becomes a phone again. I might watch Play [Swedish public broadcaster's online, on-demand TV service] on the computer then on the phone if I go somewhere. The same things are always available in principle. I have the iCloud now so it should be more integrated.

The integrated and flexible nature of transmedia textures, which enables media users to switch easily between different platforms, also implies that the loyalty to certain genres, brands and sources might get reinforced. As Karlsson (2012) notes in his analysis of mobile news consumption, mobile applications and news websites have a tendency to strengthen each other as platforms of circulation (when the logic of convergence is played out within certain segments of the market), whereas the printed version of newspapers remains outside this synergetic relationship. A similar condition regards "traditional", stationary television, partly belonging to the sediments of mass media textures. This is not to say that these technologies lose their social significance; for example, the "liveness" of television is still a significant source of attraction, entertaining various forms of social communion. Many other types of contents, however, such as regular news-casts, easily "migrate" to online platforms and Play channels that can be accessed according to convenience.

Mode of access then largely becomes a question of *what kinds of platforms and what types of content most conveniently amalgamate with what types of socio-spatial practice*. The rise of "transmediatization" leads to an explosion of new amalgamations (Schulz 2004), where the circulation of news material (institutionally as well as privately generated) is just one of many parts integral to the texturation process. The following quote, taken from an interview with a 45-year-old woman working as an educationalist at a family advice centre in central Stockholm, reveals a relatively "news saturated", and transmediatized, everyday routine:

Respondent 2: I usually read *DN* or *SVD* [Swedish newspapers, on paper and online], I switch, I usually go on the computer at work. I look at things that interest me, everything from booking training or recipes, mostly finding out things, looking for information. On the way home from work I usually read the evening *Aftonbladet* on my phone.

Interviewer: What about TV?

Respondent 2: Very little, just the few things I'm interested in. I can use SVT Play if there's something I want to watch. Also Metro on the metro…

Interviewer: How do you use your mobile phone?

Respondent 2: I call of course, I use it for crosswords, for looking things up, I SMS a lot, check the news, check directions, not so much email, just to check it but I prefer the computer for that. It's so small and I see so badly.

However, even though transmedia textures seem perfectly suited for mobile lifestyles as they unfold in high-technologized urban environments, they may also accommodate more sedentarist orientations and routines. From previous analyses of our provincial interviews (Jansson 2013b) we know that the very same platforms, precisely *because of* their flexibility and inter-connectivity, may contribute to the enclosure of pre-established social communities, notably the household unit. Most of our small-town respondents were locally rooted people, belonging (to a varying degree) to the "late majority" of media adopters, implying that transmedia technologies (especially laptops and smartphones) were common possessions, but often appropriated due to institutional imperatives and the socially imposed need to conform to material standards. The mobile device, for example, was in most cases understood as the single most indispensable example of media technology, not only because of its flexibility, but perhaps more prominently for security reasons and for keeping in touch with family members.

These centripetal dynamics also imply that the symbolic contexts and flows within which news contents are consumed follow classificatory schemes that are culturally less distinctive (in the Bourdieusian sense; see Bourdieu [1979] 1984) compared to the above examples. One of our respondents in the small-town sample, a 41-year-old female social worker, describes how her online routines follow a spatialized pattern where status updates on Facebook constitute the symbolic epicentre:

Respondent 3: Facebook is the page I always return to. When I start up I immediately go to Facebook and read until the end of the first page. And then I go somewhere else and do something else, to *Aftonbladet* or *Expressen*, for example … But then I spin back to Facebook, and see "hmm, two new updates", and then one has to check them out.

The distinctions between urban and provincial life-contexts, and between different social groups, must not be over-generalized. Still, it is less likely that this description would have appeared among more well-educated, urban subjects. Our main point has thus been to illuminate the ways in which the enactment and production of transmedia textures ultimately lead in different directions as these ongoing everyday practices are part of geo-social structuration. This also affects news consumption. One the one hand, as we have seen, there are general textural assets that enable news contents to circulate in increasingly open-ended ways. On the other hand, the degree to which news is actually being consumed and circulated in such ways, and the type of cultural repertoires is

becomes part of, follow quite familiar patterns of structuration. This begs us to look closer into the question of local versus cosmopolitan news orientations.

