meaning in co-production between text and reader or viewer. Text analysis of discrete, aesthetic products such as films remains possible; however, we must always specify which textual materialisation the analysis refers to (the cinema film, the extended DVD version, and so on). Furthermore, future analysis has the task of bringing to light the relationships of the different textual materialisations to one another, and to the narrative, the dramaturgy, and the aesthetic presentation. The consequences for audience studies are graver, since "under these contemporary conditions of media culture it has therefore arguably become impossible to clearly isolate out what the meaning of a single, specific, bounded text would be."[23]

Consequently, audience studies are no longer concerned simply with investigating the meaning of a film such as *RotK* for different audiences, but with investigating the processes that have contributed to making it a part of the circulation of meanings in cultural and social contexts. For this purpose, audience studies must make use of a variety of methods in order to be able to examine *RotK* as a cultural and social phenomenon. Classic text analysis is one such method, because only it can expose how the dramatic, narrative, and aesthetic structures of the film involve the viewers in the co-production of meanings. Yet it must be combined with methods of audience studies in order to focus on the audience's side of this co-production.[24] Moreover, it must also focus on the institutional conditions, the intertextual frames, the social and cultural conditions of the viewers' life-world and their everyday lives, as well as on the social discourses with which the co-production of meanings shares a mutual relationship. Ultimately the goal is to discover what meanings are generated under what social and cultural conditions between discrete, aesthetic products and varied, socially structured and culturally socialised audiences. The example of *The Lord of the Rings* as a film trilogy adaptation of the books by J. R. R. Tolkien, composed of the individual films *The Fellowship of the Ring*, *The Two Towers*, and *The Return of the King*, their various DVD versions, the other primary texts such as the computer game, and secondary texts such as film reviews and the Internet forums, has illustrated what challenges audience studies face in the world of digitised media. As both texts and society become more differentiated, the importance of audience studies will continue to increase, and text analysis will be just one part of them.

Our Methodological Challenges and Solutions

MARTIN BARKER, ERNEST MATHIJS, AND ALBERTO TROBIA

Because of the scale of its ambitions, the *Lord of the Rings* project was always going to face some tough methodological challenges. The project was to be big—combining a sweeping search of marketing and ancillary materials around the film with a worldwide audience survey and follow-up in-depth interviews. The questions we were posing were also ones that, by and large, had been addressed only speculatively up to this point. So the work of making them operational—just how *do* you make the topic of "fantasy" researchable, just for one?—was itself a task. The research was international, with research groups in twenty countries. We wanted to examine how the film's reception was shaped by the cultural conditions in different countries—another big question. We needed to explore these processes across time—people's history with this story, from book, through rumours and predictions, to their experience in the cinema, and how they thought about the film afterwards. Perhaps most importantly, we wanted the project to go beyond certain barriers that we felt our field of research was hitting. It is fine to show *variety* and *complexity* in the responses to things such as films, but it isn't enough. We wanted to be able to disclose *patterns* and *connections*. And we wanted to do all these in ways that ensured that other academics, and those fascinated by Tolkien's story, would feel they could be confident in our findings.

These are the jobs that methodology does. Methodology is, if you will, the accumulated wisdom of researchers about how to travel sure-footedly from having interesting general questions to developing structured means of gathering, organ-

ising, and analysing materials that can answer those questions. Methodology is not a mechanical toolbox. Any serious research project has to weigh a whole series of things. From available resources, what can be attempted? Given that choices must be made, what are the most urgent questions? What can be learnt from the best of existing research? Where has it not yet gone? We would argue that a great deal of methodology comes down, less to right and wrong procedures, although these are important, than to bold choices among possibilities. Along the way come the points where researchers can dip into the available "rule books" on how to do various bits as reliably as possible.

How we met out methodological challenges is the topic of this final chapter. A good number of those challenges were foreseen, and our solutions—as good as we could make them, after long rounds of debate—were built into our research design. In some cases, we had to solve difficulties "on the fly." But methodology is also about opportunities. If a project is designed to answer only one question, that is as far as it can take you. Sometimes it is possible to design research that might contribute to an indefinite number of questions. This is what we tried.

Of course no researcher begins with a blank slate. Every good piece of research begins by estimating the state of the field(s) on which it draws and learns from the strengths and weaknesses of what has already been done. In our case, that was particularly the broad field of audience research.

THE CURRENT STATE OF AUDIENCE RESEARCH

Our sense is that media audience research is on the cusp of a set of changes. And we hope to be among the influences that help mould where it goes. It would be hard, even without space restrictions, to characterise fairly the many diverse currents that are at present flowing within audience research, let alone discuss them all fairly. In this short section we cannot get near this. With an apology to all the kinds of work here missed or marginalised, our aim is to paint a working portrait of the main current traditions and paradigms of audience research, which says something about the available concatenations of theories and concepts (how to think about "the audience"), questions (what the primary interests and concerns are), methods (typical ways of investigating), and objects (what *kinds* of audience most interest researchers).

In many countries, despite its theoretical poverty, moralistic conceptualisations, and methodological narrowness, the mass communications tradition still stands strong, examining those "masses" that are currently provoking "public concern." This is the strand of work still widely beloved of governments, policy bodies, and public commentators, and that gets much funded as a result. Its influence has undoubtedly declined—but without really being replaced. Its main sociological "alternative" (the quotation marks signal our hesitations), the uses and gratifications approach, still has adherents, but hardly constitutes a force now. In and around these, influential figures like George Gerbner have cast long shadows.

Elsewhere, the European tradition of reception theory has generated important concepts such as "interpretive community," but long stayed firmly textual. Only quite recently has it, primarily in the United States (and in film studies), moved from textual elaboration to empirical research, through the work of such people as Janet Staiger and Barbara Klinger. But beyond these, with perhaps two exceptions, the picture is one of variety (which is good) but less elaboration and conversation (which is bad). The two exceptions have to be the contributions of Pierre Bourdieu and of Stuart Hall.

Bourdieu's conceptualisations of culture have had a wide impact, albeit sometimes in oversimplified forms.[1] In France, for some years, he was a signal force. But his methods—broad cultural surveys coupled with close qualitative analyses—have been less followed.[2] Perhaps more than anything, it is his notion of the links between class and cultural taste systems that continues to resonate. And this has linked quite well with the tradition of cultural studies considerably led by Stuart Hall's encoding/decoding model. From the 1980s, a substantial body of work and ideas emerged, especially from the United Kingdom. Typically oppositional, its primary address was to the uneasy lines connecting mass media and popular culture and knowledge. When it moved abroad, and especially to the United States, its focus shifted. Fan studies took and celebrated the notion of the "active audience," making of this a substantial specialist field—although one that to outsiders seems often inflated and to be making exaggerated political claims. But perhaps just as important has been cultural studies' "textualism." The powerful refocusing on culture as "textual" (semiotically rich and charged, a major medium through which contemporary political life is formed and conveyed) has nagged at the edges of audience research, telling it what to look for and what it must find.

All these traditions have mainly looked at what we might call "mainstream" audiences for objects like television.[3] Outside such spheres, the picture is patchy. Theatre researchers, for instance, briefly turned to their audiences, but an international research association formed for this purpose was short-lived.[4] Instead, the main strengths here have been in the historical study of audiences—yet this is something only now being attempted in fields such as film.[5] In the literary field, there has been a strong growth of historical studies in reading practices.[6] Methodologically, these have involved a combination of interpretive work and archival mining. But there has been little contemporary work, except where, locally, as in Scandinavia, groups of researchers come together. Art audiences are hardly touched, other than through Bourdieu's work and occasional rich historical accounts (Michael Baxandall, for instance[7]). Museum studies has grown its own professionally driven traditions. The study of music audiences is a partial exception, with the added bonus that researches in this field both draw fruitfully on Bourdieu's conceptualisations and attend to the social processes of music listening.[8] In parallel fields, the study of sports fans has become a substantial subset of an essentially sociological approach. In short, a good deal going on, but with little by way of shared theories, questions, or methods.

It is important to note, however, that the term *audience* has become increasingly questioned. Not an innocent term, it seems to picture people as recipient end points for cultural processes.[9] A number of developments have led to challenges to this. In roundabout ways, Jürgen Habermas' influence led to an interest in audiences as *publics*—people *using* media and cultural forms as the bases for their involvement or noninvolvement in democratic domains.[10] This has found resonances in studies of children, and in the ways they may learn to be citizens.[11] In quite another field, the emergence of the various forms of digital media (games, the web, mobile phones, and so on) has pushed notions of "interactivity" to the fore—again, directly challenging the implicit metaphors within the term *audience*. In an almost reverse direction, fields such as tourism studies have seized (albeit with intense debates around the work of people such as John Urry[12]) upon the idea of people "gazing" upon Other Cultures, and erected wholesale models of a new international political/cultural economy. This has been much influenced by the work of Michel Foucault on the power-knowledge nexus. Meanwhile, quite outside our fields, others have been quietly borrowing some ideas from us, and turning them to unexpected uses. The field of consumer research, for instance, has been transforming itself.[13] The idea of the "consumer" is getting a history and a (theoretical and methodological) makeover. Given all these, it is not surprising that when a journal for our field began to be debated in the late 1990s, its title was debated hard—those involved eventually settled on *Participations* as a relatively neutral, but indicative, term.[14]

A summation of where we are is therefore hard. A surprising amount of work is going on, in many countries and within different research paradigms. In some countries the impulses to and backgrounds of research are primarily sociological (and the influence of Jesus Martin-Barbero in Latin America is one signal example of a "local" force); in some the drivers are more cultural/humanistic. But outside mass communications (with its continuing stilted dedication to variable-manipulating laboratory studies[15]) and uses and gratifications (with its needs-oriented questionnaires), there are few agreements on questions, concepts, or methods. And in different regions of the world, and indeed in different language communities, the main working models and exemplars for studying reception processes just do vary greatly—far too much to make any substantial international collaboration easy.

A common thread in much "new audience research" is a recognition that audience engagements are deeply interwoven with wider cultural memberships. This is a major achievement in itself. It challenges the decontextualised "individual" of mass communication theory, and puts audiences back into society and history. But in so doing, it lands us in the heart of other debates. If watching films is necessarily part of "culture," what is the relationship between culture, work, and politics? How does the *business* of entertainment relate to its pleasures? Might not the very separation of culture as "leisure" (this is "just for fun," "escapism," and so on) itself mark an ideological process? When corporations make films, maybe they also make ideologies. All such questions—and there are many of them—challenge the sufficien-

cy of audience research to tell us what we might need to know about the significance of a film such as *The Lord of the Rings*.

Another strain of argument takes up the complexities raised by that idea of "cultural memberships." Cultural studies early on challenged the notion of unified "cultures," with agreed tastes and scales of values. To this was soon added a questioning of the idea of singular "selves" who respond as one kind of person and from one position. Real people think and respond at different times by age, sex, ethnicity, class, politics, family, and many other memberships. But global population shifts (and the associated idea of "hybrid" nationalities) and the rise in global knowledge systems make who "we" are ever more complex. This had strong implications for cross-cultural research. The danger would be that we might take someone responding from, say, Denmark, to be in some simple sense responding as "Danish." It made it vital that we think about how to draw out people's sense of the communities (real, virtual, imagined, wished for) they belonged to, whose values and ways of responding they shared.

In this messy, fragmented, but exciting set of contexts, we formed and attempted our world project.

OUR PROJECT'S PARTICULAR REQUIREMENTS

As this book makes clear, our project had three, interlinked stages: gathering and analysing prefigurative materials, recruiting and analysing responses to a questionnaire, then selecting individuals for detailed interviews—and analysing those. Each of these stages makes its own tough methodological demands. The challenge multiplies inasmuch as we wanted to link them. Here, we focus in on some of our most important decisions.

But ahead of any of these detailed discussions, we must remember that the very idea of studying "the audience" has been a topic of debate, because of arguments that the "thing" being studied may only come into existence through the act of researching it. "Audiences" may only exist because researchers constitute them. This is a problem that a number of researchers have addressed. Kim Schrøder and colleagues, for instance, write, "All audience research is intrusive. We cannot study audiences empirically without at the same time interfering with the very phenomenon we wish to study—the everyday practices through which people use and make sense of the media—or interrupting people's lives for the duration of the research encounter."[16] But while this is an inevitable feature of audience research (as of course of many other kinds of social research), it neither invalidates the idea nor undermines the importance of asking, How can we make sure that we do the research as well as is possible? It does of course mean that among our considerations has to be an assessment of the ways in which our very processes of generating evidence may have shaped what we gathered. More specifically, there is the difficult question of the ways in which the *implements* (questionnaires, interviews) might privilege certain under-

standings and might predetermine the kinds of answers we could come to. The only solution we see to this is simply a regular dose of honest self-examination. Otherwise, such concerns simply freeze research.

It may help to divide this discussion into two sections: one addressing the gathering and organising our research materials, the other dealing with processes of analysis. Our goal was to gather very large bodies of data and materials in forms that could thus allow us to pose questions, and to look for patterns, separations, connections, or simply puzzling features.

An example may clarify what we mean here. Our research was addressed to the functions of film fantasy in the lives of different kinds of audiences. Of course, the concept of "fantasy" has been widely discussed for a long time. It is not just an academic concept; it is also, if you will, a *public concept*. That is to say, it is used by cultural commentators to pass judgement on people's tastes and preferences—frequently, to find them wanting. In 2005, the British *Guardian* newspaper featured author Natasha Walter commenting on the popularity of Tolkien, and the Harry Potter novels and films. Walters warns against "patronising" these audiences, and quotes others calling fantasy "infantile" and "regressive." Yet she then herself proceeds to describe them as "providing comfort," as filling "god-shaped holes," and as "making no demands on us."[17] Many of our audiences would simply disagree strongly with these judgements about them. But it is not only cultural critics who make these judgements—they are very frequently embedded within academic discussions as well. Audiences get categorised and judged in these processes. Our research questions could not ignore these. Those very debates about "fantasy" might influence people's expectations, their sense of the value of this film, and their sense of self when they watched it.

The term *fantasy* marks out, if you like, a fought-over territory—and words are weapons of the war to control it. This means that we would have to try to do three difficult things at the same time:

1. We had to gather large bodies of those "debating" materials—press, magazine, television, radio, Internet—to see what sorts of views of the film were being circulated in different places and spaces. But we could not thereby assume they had an influence, or what that influence might be.
2. We had to gather large samples of audiences' talk about the films and the books, so that we could hear *in their own words* what they meant to them. This meant both having very large numbers of people responding, and having them tell us a lot about their responses. This volume of materials was itself going to be a real challenge.
3. But we could not solve that challenge by imposing our own definitions on them in advance. If we did, we might well be imposing just another version of those public categories. Nor could we predetermine some "sample" of those people we needed to hear from, and thus limit the amount we

gathered. Instead, we had to recruit as widely as we could, and find ways to let the meanings and patterns emerge.

These were the general requirements that drove a great number of our methodological decisions. More than anything, it drove our decision to combine quantitative with qualitative approaches.

CROSSING THE QUALIQUANT

There is a wide range of writing about the issues involved in trying to combine quantitative and qualitative modes of investigation. Two tendencies stand out from this literature. First, there is more writing about the likely virtues of the combination than actual working examples of the practice; second, those researchers who have attempted it have on a number of occasions seen the two stages as *serial* rather than *integral*. They do *some of each* and hope that the results will be mutually informing.[18] It may help for a moment to think of this as like a river, the Qualiquant, up which we are trying to take a body of cargo. Research is hard work, so it is definitely against the current. Our cargo has to be towed from the banks. But the residents of each side—the Qualis and the Quanters—are pretty suspicious of each other. They live different lives, speak different languages. They have very different beliefs about the right way to tow a boat effectively. Therefore, in the main, it is just easier to work from one bank at a time—even if it means our boat tends to drift sideways. If only they could be got to work together, large volumes of cargo could be handled much more easily!

We had no choice but to try to build a bridge, and get the two parties talking to each other. This was most particularly true because, with our central implement, the questionnaire, we planned to collect thousands of responses. Without a solution, these would be useless. The questionnaire's design was a major preoccupation. There are many good books on questionnaire design, offering helpful advice and examples on a wide range of topics such as question order, problems of ambiguity, the kinds of language to use, differences between open and closed questions, and overall length. But no questionnaire can be devised simply by reference to these sorts of cautionary rules. Rather, these lists of features are best seen as quality checks, brought into the equation near the end of the design process. Our design process was the result of an interplay between three overarching challenges:

1. *What did we want to find out?* We could not directly ask people our Big Questions. We had to find ways to translate them into smaller ones that would be meaningful to anyone answering us. For example, since we were centrally interested in investigating the ways different audiences related to fantasy, a lot of our thinking went into how we could get audiences talking about the *idea* of "fantasy" without presuming its meaning. And remem-

ber that this had to comprehensible, in translation, to people from Guatemala to Germany, Los Angeles to Laos.

2. *What were we going to do with the answers?* Perhaps the hardest message to convey to students of research methods is that at the beginning of any research project, the most important questions they need to address is what they will do at the end. It is no use gathering materials or data in forms, in quantities, and of kinds that you cannot use. The kinds of analysis you plan to do have to drive the design. For example, we wanted to explore how group memberships might influence people's responses to the film. So we needed to get people to give us information about themselves. That is quite easy with sex and age—but what about occupation? Designing a way to get usable information about people's occupations anywhere in the world (Mumbai to Mexico, or London to Lagos) is not easy—because the worlds of work are so differently constituted. Our solution was bold but effective, as we hope to show.

3. *Why would anyone complete our questionnaire?* We live in a world where most people know about questionnaires. Governments require us to complete some. Commercial bodies often try to get them done. Others are done for fun—magazines inviting us to rate ourselves, for instance. We frequently see them (and ourselves, thereby) discussed and pontificated upon. Why should they do ours? The issue of how our questionnaire should look, read, and be publicised, preoccupied us. We needed it to become, ideally, part of the experience of watching and talking about the film. It had to be *fun to fill in.* We could reasonably hope to capture people who were enthusiastic about the film—even perhaps those whose enthusiasm took the form of *anger* at the film—but what about those whose main reaction was that the film was "Alright—for a night out"?

It was out of imaginative juggling between these three that our questionnaire emerged. As we outlined in the introduction, the key move was the coupling of quantitative and qualitative questions. We asked people to allocate themselves on several multiple-choice lists (enjoyment, importance, kind of story), and then immediately to explain their answers in their own words. So we could potentially explore not just how many said they really enjoyed the film, but also what kinds of people most enjoyed the film, and how their ways of stating their enjoyment related to that of people who did not enjoy it so much. We could explore their relations with the *books*, and how (through, for instance, their expressions of disappointments) their relations with the books overlapped with or were different from those of other groups. And of course there is no reason to suppose that only one kind of person enjoyed the film. So, potentially, we could *build portraits* of the viewing strategies and responses of different groups. All these possibilities were consciously built into our research design.

But as we've said, a good design often yields more than is originally thought of. For example, one idea not originally planned, but which proved productive, was to explore the relations between responses to questions about favourite characters and most memorable moments or aspects. This allowed us to extract data relevant to debates about "identification." Combined with the reasons for choosing different characters, it allowed a detailed study of different relations with the film.[19] This was simply not planned for.

Take the debate over the question about occupation. The U.K. team proposed that we should not ask people to name their occupation—we believed that this would result in an unmanageable list of answers. Instead we suggested producing a short list of *kinds* of occupation, and that we should embrace the notion that people might partly choose their answer by how they *felt* about their work. A person working in advertising, for instance, might see themself as creative, or as a professional, or as an executive. A person working in farming might see themself as either unskilled or skilled manual, or even as a service worker. Since we were interested in attitudes to "fantasy," this could be valuable. After much debate, this tack was agreed upon—although it does run counter to more standard sociological researches. Early signs are that this has paid off—a number of distinctive groups emerged from our analysis, and are being explored.[20] But of course a decision the other way could well have produced other, equally interesting findings. This is once again a case of methodology being less about right or wrong, more about decisions with consequences.

We tell these stories to show that committing ourselves to a Qualiquant approach did not solve all our problems—it simply moved and changed them.

OUR SAMPLING STRATEGY

Sampling is a key issue in social research designs, and was one we had to face. The advantages of sampling are well known: low costs, economy of time, and a better organisation of research.

There are two main types of sampling methods: probability (random) sampling and nonprobability sampling, respectively typical of (but not exclusive to) quantitative and qualitative research. In *probability sampling,* definitively codified in the 1930s by the Polish statistician Jerzy Neyman,[21] all units of the target population have an equal, calculable, non-zero probability of being included in the sample.[22] Many researchers believe that probabilistic samples are better, because they are *representative* of reality. In brief, they maintain, what we can say about the sample can be extended to the reality sampled (by statistical inference). Another advantage is that we can calculate the sampling error, which is a crucial datum in order to assess the validity of a sample. The main problem, with this kind of sample, is that we need the complete list of the target population to extract it, and very often this is impossible to obtain. This is no small issue. We can't say whether a sample is representa-

tive or not, because we generally sample precisely in order to find out something about a reality we don't yet know. This is called the *sampling paradox*, and it applied with great force to audiences for *LotR*. *Nonprobability samples* are generally "purposive" or "theory-driven."[23] This means that they are gathered following a criterion that the researcher believes to be satisfying, in order to achieve typological representativeness. Being purposive, these kinds of samples are rather heterogeneous. Miles and Huberman, for example, listed sixteen different qualitative sampling strategies.[24] The difficulty with nonprobability samples it that we have only loose criteria for assessing their validity.