"Locals", "Cosmopolitans" and Geo-social Structuration

In this section our focus shifts from a perspective concerned with *communication in place*, that is, how "the place" of news consumption is re-negotiated as a result of the textural shift from mass media textures to transmedia textures, to a perspective oriented to understanding the relevancy of various *places in communication*. In this study, such an analytical shift involves the ambition to discern how various news orientations are dispersed in geo-social space. More specifically, it involves asking the news consumers to estimate the importance of news depicting different geographical regions, ranging from different sub-regions in Värmland to the residence city of Karlstad to the "extra-local" cities of Gothenburg, Stockholm and Oslo.

Following Merton ([1949] 1968), the level of engagement with representations of more distant, "extra-local" places—the embodiment of an "extended frame of reference" ([1949] 1968, 446)—is here understood as a fragment of a much more encompassing and aspirational cosmopolitan disposition (see e.g. Beck 2006; Kendall, Woodward, and Skrbis 2009). The main question here, then, concerns the extent to which different news orientations pertain to certain geo-social spheres in society, such as area of residency, gender, education and subjective class. Is there, in the midst of overall changes regarding news consumption as a spatial practice, continuity regarding the ways in which actors from different social and geographical spheres in society orient themselves in relation to news from various places?

As illustrated above, compared to the mass media textures dominating the time when Merton ([1949] 1968) introduced his distinction between "cosmopolitan" and "local" news orientations, contemporary transmedia textures are much different and set in motion new modalities and spatialities of news consumption. This does not mean that one should assume that this, largely technological, change turns wider structuration processes and logics of social reproduction on their heads. As observed above, different groups enact transmedia textures in different ways; consuming news on the move emerges, for example, as a marker among "globals" (see Elliott and Urry 2010). In our epistemological shift to "places in communication", thus, we hypothesize "continuity" and a general reproduction of Merton's ([1949] 1968) findings. More specifically, we expect an "extra-local" news orientation to belong to a certain geo-social region; the highly educated, highly mobile urban people. Such a preconception—that news habits and orientations are part of a wider disposition and life biography, linked to habitus (Bourdieu [1979] 1984)—is further illustrated in both Park's and Merton's comments:

> The man in the small city reads the metropolitan in preference to the local paper. But the farmer, it seems, still gets his news from the same market in which he buys his groceries. The more mobile city man travels farther and has a wider horizon, a different focus of attention, and, characteristically, reads a metropolitan paper. (Park 1929, 75)

> [Cosmopolitans] devote themselves more fully to the kind of vicarious experience set forth in journals, whereas the locals are more immediately concerned with direct interpersonal relations. The one tends to read about the great world outside, the other,

TABLE 3

Factor analysis of news orientations: "cosmopolitans" and "locals"

	"Locals"	"Cosmopolitans"
Northern Värmland	0.85	0.13
Eastern Värmland	0.85	0.19
Western Värmland	0.78	0.22
Karlstad area	0.50	0.37
Gothenburg	0.27	0.88
Stockholm	0.19	0.90
Oslo	0.17	0.77
Explained variance (%)	51	18

Principal component analysis with Varimax rotation. The numbers indicate strength (Pearson's r) of each indicator to the factor. Values have been rounded to two decimals. "Explained variance" refers to the share of the variance between the variables that is explained by each dimension ("locals", "cosmopolitans").

to act in the little world inside. Their reading practices reflect their ways of life. (Merton [1949] 1968, 460–461)

Here, principal component analysis indicates that, indeed, there emerge two types of news orientations amongst Värmland's news consumers (Table 3). On the one hand, there are those who navigate through the flow of news according to a local orientation and thus primarily find their context of living and the surrounding region to be the most relevant places in the news flow. These are Merton's "locals". On the other hand, there are those navigated by an "extra-local" orientation and who accordingly find Gothenburg, Stockholm and Oslo the more relevant places to be informed and updated about. These are Merton's "cosmopolitans". Karlstad, the residence town of the region Värmland, is found relevant within both types of orientations (Table 3). This tells us that even in a contemporary globalized, (trans)mediatized landscape, the relevance structures pertaining to Merton's sociology of news consumption remain intact in a regional Swedish context.