The strategy chosen for the *LotR* project involved a new mix of quali-quantitative solutions, in order to be consistent with the general "philosophy" of the project, which aimed at interweaving different methods and techniques. This hybrid direction is gradually getting a footing in the social researchers community, as the success of mixed strategies as respondent-driven sampling (RDS) clearly shows.[25] We could not possibly extract a probability sample, simply because we couldn't know the complete film audience. In fact, we weren't searching for statistical representativeness; rather, we were more interested in *typological representativeness*. That is, we needed as many *types* of respondent as possible and as many *forms* of argumentation as possible. Does everyone who sees a film equally count as "the audience"? For some purposes, yes—but not if you want to explore influence and meaning. Someone who falls asleep, or leaves halfway through—or perhaps rejects and forgets the whole experience the moment they leave the cinema—may not be an "audience" in the same sense as someone who returns again and again to it. We needed a research design that would allow us to build a picture of *as many kinds of viewers* as possible. In a case like this, the best choice is a "qualitative," nonprobability sampling.

The best way to reach quickly the huge target population needed for our research, cheaply and manageably, was to use *Internet sampling*.

> Internet sampling is a procedure that is administered, partly or fully, through the Internet. This entails procedures which enable the researcher to bring questionnaires to the attention of prospective respondents, by either directly forwarding them the questionnaire, or informing them of the availability of the survey and asking them to participate. This is facilitated through email or web pages.[26]

Of course, Internet sampling still has problems. For example, the number of Internet users is significantly lower among older people. For this reason we supported the web questionnaire with a paper version of the questionnaire administered to audiences at cinemas.

Ultimately, of our 24,739 respondents, 22,486 completed the questionnaire online, with the remaining 2,253 completing the paper version. Only some countries were in a position to use the paper questionnaire (with Italy having the highest proportion, at 29 percent of the total). A comparison of the two sources did reveal some clear differences. Internet completers were younger, with higher representa-

tion of students and professionals. They had higher levels of knowledge of Tolkien's books, and were more committed to the films. So, having the two sources could alert us to the biases in our main sample.

We can't therefore say that our sample and its subsamples are representative of some broader population, because we chose the nonprobability alternative. But we believe we can be rather confident, considering our success in gathering almost 25,000 responses, that we achieved a very good *typological* representativeness—that is, we have sufficient members of all our main categories to be able to describe with confidence their patterned similarities and differences.

MAKING SOME KEY CONCEPTS RESEARCHABLE

This project was concerned with some tricky concepts. We touched on this earlier in relation to the concept of "fantasy." Another difficult concept for us was "pleasure." They are difficult for several reasons. First, both of them, at one level, seem very *obvious*. Richard Dyer has explored equivalent problems with the concept of "entertainment," showing how the term is often used to block discussion and investigation—it is too obvious to be worth pursuing.[27] In the same way, people will say "it's only fantasy" or "I just enjoy it," as if that ends the discussion. But both "fantasy" and "pleasure" have been the topic of heavy theorisation. *Fantasy* is already a term with many meanings. It can mean generally the human capacity to imagine wildly, without many formal constraints—to invent, to daydream, to construct amazing scenarios. It can mean a genre of literature, which has in the last forty years become a publishing phenomenon. It can, for some people, be a term within a formidable array of other concepts, which constitute the broad psychoanalytic tradition—here "fantasy" supposedly arises from repressed desires, frequently rooted in childhood experience. But in addition to these, some more specialised understandings have been developed, as in the strong tradition of work that views fantasies as culturally loaded vehicles through which we live our membership of our societies, and conceive our relations to Others. The problem is not simply that these approaches do not tidily coincide, or that evidence for one or another is more or less persuasive. It is more that what counts as evidence on one approach simply would not be acknowledged on another.

The cultural studies tradition is awash with writings about both fantasy and pleasure, and with claims about their implications and consequences. In film studies, perhaps no work has been individually more influential than Laura Mulvey's essay on "visual pleasure."[28] Mulvey claimed to identify the pleasures that men and women *must* respectively feel, in light of the textual organisation of mainstream Hollywood films. Hers is among many others that arrive at very negative accounts of the cultural meanings and implications of popular culture, through theoretically based assertions about the kinds of pleasure films afford and the apparent costs to self of such enjoyments. But at another extreme, other scholars and theoreticians

have been charged with simply celebrating whatever "the people" enjoy. The accusation of "populism," levelled by among others Jim McGuigan,[29] has once again more to do with the supposed consequences of pleasures than with the nature of those pleasures.

The level of theorisation has not been matched by the quantity of researches into *actual* pleasures—who has them, what they feel like, what they do to get them, and what they do with them once they have them.[30] But in the last twenty years, a small number of studies—often quite exploratory—have begun to unpack these complexities. Ien Ang, in her study of *Dallas* viewers, begins to unpick the complex components of people's pleasures and dislikes.[31] She shows, for instance, that pleasure can be perverse, deriving from finding the programme poor and feeling superior to it and its "ordinary audiences." Martin Barker and Kate Brooks attempt to characterise the logic of different kinds of pleasures (what you have to be and do to get them, what viewing conditions best promote them, and so on) in action-adventure films.[32] Thomas Austin has explored the character of men's responses to a film such as *Basic Instinct*.[33] More recently, Aphra Kerr and others have explored audience pleasures in video games—and once again immediately point to unexpected complexities.[34] But for all these valuable pieces of research, theories of pleasure and fantasy have largely marched on, regardless.

In this sense, we began with a commitment. This research was pitched and designed within what is generally known as the cultural studies tradition. If nothing else, this involves a belief that a cultural "text" like *LotR* cannot be signed off as "just fantasy" or "just entertainment." The story itself, in book and film forms, has to be seen as a complex vehicle for both pleasures and meanings. Its narrative organisation, its kinds of characters, the manner of its telling, its past and present reputation, and its social circulation—all these make any possible audience response far more than a matter of "entertainment" or "effects." The film comes out of and resonates in all kinds of ways with this point in history. Therefore, any enquiry into audiences for *LotR* would have to enter into the complicated ways in which people understand their part in all this, and the ways in which the film plays a role within people's wider sense of their world.

That meant getting people to talk to us about how their responses to the film engaged with other aspects of their lives. And not just as individuals. As people talk about things like films, they draw upon shared languages, and they address themselves to others in groups—and this sociality is a core part of people's responses. Such communities can be very local (a lot of young people's language operates to share understandings, to the exclusion of adults), or very wide (shared international languages in antiglobalisation campaigns). And they can be fought over.[35] The use of words can be very positive (the history of the term *cool* as a summation of a cultural stance, including ways of using one's body, would be a case in point). They can be negative (the history of derogatory terms for women has been a substantial case study in itself). They can change over time—the capture of the term *gay* and

thence the reclaiming of the word *queer* by homosexual activists are good examples. The study of these, it has been argued, enables researchers to bring into view many of the practices through which people build and maintain their social lives, and the ways people understand the world and each other. All this is part of what has been widely termed the "turn to language" in much recent social theory.

EXPLORING AUDIENCE CATEGORIES

These are indeed exciting times when it comes to the development of ways of handling and analysing people's everyday talk. The "cultural turn" or "linguistic turn," as it has sometimes been called, within social, historical, and literary theory generally came out of the realisation that social processes could not be understood without proper attention to the ways in which people understand the social (and indeed physical) world they inhabit.[36] Ways of understanding the world are developed and communicated, oftentimes by powerful means. These are not simply rational constructs, but involve elements of imagination and fantasy, senses of self and others, stories, pictures, hopes and fears. These are to be found not so much within organised bodies of words and images such as books, speeches, laws, films, or poems, but within people's ordinary talk.

There are a number of very different traditions for how to think about, and how to deal in research with, words. At the back of our project were two particular bodies of work: discourse theory and vernacular theory.

The field of discourse theory and analysis has mushroomed mightily in the last twenty years, as researchers have developed theories and methods for examining language in action and argued over its role in the production and maintenance of forms of political power and domination. Every commentator on the field has noted the variety of emergent conceptualisations and associated methodologies within this field.[37] A substantial array of detailed concepts and methods has been developed and deployed, to enquire into everything from "excuses" used by smokers for not quitting, police interrogation techniques,[38] Bill Clinton's management of the Monica Lewinsky affair,[39] and the "banal" practices of newspapers in defining who "we" are as a nation.[40]

But until recently, these approaches have not been much used in audience research—perhaps for two reasons.[41] Discourse analysis, in almost all its varieties,[42] has tended to focus on very small samples, chosen by the analyst because she or he sees it as particularly indicative. We could not limit ourselves to this, although it is evident that each interview on its own could be a rich source. But also, discourse analysis shares with wider approaches to texts and textual analysis and shares with them a belief that language is a mode of power. So, typically, discourse analysts will analyse "texts" such as films, and then deduce likely impacts on viewers. Audience research has to start at the other end and ask, How do different audiences engage with our film, and what pleasures and meanings do they gain from it? Ultimately,

it might even be possible to reconstruct different versions of "the film"—how the various parts and facets of it bind together to become a meaningful whole—via the detailed accounts of particular audience groups.

From another direction, ethnographers have examined the ways in which local cultures can be formed around shared modes of talk.[43] The early work of the "ethno-scientists" has recently been revisited and redeveloped by Thomas McLaughlin, who, among other case studies, explores the ways in which informal communities around fanzines debate and construct working accounts of the world and what they want to achieve.[44] This sort of work has been made relevant to film studies in a range of ways. Rick Altman, emphasising the *historical* development of genre ideas, explores many cases where genre labels evolved over time, and at the behest of very partic-ular groups.[45]

Just recently, a few researchers have begun to develop ways of redressing this gap. Barker and colleagues, in their study of the U.K. *Crash* controversy, showed how some audiences had sufficiently soaked up the local category "sex and violence" that they had gone to see the film with front-loaded expectations as to what it must be.[46] Very recently, Klinger has shown how an expression such as "chick flick" can enable people to think and plan their (repeated) encounters with films, readying themselves to experience appropriate emotions.[47]

Our goal, then, was to take the best from discourse and vernacular theories and develop ways of applying these to our very large datasets. This was not easy, and there were hazards. Words do not come with flashing lights attached, to say "this is a key term, with many implications." To an extent, you need people close enough to a cul-ture to know that certain words are doing substantial cultural work. In the design of our core questionnaire, this constituted a problem particularly for our key ques-tion, in which we asked people to say what *kind of story* it was for them. But even once identified, we needed to be careful about differences in uses and implications. Below we give the example of how the U.K. team explored the complex meanings of the term *epic.*

A further problem is knowing how to move from identifying ways of talking to saying something about the *kind of community* (its membership, their shared val-ues, ways of operating, and so on) to which those ways of talking belong. Here, we think, we reach the boundaries of our research and have been very cautious about crossing it. One instance, to illustrate this. Analysis of our database showed us that there was a quite sharp separation between those who told us that among their key sources for knowing about the film were the web and the Internet, and those for whom this was not the case. Users of new media used much more *emotional* lan-guages for discussing the film than users of traditional media did. This is without question an interesting finding, and certainly runs counter to the claims of some new media theorists that interactivity signals the death of narrative enthrallment. But because of the ways in which we had chosen to gather information, we cannot go

much further to say *how* people are feeling that they belong to web communities. That will require other kinds of research.