But according to what patterns are these news orientations geo-socially structured? To put it bluntly, who are the "cosmopolitans" and who are the "locals"? In Table 4, a regression analysis displays the role of age, education, gender, subjective class, residency, mobile news consumption and international mobility in cultivating an "extra-local" news orientation. The role of "high education", "woman" and "urban residency" (Karlstad) all play statistically significant ($p \leq 0.05$) roles. This suggests that the archetypical consumer of the "extra-local" is a highly educated woman living in an urban area (Karlstad).

The fact that level of education and urban residency play important roles in structuring news orientations points to the significance of relevance structures, or "frames of reference", in processes of social reproduction. Against the background of the increasing amount of research emphasizing the connection between various forms of "extra-local" affiliations and cultural capital (Weenink 2008; Phillips and Smith 2008; Lindell 2012), our present findings are hardly surprising. Our qualitative interviews from inner-city Stockholm may also allow us to extrapolate and elaborate the quantitative findings into a more vivid picture. These interviews illuminate the ways in which transmedia textures, when embedded in more affluent social structures, hold the potential to reinforce cosmopolitan outlooks in new ways. Our interview with the university teacher quoted above, whose professional habitus paired with immigrant background (Spanish father) generate a rather distinctive form of cosmopolitanism, testifies to the ease with which

TABLE 4
Regression analysis: predictors of cosmopolitan news orientations

	Merton's "cosmopolitans"	
	Model 1	Model 2
Age 30–49 (ref. 16–29, 50–64, 65–85)	0.16* (0.08)	0.08 (0.08)
Level of education "high" (ref. "low", "mid-low", "mid-high")	0.35*** (0.09)	0.35*** (0.10)
Woman (ref. man)	0.30*** (0.07)	0.38*** (0.08)
High white-collar worker (ref. farmer, worker, white-collar worker, entrepreneur)	0.20 (0.14)	0.16 (0.16)
Entrepreneur (ref. farmer, worker, white-collar worker, high white-collar worker)	0.23 (0.13)	0.18 (0.15)
Living in Karlstad (ref. rural area, smaller town, commune town)	0.35*** (0.08)	0.36*** (0.09)
Mobile news consumption (ref. "never")		0.15 (0.11)
International work mobility (ref. "never")		0.20 (0.12)
International leisure mobility (ref. "never")		0.04 (0.08)
Constant	−0.41	−0.49
R_{adj}^2	0.09	0.10
N	778	663

Values are non-standardized coefficients with standard deviations in parentheses. The dependent variable "Merton's cosmopolitans" is a factor variable derived from the principal component analysis (see Table 3). Values are rounded up to two decimals.
Source: SOM survey conducted in Värmland in 2010.
*$p \leq 0.05$, **$p \leq 0.01$, ***$p \leq 0.001$.

those who have both technological assets and cultural competence may navigate the world online, making it part of the ordinary world-at-hand:

> Respondent 1: I often check BBC, CNN, then I often use Google translate for Russian news, Spanish *El Pais*, especially for politics, changes in governments, the crisis in Greek newspapers, I've been following how their newspapers angle things. I've started using the old service Kiosken where you can update newspapers from around the world. I'm interested in different alternatives.

> Interviewer: Is it mostly national or international news?

> Respondent 1: 50/50 Swedish and foreign news, perhaps less Swedish, more like 40/60 … You need to see things from different sides so I don't believe in any single source, I think it's all angled, but I usually go to that country's newspapers if something happens there, then check the tabloids, the serious media, links to blogs and commentators, I speak to people I know who come from that country, I get a picture from all of them to get a complex picture, but I also realize if I'm not from that country I don't get all the references so I don't trust any source over others.