Aware that this is an emerging area, we have devoted a lot of our time to try-ing out new analytic procedures that can take full advantage of our having a very large and highly organised body of responses. Chapters 8 and 9 are attempts at such a cross-cultural analysis of responses.

FINDING PATTERNS WITHIN THE DATA SET: APPROACHES, PRACTICES, SOFTWARE

The main task of analysis is to find significant patterns or distinctive groupings with-in a body of materials or a dataset. There is a payoff among the size and complex-ity of these, the difficulty of the task of analysis, and the potential value of what can be learnt. The larger and more complex the body of materials gathered (where, for instance, it involves qualitative materials), the more that can be learnt but the harder analysis becomes. For this reason, if for no other, computers and research soft-ware have become indispensable to contemporary social research. In this section, we explain two rather different approaches to this used in this research.

A quali-quantitative research design needs a particular approach. In order that the two aspects can relate to each other, it is necessary to adopt one (or more than one) of the following solutions:

1. It may be possible to formulate questions in both multiple-choice and open-ended forms, in order to verify similarities and differences, which was one solution adopted in our project. The tricky issues are, first, not to irri-tate your audience by appearing to ask the same thing twice; and, second, to have thought in advance about how the quantitative and qualitative answers are going to inform and interrogate each other.
2. Researchers can carry out a post-coding of qualitative responses, in order to prepare them for subsequent statistical treatment—a standard option in many researches, and one used in a number of the analyses in our project. This becomes most effective if the overall research design produces the means to choose limited samples for specific purposes. Generally, this approach can be very effective, but it is *very* time-consuming.
3. Techniques have been developed to effect a form of automatic coding of the responses to the open-ended questions, to explore the main topics and isotopies[48] in the data as well as their axial orientation, with the pos-sibility then of seeing how they are correlated with quantitative variables.
4. Finally, there are ways to search for some ideal types of respondent, using quantitative variables and cluster analyses, which can then be further "read" in the light of qualitative responses.

Each of these strategies has been used at some stage in the project, often by different participant groups who come from different research backgrounds. We explain here two broad strategies—each using computers and software in distinctive ways.

At the close of the project, the almost 25,000 questionnaire responses were assembled into one database and made available to all research teams in one of two formats: either Microsoft Access or the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). These software systems operate differently, and invited different kinds of analysis.

The U.K. team, among others, worked with Access. Access as a relational database permits searches by individual field or by increasingly complex cross-field searches. In principle, therefore, it makes possible two routes of searching. Either a researcher can move from identifying patterns in multiple-choice responses to locating and then analysing associated qualitative materials, in order to see how they too are patterned. Or he or she may progress from identifying interesting tendencies in the qualitative responses to a consideration of what, if any, associated quantitative patterns emerge. The weakness of Access is that it will not perform statistical operations.

An example to show how this worked. Field 5 contained responses to our modality question: "What kind of a story is *Lord of the Rings* for you?" People had been asked to nominate up to three from our list of twelve, or to nominate their own. We began with simple counts—how many people had chosen each? We then looked at combinations—which of the twelve were most and least frequently paired? From these searches alone, we were able to develop a very informative map of the semantic connections and oppositions in people's responses.

We were able, then, to begin to link each modality choice with those in other fields. If across the world the most common choice was "Epic," was this true in all main countries?[49] It wasn't. We were also interested in the relations between modality and enjoyment and importance. Here, we made a major discovery; while "Epic" was the most *common* choice among world respondents, another choice—"Spiritual journey"—was more strongly chosen by those reporting the highest levels on enjoyment and importance. The meanings of these modality terms, remember, could not be assumed. Therefore we began a series of complex semantic investigations, from two quite distinct directions. First, we sorted all responses from people[50] who had not only chosen "Epic" from our list but had spontaneously used the term in earlier answers. We examined the uses of the word, to see what kinds of judgement on the film they suggested or implied. Eleven meanings emerged. We then scaled these (on three levels) for the extent to which they appeared to celebrate, simply describe, or criticise the film. Finally, we looked at who had made these attributions, and found that the celebratory uses were most likely to be used by those also nominating "Spiritual journey." Second, we isolated the two sets of responses—people nominating "Epic" but not "Spiritual journey," and vice versa—randomised them in Access, and sampled one hundred for their responses to our first free-text ques-

tion: "What did you think of the film?" A coding system was developed, to the point where all components of the answers were covered, and portraits of the two sets elaborated. There were, of course, some overlaps, but we found that the "Spiritual journey" choices showed much higher levels of *emotionality*, less interest in the *cinematic* aspects of the film, and a much greater tendency to *discuss the moral meanings and implications* of the story.

This was not the end of our exploration even of field 5. But we hope it illustrates the ways in which Access allowed the U.K. team to delve deep into our data and their meanings. It was painstaking and at times very slow.

Several teams—the Italian, German, and Dutch especially—worked with SPSS. Data analysis here can be carried out with respect to three main objects: (1) variables, (2) cases, and (3) words.

The analysis of *variables* typically characterises quantitative research, with three main kinds of analysis. *Monovariate* analysis is based on one variable, and its aim is *descriptive* (how is reality?). *Bivariate* analysis is based on two variables and its aim is *explicative* (why is reality thus?). In our project, all the questionnaire responses were subjected to monovariate and to bivariate analysis (mainly cross-tabulations of responses to pairs of answers). These in themselves provided an array of broad patterns, from which the various national teams then developed their further preferred methods of analysis. *Multivariate* analysis is based on more than two variables. It is less common, generally, and was not widely used by us because of the particular nature of our sample, which would not support some inferential techniques typical of multivariate techniques.

The techniques for the analysis of *cases* are relatively few. The most important is *cluster analysis*. Cluster analysis is actually a "family" of techniques (hierarchical, partitioning, local density, and neural).[51] It is particularly useful when the researcher aims at building a typology of objects—that is, when she or he wants to classify them. In our research it was used to catalogue the types of audience. The purpose of cluster analysis is to detect groups of respondents who show similarity to each other when compared to respondents who belong to other clusters. In addition to identifying the clusters, of course, we have to determine how the clusters are different—that is, to determine the specific variables or dimensions that vary. Cluster analysis yields very robust results, and does not require a probability sample, because it classifies objects in a typology, irrespective of their number.

Using this approach, the Italian team detected four ideal types of spectators: the *enthusiastic fan*, the *disappointed fan*, the *critic reader*, and the *mass spectator*.[52] These types, interestingly very similar to the ones emerging from the German research, came from interpreting the results shown in graph 1, which indicates, for each cluster, the means (shown on the y-axis) of the variables considered in the analysis (x-axis). These were: global evaluation, importance of the film, having seen the other two films, and having read the book. We can see, for instance, that cluster 3 (the path outlined by the graph's little rhombus) is characterised by high values of the

Figure 14.1: Ideal Types of Spectators
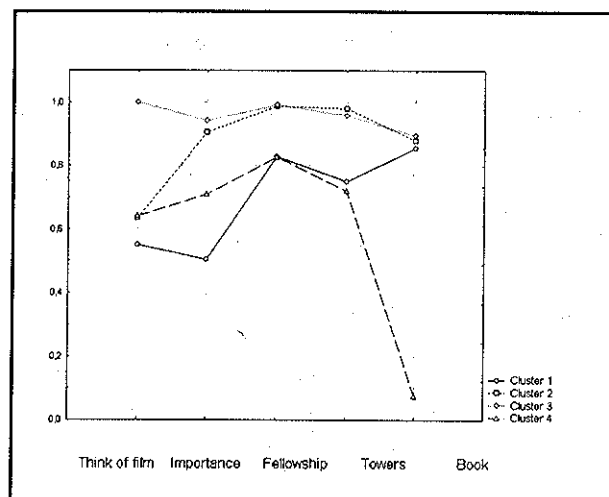
means with respect to every variable: hence the name *enthusiastic fan*. Following the same approach, we could reconstruct the other types of audience. The "name" of the cluster, of course, is not given by the computer. This is a task for the researcher, who, reading carefully a graph such as this, interprets and labels the clusters.

The *statistical* picture, then, was rather clear, but we wanted to go *beyond* this picture, having the big opportunity to look at the responses to the open-ended questions. We wanted the most "representative" cases of each group, but how could we find them? Fortunately, the output of a cluster analysis can assist in answering this kind of question. Each cluster, in fact, has a statistical centre, called the "centroid." Calculating the distance of each case from the centroid (SPSS, Statistica, and SAS does this job very easily), we could locate the cases closer to a certain ideal type. This allowed us to understand the meaning of the groups emerging from the data, transcending the raw statistical figures. From this, the Italian researchers realised that the four clusters coming out of the analysis could be reduced to three, because the qualitative responses of cluster 1 (the disappointed fan) and cluster 2 (the critic reader) were almost identical (some expressions were in fact identical). The research could benefit from the fact that there was a difference between the responses to the open questions and to the closed questions. In short, people expressed different (and paradoxically less detailed!) thoughts through words. This is a clear example of a methodological "loop"—that is, a form of triangulation *within* the same research design, as explained below, in which the findings from both the qualitative and quantitative approaches are *mutually informing*, and shows that triangulation is achievable even at a cheap price.

Unlike cases and variables, *words* can also be analysed apart from the matrix. In our research, words could be found in: (1) open-ended questionnaire responses, (2) transcripts from interviews and focus groups, and (3) public texts of various natures (for instance, press materials).

To consider words as data, we have to face numerous problems, the most important of which is that their meaning is not the same for everyone. This is a problem that, of course, in a world research project becomes huge. It begins with the translation of our tool for gathering data (the questionnaire) into different languages, and with the disambiguation of certain key concepts. That alone required arriving at shared definitions among the different research teams at the beginning of the research. It further required us to find virtual synonyms for key terms in the questions (for example, *myth* and *quest*). Having solved these problems and gathered responses, people's answers need to be analysed.

WORDS IN OPEN-ENDED QUESTIONS

Open-ended responses have to be post-coded for two main reasons: to cut down and summarise the complexity of words and speeches, and to allow further statistical treatment. Traditional post-coding procedures involve the development of categories and the subsequent assignment of words and speeches to a value label corresponding to a given category. This is a hard and time-consuming task, but generally it guarantees a good reliability.

In recent years, following the French school of *Analyse des données*, many researchers have turned to Lexical Correspondence Analysis (LCA), an evolution of factor analysis for qualitative data.[53] The main idea of this new approach is that words alone (the focus of classic content analysis) have no meaning. They make sense only in association and/or in opposition with other words or groups of words, and as typical of certain kind of people. LCA is not interested in similarities, but instead in *differences*. Even words with a low occurrence, then, could be significant, providing that they are *typical* of certain people or group of people. LCA has two main goals: (1) to find regularities in the data and (2) to find only those few dimensions of meaning that explain these regularities, employing factorial techniques. To accomplish this, data are organised in a word-by-text matrix: the words are placed in rows, while the answers (that is, the texts) are placed in columns, as in table 14.1. The number in each cell indicates how many times a certain word has been said by a given case.