Furthermore, the significance of gender, the fact that women are the ones more likely to label the "extra-local" representations important, is particularly interesting as it goes against traditional, often patriarchal, descriptions of the cosmopolitan as an *homme du monde* ("man of the world") (Tomlinson 1999). Simultaneously, however, this further confirms the findings of Merton's Rovere study where cosmopolitan *women* emerged as those who approached the news as serving the function of a "transmission-belt for the diffusion of 'culture' from the outside world" (Merton [1949] 1968, 461). In a Värmland

context, this must also be understood in relation to the fact that women have been more inclined to create mobile, extra-regional life biographies, while men to a greater extent remain loyal to the local, provincial context (Lindell and Jansson 2012). This, in turn, is significant of a broader structural transformation of Swedish society, where women to a greater extent than men pursue higher levels of education and thus orient themselves towards metropolitan areas (Utbildningsstatistisk årsbok 2013 2012).

Moreover, and somewhat to our surprise, we observe how different types of international mobilities (work- or leisure-related) do not significantly relate to extra-local news orientations. At face value, this underlines Beck's (2002, 19) argument that one can have "roots and wings at the same time" and that various forms of "imaginative travel" (Szerszynski and Urry 2002) pertaining to news consumption allow people to develop concerns for distant places regardless of their corporeal fixity in space. To this it should be noted that the areas included in the news valuing are part of the national, "greater society" and as such it does not ask respondents to value the relevancy of geo-social regions outside the nation (with the exception of Oslo, Norway). While not visually displayed here, it is also worth noting that our data suggest that mobile news consumption is related to *both* the local and the cosmopolitan orientations. We may thus conclude that the inclination to consume news through mobile devices corresponds to a general interest in news, which may be local as well as cosmopolitan in nature.

One important reason why cosmopolitan orientations are not more strongly related to mobile news consumption than local orientations is that the interest in new technological devices, and thus the propensity to naturalize transmedia textures, is more articulated among men and among class fractions in possession of economic rather than cultural capital. Cosmopolitan news orientations are thus very likely to be found among individuals, especially women, working within those cultural sectors of society where new technological innovations are appropriated (if they are) with a certain degree of scepticism or reluctance. The following media routines, described by a 42-year-old female architect living in central Stockholm, provide an illustration of what we may call "resistant cosmopolitanism":

> Respondent 4: At 8 pm I watch the news and then a film, I have routines. I never watch American films, they're uninteresting, I watch a lot of German and British TV shows and films. German programmes that are local, I have all the German channels, I very rarely watch the Swedish channels, mostly German and British, but most German. There I have my routines.
>
> Interviewer: How do you use social media?
>
> Respondent 4: Facebook very little.
>
> Interviewer: Do you have a profile?
>
> Respondent 4: No. Actually I have a profile but I never use it or put out anything. I use email of course. No other really, much less than most people.
>
> Interviewer: Do you use any other social media?
>
> Respondent 4: Which could that be? No.
>
> Interviewer: How do you use your mobile phone?
>
> Respondent 4: I have a regular mobile still, I don't want an iPhone, I only use it to speak with my daughter, so we can move around as we want.

This quote identifies an interesting site of resistance to transmedia textures, linked to the cultural desire for maintaining clear boundaries in terms of time, space and social relations. From such a perspective, which may also be linked to anti-materialist criticisms to the incorporation of commercial technologies in the lifeworld, the integrated and system-dependent nature of transmedia technologies constitutes a threat to individual autonomy and established criteria of cultural quality (such as "originality"). Here, the cosmopolitan mode of news consumption thus corresponds to the use of well-established quality media, such as particular newspapers, talk-radio channels and TV channels, rather than networked platforms. The defence of these media, and their authority as trustworthy news sources, provides an important complementary picture of the inbuilt social tensions of geo-social structuration.

Concluding Discussion: Geo-social Structuration of/through Contemporary News Consumption

News consumers of today potentially move further and further from being a homogeneous, spatially fixed mass audience into becoming a myriad of dispersed individual connoisseurs, picking and choosing between an increasing number of technological and symbolical news platforms designed under the leitmotifs of space, speed and convenience (Peters 2012, 699–700; see also Westlund 2013). We are witnessing a paradigmatic transition as to the ways in which news is consumed; the spatial practice of news consumption is changing into an increasingly amalgamated, mobile practice (see Hemment 2005; Dimmick, Feaster, and Hoplamazian 2010).