Table 14.1: Lexical Correspondence Analysis

Words	Case 1's Answer	Case 2's Answer	Case 3's Answer
DVD	0	2	1
Fantastic	5	0	1
Magic	4	1	0
Peter Jackson	0	3	2

Given such tables, a computer is able to run the LCA algorithms.[54] The procedure is fast (SPAD and T-Lab are the main programs[55]) and yields a sort of autocoding of open-ended questions. The main output of LCA, in fact, is a factorial space (basically a Cartesian coordinate system) that shows the semantic orientation of significant words on opposite axes, thus contributing to their disambiguation. Words and meaningful groups of words (that is, isotopies) are considered significant if they are distant from the origin of the factorial space. "Understanding a factorial axis means finding what is similar, firstly all that is on the right of the origin (barycentre), and secondly all that is on the left of it, and then expressing concisely and exactly the opposition between the two extremes."[56] Each axis allows the researcher to reconstruct an *ideal syntagm*—that is, a *theoretical model of a latent proposition* in the corpus.

LCA was used by both the Dutch and the Italian research teams. The Italian responses, for instance, are characterised by two different semantic axes, interpreted reading the words located on the left and on the right (for the x-axis) and at the top and the bottom (for the y-axis) of the factorial space. These axes are: (1) *boring vs. amusing* (with respect to the film) (x-axis) and (2) *"aesthetic" book adaptation vs. "technical" book adaptation* (y-axis).[57] As an example, the group of words (or "isotopy") that permitted us to interpret the "boring" semiaxis were: "abnormal," "deadly dull," "horrible," "long," and so forth. These words, which characterise the "boring" isotopy, were located at the extreme left (negative x-semiaxis) of the factorial space.

WORDS IN INTERVIEWS AND FOCUS GROUPS

The analysis of the words contained in interviews and focus groups is different, and can take three main directions: quantitative, qualitative, and computer-assisted (typically quali-quantitative). In the first case, a post-coding is required; then the data are tabulated and/or cross-tabulated, and finally the researcher interprets the results. There are two drawbacks in this approach: firstly, as above, post-coding is onerous; secondly, a lot of interesting data get lost. The main advantage is that the researcher has the possibility of employing some statistical techniques. Nevertheless, considering the small size of the samples generally utilised in researches based on interviews and focus groups, the statistical option is often an avoidable luxury, unless both the qualitative and quantitative approaches are used in a "loop" strategy, as happened in our research.

The second direction is often called an *ethnographic* or *narrative* approach. The analyst first tries to identify the main *topics* within the transcriptions. Then he or she chooses the *quotations* he or she thinks are more significant (considering also the *context* in which they are situated) or the chunks of data, for each theme, that show some commonalities. Some sort of coding procedure could be adopted at this point. The researcher could also build a classification and/or a typology. Finally, he

or she tries to interpret the findings. However, this is a general scheme.[58] For example, within Glaser and Strauss' *grounded theory* the analysis should be done during data collection, until a "theoretical saturation" has been achieved.

In the case of qualitative analysis, in fact, many different practices (for instance, fixed, iterative, and subjectivist),[59] paradigms (even within qualitative sociology itself: constructivism, ethnomethodology, interactionism, interpretivism, cultural studies, postmodern sociology, and so forth), and also disciplines can be adopted. This plurality of paradigms and methods, far from being a drawback, contributes instead to enrich the analysis. This is not accepted by some orthodox methodologists,[60] but it is the approach that from the beginning characterised our project. Accepting the idea of triangulation (or the idea of the *loop*, which is our more specific interpretation of triangulation), we implicitly accept, and actually encourage, the *cohabitation* of different paradigms.

WORDS IN THE PRESS

Traditionally, press materials on cinema, like the critical reception of a film, are studied qualitatively. This approach stems from a combination of a film studies and cultural studies perspective on cinema. The film studies approach focuses on the activity of interpretation, and is concerned with which meanings *inherent* to the film are communicated in criticism. Robin Wood, David Bordwell, and Rick Altman have studied how ideology, narrative, and genre are treated in film criticism.[61] The cultural studies approach is more concerned with how interpretations are *created* by criticism. Janet Staiger, Barbara Klinger, and Ernest Mathijs have emphasised how ideology, style, and rhetorics are evoked by critics.[62] But qualitative studies of reception have never managed to convincingly prove that their observations are also representative for an entire reception. Staiger's discussion of gender and sexuality in the critical reception of *The Silence of the Lambs* (Demme, 1991), for instance, may well refer to a very marginal discourse, one that hardly touches the film's mainstream reception. Studying the press materials circulating around the release of *RotK* thus required an integrated approach, combining the attention to detail of a qualitative analysis with the representativeness of a quantitative one. To that aim we employed an advanced form of content analysis.

Content analysis is basically a technique for quantifying the qualitative. Its main applications and better results have always been in the field of mass communications and political speeches since the 1950s, when Harold Lasswell and Bernard Berelson first introduced the method. The key question that content analysis tries to answer is well known: Who says what to whom and with what effect?

Nevertheless, it is not clear yet whether content analysis can deal with the *latent* content of a text or only with its *manifest* content, as Berelson's classic definition claims.[63] Of course, the manifest-latent distinction is not neutral, because it is strongly linked with the tricky issue of "hidden persuasion." The success of Berelson's

definition made content analysis compatible with the functional approach to mass-media research, while this very fact made it suspect to most critical currents.[64] This must be kept in mind when using content analysis. Increasingly, researchers have sought to separate content analysis as a theory (distinguishing manifest from latent contents, and implying cumulative effects) from its usefulness as a family of techniques.[65] Since the 1960s, interest has grown in the possibilities of transcending its reductionist tendencies, by developing forms of qualitative content analysis that can discern patterns and relationships within materials.

In this research, content analysis was utilised, for example, to see how the press followed the launch of the *RotK*. Using T-Lab, the Italian team carried out a study of the Italian press (newspapers and magazines), in order to know on which topics it focused its attention. Five topics emerged from the analysis: the premiere of the film, the night of the Academy Awards, the adaptation of the book, Hollywood and the showbiz, Tolkien's world. The topics were detected simply by building some baskets of keywords and then counting the frequency of each basket in the corpus, in order to evaluate their weights. For example, the "premiere of the film" topic was characterised by the following words (next to the word is shown the number of phrases in which it occurs): *Italy* (26), *day* (25), *January* (24), *cinema* (20), *to release* (17), *premiere* (16), *town* (15), *marathon* (11), *Bologna* (10), *to screen* (8), *Thursday* (8), *place* (7), *wait* (6), *ticket* (6).

Using the co-occurrence tool provided by T-Lab, we could investigate also some significant relationships between words. This showed, for instance, the first fifteen strongest associations with the phrase *Peter Jackson* used in the Italian press (the corpus considered consist of thirty-nine articles, published both in magazines and newspapers), based on the *cosine coefficient*.[66] Many associations are quite predictable. But one of the most interesting is between *Peter Jackson* and *fantasy*. This means that, when an Italian journalist wrote about Peter Jackson, it was highly probable that she or he used also the word *fantasy* in close proximity.

But proximity is not everything. The U.K. team wanted to know how, when, and by whom terms and remarks, references and words, were introduced into the discourses surrounding the release of *RotK*. Therefore we developed an advanced coding method for the content analysis of press materials that would also identify the time and place of the public presence of the words concerned. The method is derived from Karl Erik Rosengren's study of the Swedish literary frame of reference, Marcus Hudec and Brigitte Lederer's study of theatre reviews, and Wesley Shrum's analysis of performing arts reviews.[67] At its base lies the "mention": a term or word within the print message that contains meaning, in the form of its references, allusions, opinions, indications, or implications. According to Rosengren,

> A mention may be regarded as an expression of an association made by the reviewer, and ... can be used as an indicator of topicality. ... All the mentions made in all reviews of the press in a region during a given time period (or in a representative sample thereof) may be regarded as an expression of the lexicon ... available to the reviewers and constituting a central element of [their] frame of reference.[68]

In this case, all mentions of *RotK* or Tolkien in all British media were coded. The coding system consisted of eight dimensions:

1. **Date/time:** (as appropriate)
2. **Source** (name of publication or broadcast channel and programme)
3. **Scale** (a five-point scale from more than a full page/more than thirty-minute feature, to less than a quarter of a page/under-one-minute mention or feature)
4. **Emphasis** (feature, lead item, significant attention, filler, mention)
5. **Kind of report** (preview or review of the film itself; related release review [for example, of DVDs, rereleases, and so on]; interview; news report; gossip/trivia, advertisements for the film, merchandise, or tie-ins; unrelated report referencing *LotR;* reader's letter.
6. **Key expressions**
7. **Key references**
8. **Notes**

This method was employed most rigorously by the teams from Belgium, Germany, and the United Kingdom (which had the largest set of pre- and postrelease press materials; see table 14.2).

Combining content analysis with a strong focus on source and timing allowed for the analysis of topical references and for detection of when certain remarks, phrases, and words entered into the discourses accompanying the release of the film. (See chapter 4 for some of the results of this.)

Table 14.2: Prefigurative Items (United Kingdom Only, October 1–December 31, 2003)

Marketing	193
Merchandise (info/samples)	147
National newspapers	946
National magazines	542
National radio	22
National TV (freeview)	64
Internet	647
TOTAL ITEMS	2,512

OTHER APPROACHES WITHIN THE PROJECT

Besides these two broad approaches, a number of teams and individuals within the project worked in other ways with its assembled materials, and we see it as one of

the project's major strengths that this was possible. Each of these further approaches drew upon particular traditions to examine in detail some particular aspect or component. Here we discuss just one of these: the political economy approach.

In order to paint a picture of the global conglomerate(s) involved in the production, distribution, and marketing of the prefiguration materials, researchers within the American team drew upon political economy traditions. This allowed for the classifications and descriptions of merchandising and its range and functions. There are strong traditions of critical enquiry into these sorts of materials, their economic and strategic importance to studio finances, and the ways in which films themselves may be shaped by the pressures to produce these ancillary materials. According to Janet Wasko, who headed this effort in our project, a political economy approach to film is, in essence, an institutional approach—it sees the actors in the communication process as agents of organisations, put in the public domain first and foremost to serve the interests of those organisations with the accumulation of "wealth" or the allocation of resources.[69] So it is that the first interest of a Hollywood studio like Warner Bros., or even a smaller subsidiary like New Line Cinema, is in maximising its own profits, either purely financially or in indirect ways (through creating a reputation, a market share, or a portfolio, for instance). *RotK* offered an excellent case study for this approach.

Within our project, Wasko and other teams (for instance, the Belgian team of Daniel Biltereyst and Philippe Meers, but also the French team of Divina Frau-Meigs) have widened the scope of research beyond material goods to include less tangible goals and ways in which the institutions in charge of producing and releasing *RotK* used diverse means and agents to guard their interests and maximise their profits. The key concepts that were put at the centre of the political economical approach in our project were:

1. the ties between existing popularity (an existing fan base) and maximising profit (this meant collecting materials evidencing how New Line approached *LotR* fans);

2. property/copyright (tracing the ownership);

3. the merchandise (collecting evidence of all rights, tie-ins, and revenues from sellable products related to the films); these were divided into: books, typical merchandise (toys, T-shirts, action figures), high-end merchandise (collectibles of higher value, such as jewelry, furniture, and so on), games, merchandise promos, and events (including the sites were these were announced); and

4. promotion and publicity (evidence of straightforward publicity for the release of the films).

This categorisation not only enabled a thorough view of the ranges and density of publicity efforts, but also contributed to a better understanding of techniques used

to create interest, such as media hyping, blanket coverage, piggybacking, synergies of ownership and interest, and the conflation between supposedly independent agencies (like the press, fans, or reviewers) and the institutions promoting the films.

THE IDEA OF "TRIANGULATION"

From its inception, as we've explained, this was an ambitious project. But we wanted to conduct it in ways that could give some *measure of assurance* in our resultant claims. Trustworthiness of outcomes mattered to us—we didn't want to offer "just interpretations." Given these ambitions, it should not surprise that we were led towards the idea of "triangulation." "Triangulation" proposes that findings can be more trusted if they are arrived at and supported by more than one method, and based upon more than one body of materials. Mutually supporting outcomes are stronger, on this argument, than the singly supported. The idea of "triangulation" emerged and developed in the United States in the 1960s.[70] It came at a time when "old certainties" were being shaken. This was the period when qualitative research began to come into its own, with the rise of Grounded Theory. It was also the period in which qualitative researchers sought to assure themselves and others that their results could be trusted as much as the old-guard quantitative researchers, with their triad of "validity, reliability, generalisability."

Major work was done on the concept of "triangulation" in the 1970s by Norman Denzin.[71] Denzin importantly distinguished four kinds of triangulation: data, investigator, theoretical, and methodological. But from other people's developments of these, it is possible to see that a number of rather separate issues are being—perhaps unhelpfully—contained under one term.[72]

The central problem with "triangulation" was soon perceived, and argued most forcefully by one of Denzin's own colleagues, Yvonna Lincoln.[73] This was that research does not simply *reflect* the world it investigates; it *constructs* the materials differently according to its methods and assumptions. Therefore, the more precise and genuinely independent each of the contributory components, the less they will be *able* to support each other, because they will be formulated in incommensurable ways. So, imagine two researches into how audiences might "identify" with characters in a film, one using quantitative, the other using qualitative, methods. The quantitative analysis will typically theorise the implications of "identification" (for example, how can we measure the differences between high and low "identifiers"?) and operationalise these into questions. Responses to these will then be the *evidence* for or against the preconstituted idea of "identification." The qualitative research will typically stage situations of talk, in which people will be asked to say how they feel about the characters, and any use of the term *identification* (or near-synonyms) will be analysed. The analyst will then construct an account from this evidence. The problem is that in the first case the term *identification* has become a *specialist* concept, while the second seeks to gather *vernacular* concepts. The two do not mean

the same thing, and cannot assist each other.[74] The price is, thus, that the *better in their own terms the individual researches, the less easily they can be measured against each other.* Only "loose" researches can be mutually supporting, if they are constructed independently of each other.

We tried something different. We endeavoured to incorporate means of triangulation *within* our research design, so that the form in which quantitative results were generated immediately pointed towards the qualitative stages of our investigations. Our codings and analyses of the prefigurative materials were designed to be tested by the second and third stages. Each part was designed to generate preliminary propositions for the next to take further. Upon consideration, we chose to give this a new name: the *methodological loop*. This "loop" derives from a complex way of conceiving the classic "circuit of culture—that is, the ways in which the production, distribution, and reception of cultural forms and meanings are interwoven.[75] Following are two rather different illustrations of how we believe that this has benefited our research. The first relates to the connections between our analysis of prefigurative materials and the ways in which our respondents drew upon these. In analysing audience responses, as already discussed, we had found that "Epic" was the most commonly chosen modality term, both across the world and within the United Kingdom. Our coding of media coverage allowed us, then, to ask which media source in the United Kingdom most used and emphasised this term. This turned out to be, unequivocally, the right-wing *Daily Mail,* which indeed issued a special edition to celebrate the film. That provokes interesting questions about the influence of this widely read newspaper. And certainly we could point to definite instances of its influence (quotations found only in its pages turned up in interview responses, for instance). However, we were also able to conduct a qualitative examination of the range of meanings of *epic* used within the *Mail* and among audiences. This revealed significant differences. Whilst the *Mail* presented an account of the film as about an *embattled society,* among audiences a different emphasis on *hope* indicated a rather different direction. This required looping back and forth between the two bodies of materials in order to disclose their relations.

The second was quite different. In our investigation of book-film relations, we realised early that people who were highly committed to the books could still greatly enjoy the films, whilst recognising many kinds of deviation from the original. We therefore turned our attention to the ways in which New Line Cinema *sought to explain and justify* its handling of the books. A prime resource for this turned out to be the extended DVDs of the films. Our analysis of these threw up a paradox. Our audiences clearly demonstrated in very many cases that they were waiting until they had the final extended edition before finalising their judgements on the films. We therefore examined that by comparison with the previous two— and found (as shown in chapter 5) that this offered a *new justification* of the changes. We could best make sense of this if we conceived New Line Cinema as working with a distinct model of audience behaviours—a "figure" of the audi-

ence—within which the DVDs provide the *point of sedimentation* of people's responses. This was therefore not simply a loop in our methods—moving back and forth between different parts of our research material—but a discovery of a *strategic recognition in the producers* of the same kind.

In both cases, we believe something very complicated is involved, and more than simply a *method.* It involved a way of conceiving the relations between the production, marketing, circulation, and reception of the film in which the *producers themselves* held and worked with conceptions of these kinds.

CLOSING REMARKS

In very many ways, including in its methodologies, the *LotR* project was an experiment. We took chances, and tried things to see what happened—both in gathering data and materials and in their analysis. To a considerable extent, we wanted to find out how far we could go, and to see what could be learnt if we asked new questions in new ways. It might have gone horribly wrong—but it didn't. We have tried to indicate clearly where we are sure of our findings and where we have to be much more tentative. We know that we have walked tightropes in some of our methodological moves, but again we have tried to declare and show these so that they can be examined critically. Methodology, to us, is a two-way path. It is vitally important that all processes and claims should stand up to critical scrutiny, and that means that there have to be many kinds of shared checks on validity and trustworthiness. But methodology is also about enabling—developing and sharing new means of formulating questions, gathering data and materials, and analysing them.

A big and ambitious project, then, designed from the start, through its methods of gathering, to allow a wide range of theoretical and methodological approaches to work on its data and materials. In this book you will have found a *core set* of our findings, but these will be only a small proportion of what has already emerged, and will continue to emerge, from this project. Henceforth the judgements on the quality of the achievements will not be ours, and that is as it should be.

The World Data Set

The following tables present the raw data from the project's world questionnaire. Any researchers interested in exploring the dataset for themselves may do so by approaching the UK Economic and Social Data Services.

What did you think of the film?

Extremely enjoyable	17,449	70.8%
Very enjoyable	5,148	20.9%
Reasonably enjoyable	1,578	6.4%
Hardly enjoyable	262	1.1%
Not enjoyable at all	201	0.8%
No answer	109	

How important was it to see the film?

Extremely important	14,732	59.7%
Very important	5,987	24.2%
Reasonably important	3,043	12.3%
Hardly important	639	2.6%
Not important at all	284	1.2%
No answer	62	

What kind of story is *The Lord of the Rings* for you?
Please choose up to three.

Allegory	2,586	3.8%
Epic	13,044	19.2%
Fairytale	2,808	4.1%
Fantasy	9,885	14.5%
Game-world	531	0.7%
Good vs evil	10,734	15.8%
Myth/legend	8,897	13.1%
Quest	8,288	12.2%
SFX film	5,572	8.2%
Spiritual journey	1,877	2.8%
Threatened homeland	1,688	2.5%
War story	2,174	3.2%

What was the main source of your expectations?

The books	13,343	59.6%
The director	326	1.5%
One of the stars	434	1.9%
The first two parts of the film	7,334	32.8%
A game associated with the film	150	0.6%
Nothing in particular	803	3.6%
Other answers	2,357	

Sex

Male	12,174	(50.1%)
Female	12,108	(49.9%)

Age

Under 16	2,486	10.2%
16–25	11,722	47.9%
26–35	5,938	24.3%
36–45	2,563	10.4%
46–55	1,305	5.3%
56–65	364	1.5%
Over 65	103	0.4%

How often have you seen *Fellowship of the Ring*?

Once	3,321
More than once	20,948
Not at all	219

How often have you seen *Two Towers*?

Once	3,851
More than once	19,882
Not at all	341

How many times have you read the books of *The Lord of the Rings*?

Read all three books once	5,195	21.2%
Read all three more than once	11,614	47.4%
Read some of the books	1,625	6.6%
Still reading for the first time	1,603	6.5%
Haven't read them at all	4,469	18.2%

Where do you live? (top twenty response levels)

United States	4,744
Netherlands	3,275
United Kingdom	3,057
Denmark	1,677
Spain	1,584
Belgium	1,378
Germany	1,161
China	1,087
Slovenia	966
France	649
Australia	551
Greece	500
Canada	485
Italy	483
Turkey	334
Norway	296
Chile	224
Colombia	194
New Zealand	156
Sweden	148
Other countries	1,790

Notes

INTRODUCTION. RESEARCHING *THE LORD OF THE RINGS:* AUDIENCES AND CONTEXTS

1. Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of Judgement of Taste* (London: Routledge, 1986), 32, 271–272.
2. Janet Staiger, *Interpreting Films: Studies in the Historical Reception of American Cinema* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992).
3. Thomas Austin, *Hollywood, Hype and Audiences: Selling and Watching Popular Film in the 1990s* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), 1.
4. Kim Schrøder, Kirsten Drotner, Stephen Kline, and Catherine Murray, *Researching Audiences* (London: Arnold, 2003); Janet Staiger, *Media Reception Studies* (New York: New York University Press, 2005), 17–94; Robert Holub, *Reception Theory: A Critical Introduction* (New York: Methuen, 1984); Arild Fetveit, "Anti-Essentialism and Reception Studies," *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 4, no. 2 (2001): 173–199.
5. See Laura Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema," *Screen* 16, no. 3 (1975); republished in Tony Bennett, S. Boyd-Bowman, C. Mercer, and Joan Woollacott, eds., *Popular Television and Film* (London: BFI, 1981), 206–215; David Bordwell, *Making Meaning: Inference and Rhetoric in the Interpretation of Cinema* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989).
6. Recent overviews of such interest are to be found in the work of Henry Jenkins, Matt Hills, Martin Barker, and Ernest Mathijs, but some discussions of these concerns go back way further. See Henry Jenkins, "Reception Theory and Audience Research: The Mystery of the Vampire's Kiss," in Christine Gledhill and Linda Williams, eds., *Reinventing Film Studies* (London: Arnold, 2000), 165–182; Matt Hills, *Fan Cultures* (London: Routledge, 2002); Robert Wyatt and David Badger, "What Newspaper Critics Value in Film and Film Criticism," in Bruce

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7. Such an integrated approach is advocated by Barbara Klinger, "Film History Terminable and Interminable: Recovering the Past in Reception Studies," *Screen* 38, no. 2 (1997): 107–128.