At the same time, however, the expansion of transmedia textures, and thus the alteration of news practices, is geo-socially *structured* and *structuring*. As we have shown, transmedia textures flourish above all within geo-social settings marked by relatively affluent, mobile lifestyles. However, there are no technologically inbuilt factors that propel this type of spatial practice or indisputably foster certain, ephemeral modes of news consumption: technological advancements, in terms of how we *could* consume news, "do not necessarily generate immediate adoption" (Westlund 2010, 105). Our empirical analyses suggest that transmedia textures may also (in other geo-social spaces) sustain the close bonds and local moorings of sedentary lifestyles, which in turn correspond to more centripetal dynamics of news media practices.

Furthermore, as to the question of how news media users value proximity *contra* distance in a potentially global flow of information, we have concluded that traditional patterns are largely reproduced. To "world culture", Hannerz (1990, 237) reminds us, there are two ways to relate: "there are cosmopolitans, and there are locals". Indeed, the results presented in this regard support the argument that this distinction would actually hold true, and that as to the phenomenon of news consumption, there are structural continuities in the midst of technological change. One important exception can be noted, however; in the contemporary Swedish setting women are the ones who, to a greater extent, display an orientation towards the "extra-local world". This finding signifies a larger shift in the geo-social structuration of the post-industrialized Swedish society where women generally possess greater amounts of cultural capital and reach higher education levels (Utbildningsstatistisk årsbok 2013, 2012). To a great degree this condition translates into extended transmedia connectivities. But it is also among culturally rich groups that one can identify a stream of resistance against further (trans)mediatization.

TABLE 5
Relations between amalgamations and orientations

	Transmedia amalgamations *low*	**Transmedia amalgamations** *high*
Merton's "cosmopolitan" news orientation	"Resistant Cosmopolitans"—mass media textures of cosmos	"Connected Cosmopolitans"—transmedia textures of cosmos
Merton's "local" news orientation	"Resistant Locals"—mass media textures of the hearth	"Connected Locals"—transmedia textures of the hearth

It is possible to organize these findings into a two-dimensional model that displays the relationship between amalgamations (textural dimension) and orientations (representational dimension) (Table 5). The model visualizes, firstly, that the transmedia shift propels forms of enactment that point towards either cosmos or the hearth depending on geo-social conditions. At the one extreme we can identify a category of "Connected Cosmopolitans", largely represented by well-educated urban groupings leading mobile lifestyles. These are often depicted as being at the forefront of both technological innovation and social change. Still, just as significant a development is the establishment of "transmedia textures of the hearth" among groupings that rather prioritize locally oriented news—"Connected Locals". These are more often located in provincial areas and typically consist of men with less cultural capital but a general interest in new technology.

Secondly, the model identifies the above-mentioned distinction between "Connected Cosmopolitans" and "Resistant Cosmopolitans", where the latter grouping, largely due to their possession of cultural capital and (supposedly) more anti-materialist values, remains sceptical to the dependencies and open-ended amalgamations sustained by transmedia technologies.

Finally, but not least, the model pinpoints a category of "Resistant Locals", referring to those groupings that are locally oriented in their news consumption, but not inclined to appropriate and use new transmedia technologies. Whereas this ideal type remains at odds with the social transitions associated with (trans)mediatization and cosmopolitanization, our empirical analysis suggests that it probably represents the broadest strata of the population. Local news orientations still maintain a stronghold among groups with lower levels of education, among the working classes and in provincial areas—again testifying to the (reproductive) significance of media practices within geo-social structuration. Likewise, when it comes to the usage of mobile devices and other transmedia technologies of communication for news consumption, such practices are still the preserve of a relatively affluent and numerically small group of the population. In spite of the coming of the "transmedia age", the social pervasiveness of mass media textures must not be under-estimated.

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