8. For a bibliography of different prints and editions of Tolkien's writings, including translations, see Wayne Hammond, ed., with Douglas A. Anderson, *J.R.R. Tolkien: A Descriptive Bibliography* (Winchester: St. Paul's Bibliographies, 1993).

9. Neil Isaacs and Rose Zimbardo, eds., *Tolkien and the Critics* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1968); also see Neil Isaacs and Rose Zimbardo, eds., *Understanding the Lord of the Rings: The Best of Tolkien Criticism* (London: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2005); Richard C. West, *Tolkien Criticism: An Annotated Check List* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1981).

10. For a selection of work along these lines over the years (with some emphasis on early examples), see Lin Carter, *Tolkien: A Look behind the Lord of the Rings* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1969); Gunnar Urang, *Shadows of Heaven: Religion and Fantasy in the Writings of C.S. Lewis, Charles Williams, and J.R.R. Tolkien* (London: United Church Press, 1971); Lee D. Rossi, *The Politics of Fantasy: C.S. Lewis and J.R.R. Tolkien* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Press, 1971); Randel Helms, *Tolkien's Worlds* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1974); Tom Shippey, *The Road to Middle Earth* (London: Grafton, 1982); David Harvey, *The Song of Middle Earth* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1985); Marli Schütze, *Neue Wege nach Narnia und Mittelerde: Handlungskonstituenten in der Fantasy-Literatur von C.S. Lewis and J.R.R. Tolkien* (Berlin: Lang, 1986); Jane Chance, *The Lord of the Rings: The Mythology of Power* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1992–2001); Jared Lobdell, ed., *A Tolkien Compass* (New York: Open Court, 2002); Wayne G. Hammond and Christina Scull, *The Lord of the Rings: A Reader's Companion* (London: HarperCollins, 2005).

11. In a defence against indignations, Terry Pratchett sums up some criticisms of *The Lord of the Rings* as a "cult classic" that is "inexplicably popular but unworthy." See Terry Pratchett, "Cult Classic," in Karen Haber, ed., *Meditations on Middle-Earth* (London: Simon and Schuster, 2001), 75.

12. Isaacs and Zimbardo, *Tolkien and the Critics*, 1.

13. David Glover, "Utopia and Fantasy in the Late 1960s: Burroughs, Moorcock, Tolkien," in Chris Pawling, ed., *Popular Fiction and Social Change* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1984): 185–211; Brian Rosebury, *Tolkien: A Cultural Phenomenon* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); Anne C. Petty, *One Ring to Bind Them All: Tolkien's Mythology* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2002); Gregory Bassham and Eric Bronsson, eds., *The Lord of the Rings and Philosophy: One Book to Rule Them All* (New York: Open Court, 2003); Peter Kreeft, *The Philosophy of Tolkien: The Worldview behind the Lord of the Rings* (New York: Ignatius Press, 2005); Mark Eddy Smith, *Tolkien's Ordinary Virtues: Discovering the Spiritual Themes of the Lord of the Rings* (Downers Grove, IL: Inter-Varsity Press, 2002); Ean Begg, *Lord of the Rings and the Signs of the Times* (London: Guild of Pastoral Psychology, 1975); Patrick Curry, *Defending Middle-Earth: Tolkien—Myth and Modernity* (Great Barrington, MA: Floris Books, 1997); Hal Colebatch, *Return of the Heroes: The Lord of the Rings, Star Wars, and Contemporary Culture* (Canberra: Australian Institute for Public Policy, 1990).

14. For a bibliography of these fan criticisms, see *http://www.uni-klu.ac.at/~jkoeberl/Courses/Tolkien/biblio.pdf* (accessed May 15, 2006).

15. Probably the earliest studies from this perspective are John S. Ryan, *Tolkien, Cult or Culture?* (Armidale, New South Wales: University Press of New England, 1969); and Bruce A. Beatie, "The Tolkien Phenomenon: 1954–1968," *Journal of Popular Culture* 3, no. 4 (1970): 689–703. Others include Nigel Walmsley, "Tolkien and the '60s," in Robert Giddings, ed., *J. R. R. Tolkien, This Far Land* (London and Totawa, NJ: Barnes & Noble Books, 1984): 73–85; Martin Barker, "On Being a 1960s Tolkien Reader," in Ernest Mathijs and Murray Pomerance, eds., *From Hobbits to Hollywood: Essays on Peter Jackson's The Lord of the Rings* (New York: Rodopi, 2006), 81–100; Tracie S. Speake, "The Power of the Ring: J R R Tolkien and American Popular Culture," *The Sextant* 1 (Summer 2003): 71–86.

16. Rosebury, 1–3.

17. The sheer quantity of its producers' archived materials, deposited with the New Zealand Film Archive, attests to this and is a resource still awaiting research.

18. See Vivian Sobchack: "Most Hollywood historical epics not only repeat the narrative within the film through a doubling narration but also repeat that narrative outside of the film—within its cinematic discourse." "'Surge and Splendour': A Phenomenology of the Hollywood Historical Epic," in Barry Keith Grant, ed., *Film Genre Reader II* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995), 280–307, this quotation 293.

19. Talk given to the Department of Screen and Media, University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand, May 9, 2002. Botes has produced his own three-DVD documentary version, which New Line would not allow him to issue but which the company itself edited down into yet another *LotR* boxed set for issue in August 2006. The trilogy's texts are recycling still further with probable Blu-Ray and HD DVD issues. See "Short Ends," *Onfilm* 2 (2006): 13. After global success, the exhibition of properties from the project has returned to the nation's museum, Te Papa, and has attracted remarkable numbers again.

20. Richard A. Petersen and Narasimhan Anand, "The Production of Cultural Perspective," *Annual Review of Sociology* 30 (2004): 311.

21. Michael Dorland, "Policy Rhetorics of an Imaginary Cinema," in Albert Moran, ed., *Film Policy* (London: Routledge, 1996), 125.

22. David Hesmondhalgh, *The Cultural Industries* (London: Sage, 2002), 50.

23. G. Campbell, "Planet Middle Earth," *New Zealand Listener* (December 15, 2001), 18–24.

24. See Sandy George, "Gunning for a Bigger Stage," *Screen International* (November 12, 2004). See also the *Year 2005 Production Report* from the U.S. Center for Entertainment Industry Data and Research, which cites a 531 percent increase in film production in Australasia from 1998 to 2005, available at http://www.ceidr.org/2005CEIDRReport.pdf (accessed August 4, 2006).

25. See P. J. Huffstutter, "Not Just a Tolkien Amount: 'The Lord of the Rings' Movie Trilogy Boosts Tourism and Brings Other Benefits to New Zealand; Locals Call It the 'Frodo Economy,'" available at http://www.newsday.com/entertainment/news (accessed September 16, 2005).

26. Geoff Lealand and Helen Martin, "Aotearea/New Zealand," *Australian Screen Education* 39 (2004): 15.

27. Bertha Chin and Jonathan Gray, "'One Ring to Rule Them All': Pre-viewers and Pre-Texts of the *Lord of the Rings* Films," *Intensities: Journal of Cult Media* 2 (2001) (accessed May 11, 2006).

28. Rumour in fact has it that the trilogy may have made back its entire negative costs from licensing agreements before even the first film was released. "No quaint cottage industry anymore, marketing Middle-earth has assumed a world-girdling corporate form, a behemoth encompassing publishers, merchandisers, law firms, webmasters, not to mention countless hordes of opportunistic hangers-on. For sheer commerciality, *Rings* has arguably become the most profitable fictional work of all time. . . . New Line Cinema's 300-plus international licensing agreements alone recouped the movie trilogy's $300 million price tag months before the first film even hit the mul-

tiplex." Ethan Gilsdorf, "Lord of the Gold Ring," *Boston Globe* (November 16, 2003). Couple that with the New Zealand tax advantages, and we have another of Hollywood's famous auditing miracles.

29. See, for instance, the official insider's guide to the films, the location guidebook, and stories from actors: Brian Sibley, *The Lord of the Rings: The Fellowship of the Ring Insider's Guide* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2001); Andy Serkis and Gary Russell, *Gollum: How We Made Movie Magic* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2003); Ian Brodie, *The Lord of the Rings Location Guidebook* (London: Harper Collins, 2003); Sean Astin and Joe Layden, *There and Back Again, an Actor's Tale: A Behind the Scenes Look at The Lord of the Rings* (London: Virgin Books, 2005).

30. See Warren Buckland and Chris Long, "Following the Money: *The Lord of the Rings* and the Culture of Box Office Figures," and Janet Wasko and Govind Shanadi, "More Than Just Rings: Merchandise for Them All," in Ernest Mathijs, ed., *The Lord of the Rings: Popular Culture in Global Context* (London: Wallflower Press, 2006).

31. See, for instance, Jane Chance, "Is There a Text in This Hobbit? Peter Jackson's *Fellowship of the Ring*," *Literature/Film Quarterly* 30, no. 2 (2002): 79–85; Jim Smith and J. Clive Matthews, *The 'Lord of the Rings': The Films, the Books, the Radio Series* (London: Virgin Books, 2004); Janet Brennan Croft, ed., *Tolkien on Film: Essays on Peter Jackson's The Lord of the Rings* (London: Mythopoeic Press, 2005); Lynnette R. Porter, *Unsung Heroes of 'The Lord of the Rings': From Page to Screen* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2005); Robert Eaglestone, *Reading The Lord of the Rings: New Writings on Tolkien's Trilogy* (London: Continuum, 2005). More recent developments in adaptation research have shifted to exploring the variety of ideological meanings that different adaptations achieve, along with a broader attention to the role of intertextual referencing within them. For good illustrations of both, see Robert Stam and Alessandra Raengo, eds., *Literature and Film* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004).

32. Barry Keith Grant, *A Cultural Assault: The New Zealand Films of Peter Jackson* (Nottingham: Kakapo Books, 1999); Ron Magid, "Imagining Middle Earth," *American Cinematographer* 82, no. 12 (December 2001): 60–69; Iain Lowson, Keith Marshall, and Daniel O'Brien. *The World of the Rings* (Richmond, Surrey: Reynolds and Hearn, 2002); Harmony Wu, "Trading in Horror, Cult and Matricide: Peter Jackson's Phenomenal Bad Taste and New Zealand Fantasies of Inter/National Cinematic Success," in Mark Jancovich, Antonio Lazaro-Reboll, Julian Stringer, and Andrew Willis, eds., *Defining Cult Movies: The Cultural Politics of Oppositional Taste* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), 84–108; Ian Pryor, *Peter Jackson: From Prince of Splatter to Lord of the Rings* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2004); Greg Wright, *Peter Jackson in Perspective: The Power behind Cinema's The Lord of the Rings: A Look at Hollywood's Take on Tolkien's Epic Tale* (Los Angeles, CA: Hollywood Jesus Books, 2004); Alec Worley, *Empires of the Imagination: A Critical Survey of Fantasy Cinema from Georges Méliès to The Lord of the Rings* (New York: McFarland & Company, 2005).

33. Michael N. Stanton, *Hobbits, Elves and Wizards* (New York: St. Martin's Press , 2002); Hal G. P. Colebatch, *Return of the Heroes: The Lord of the Rings, Star Wars, Harry Potter and Social Conflict* (Perth: Cyber Editions Corporation, 2003); Russell W. Dalton, *Faith Journey through Fantasy Lands: A Christian Dialogue with Harry Potter, Star Wars and The Lord of the Rings* (Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Fortress, 2004); Anna Dawson, *Studying The Lord of the Rings* (London: Auteur Publishing, 2006).

34. See the chapters by Douglas Kellner, Sean Cubitt, Ken Gelder (on the cultural significance of *The Lord of the Rings'* themes), and Ian Conrich and Jennifer Brayton (on merchandising and fandoms) in Mathijs and Pomerance. Also see the chapters by Jenny Lawn and Bronwyn Beatty and Davinia Thornley (on the New Zealand reception), and Matt Hills, Kirsten Pullen, and Judith Rosenbaum (on fandoms) in Mathijs, *The Lord of the Rings: Popular Culture.* Also see Elana Shefrin, "Lord of the Rings, Star Wars, and Participatory Fandom: Mapping New Congruencies between the Internet and Media Entertainment Culture," *Critical Studies in*

Media Communication 2, no. 3 (2004): 261–281; Suman Basuroy, Subimal Chatterjee, and S. Abraham Ravid, "How Critical Are Critical Reviews? The Box Office Effects of Film Critics, Star Power, and Budgets," *Journal of Marketing* 67, no. 4 (2003): 103–117.

35. See the chapters by Erik Hedling ("Framing Tolkien: Trailers, High Concept, and the Ring"), Jonathan Gray ("Bonus Material: The DVD Layering of *The Lord of the Rings*"), Jon Dovey and Helen Kennedy ("Playing the Ring: Intermediality and Ludic Narratives in the *Lord of the Rings* Games"), K. J. Donnelly ("Musical Middle-Earth"), and I. Q. Hunter ("Tolkien Dirty") in Mathijs, *The Lord of the Rings: Popular Culture.*

36. A substantial account of this can be found in Kate Egan and Martin Barker, "*Rings* around the World: Notes on the Challenges, Problems and Possibilities of International Audience Projects," *Participations: Online Journal of Audience & Reception Studies* 3, no. 2 (2006).

37. This project simply would not have been possible without the funding from the U.K. Economic and Social Research Council. We also acknowledge the additional funding from the University of Wales, Aberystwyth, which allowed us to extend the project by five months, enabling a much fuller achievement. Colleagues in some other countries also received funding to support their work, and acknowledgements of these are to be found in specific chapters. A full list of participants and contributors is given in the acknowledgements. We also want to extend our special thanks to Janet Jones, now of the University of the West of England, Bristol, who was originally part of the U.K. team, but who had to withdraw for health reasons. Her early contribution was enormously valuable.

38. The countries were Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, China, Colombia, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, The Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Russia, Slovenia, Spain, Turkey, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

39. See Ariel Dorfman and Armand Mattelart, *How to Read Donald Duck: Imperialist Ideology in the Disney Comic* (New York: International General, 1973); Harold A. Innis, *Empire and Communications* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1950). For an excellent introduction to both stances, see Marita Sturken and Lisa Cartwright, *Practices of Looking: An Introduction to Visual Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

40. Sonia Livingstone, "On the Challenges of Cross-national Comparative Media Research," *European Journal of Communication* 18, no. 4 (2003): 477–500; Annabelle Sreberny, "The Global and the Local in International Communications," in James Curran and Michael Gurevitch, eds., *Mass Media and Society* (London: Arnold, 2000), 93–119.

41. Tamar Liebes and Elihu Katz, *The Export of Meaning: Cross Cultural Readings of Dallas* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993); Ernest Mathijs and Janet Jones, eds., *Big Brother International: Critics, Formats and Publics* (London: Wallflower Press, 2004); Janet Wasko, Mark Phillips, and Eileen R Meehan, eds., *Dazzled by Disney? The Global Disney Audiences Project* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 2001).

42. See Joshua David Bellin, *Framing Monsters: Fantasy Film and Social Alienation* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2005); Richard Dyer, *Only Entertainment* (London: Routledge, 2002); Andrew Gordon, "Science-Fiction and Fantasy Film Criticism: The Case of Lucas and Spielberg," *Journal of the Fantastic in the Arts* 2, no. 2 (1989): 81–94; James Donald, *Fantasy and the Cinema* (London: British Film Institute, 1989); Dorfman and Mattelart.

43. Among the best studies of this kind that we know, we would mention Máire Messenger Davies, *Fake, Fact, and Fantasy: Children's Interpretations of Television Reality* (Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum, 1997); Maya Götz et al., *Media and the Make-Believe Worlds of Children: When Harry Potter Meets Pokémon in Disneyland* (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2005).

44. See Mathijs, "Bad Reputations"; Janet Staiger, "Hitchcock in Texas: Intertextuality in the Face of Blood and Gore," in her *Perverse Spectators: The Practices of Film Reception* (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 179–187; Cynthia Erb, *Tracking King Kong: A Hollywood Icon in World Culture* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1998).

45. Justin Lewis has commented on this summary dismissal, pointing out that, aside from the problematic work we talk of here, there is a more valuable tradition of work arising from the American mass communications tradition exemplified by people such as Andrea Press. And Andy Ruddock (*Understanding Audiences* [London: Sage, 2001]), among others, has argued for abiding benefits of the uses and gratifications approach. We are happy to acknowledge these other strands, but maintain our view that the *dominant* position is as we have described it. A look at the pattern of research presentations at any year's International Communication Association Conference, we think, will indicate its continuing force.

46. A very recent example. In a book summarising the current "state of the art," one essay by Rhodes and Hamilton discusses the Third Person effect. This well-attested phenomenon records that very many people believe that they are not influenced by, for instance, violence on television, but are worried about their impact on others. David Buckingham (*Public Secrets: 'EastEnders' and Its Audience* (London: British Film Institute, 1987), for instance, has noted this, and argued that parents—who know their own from close proximity—may worry about their children being *frightened*, but do not believe that they are *made violent*. In mass communications/media psychology, however, this translates into a *conviction that we as researchers know better than the parents can*, and that our job is to "educate" them to believe that they *are* harmed, even if they deny it (see Nancy Rhodes and James C. Hamilton, "Attribution and Entertainment: It's Not Whodunit but Why," in Jennings Bryant and Peter Vorderer, eds., *The Psychology of Entertainment* [Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2006], esp. 121).

47. For discussion and debate on these issues, see *Communication Review* 9, no. 2 (2006).

48. Sonia Livingstone and Moira Bovill, eds., *Children and Their Changing Media Environment: A European Comparative Study* (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2001).

49. Barker et al.; Martin Barker, "Loving and Hating *Straw Dogs:* The Meanings of Audience Responses to a Controversial Film," *Participations: Online Journal of Audience & Reception Studies* 2, no. 2 (2005), and 3, no. 1 (2006); Martin Barker and Ernest Mathijs, "Understanding Vernacular Experiences of Film in an Academic Environment," *Art, Design and Communication in Higher Education* 4, no. 1 (2005): 49–71.

50. One particularly apt example is J. P. Telotte, "The Blair Witch Project Project: Film and the Internet," *Film Quarterly* 54, no. 3 (2001): 32–39.

51. See Fernand Braudel, *On History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982); Klinger.

52. See Jean Baudrillard, *For a Critique of the Political Economy of the Sign* (St. Louis, MO: Telos Press, 1973). For a critical assessment, see Douglas Kellner, "Boundaries and Borderlines: Reflections on Jean Baudrillard and Critical Theory," in *Illuminations, the Critical Theory Website*, available at http://www.uta.edu/huma/illuminations/kell12.htm.

53. Martin Barker, "News, Reviews, Clues, Interviews, and Other Ancillary Materials: A Critique and Research Proposal," *Scope, an Online Journal of Film Studies* (February 2004), available at http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/film/scopearchive/articles/news-reviews.htm (accessed May 2006).

54. Even this research project will have added to the "noise" around the film. Several media reported on the project, and its existence made "newsworthy" "talk" in itself. Most reports were positive or neutral; some were hostile. We are still proud to have been called names by the English tabloid paper the *Sun* (there is honestly no better route to credibility than that). An error in currency conversion led one American newspaper (*USA Today*) to believe we were going to pay our research assistant an exorbitant salary, which generated even more talk, and hundreds of applications for the post (much to the desperation of our personnel office). See "Fraud of the Rings," *Sun* (December 20, 2003); Martin Wainwright, "Worldwide Quest for the Magic of Middle Earth," *Guardian* (December 20, 2003).

55. For an exploration and application of this, see Mathijs, "Bad Reputations"; Ernest Mathijs, "Reviews, Previews, and Premieres: The Critical Reception of *The Lord of the Rings* in the United

Kingdom," in Mathijs, *The Lord of the Rings: Popular Culture*.

56. See Rick Altman, *Film/Genre* (London: British Film Institute, 1999); Bordwell; Kendall Walton, "How Remote Are Fictional Worlds from the Real World?", *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 37, no. 1 (1978): 11–23; Kendall Walton, *Mimesis as Make-Believe* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995); "Fearing Fictions," *Journal of Philosophy* 75, no. 1 (1978): 5–27; David Lewis, "Possible Worlds," in Michael M. Loux, ed., *The Possible and the Actual: Readings in the Metaphysics of Modality* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1979), 182–189; Nicholas Rescher, *A Theory of Possibility* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1975). For an examination of how Lewis and Rescher can be applied to film analysis, see Thomas Elsaesser and Warren Buckland, *Studying Contemporary American Film: A Guide to Movie Analysis* (London: Arnold, 2002), 212.

57. See, for instance, Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen, *Multimodal Discourse: The Modes and Media of Contemporary Communication* (London: Arnold, 2001).

58. The four books that arose from two London conferences on Hollywood and its audiences all contain materials of relevance here: Melvyn Stokes and Richard Maltby, eds., *American Movie Audiences: From the Turn of the Century to the Early Sound Era* (London: British Film Institute, 1999), *Identifying Hollywood's Audiences: Cultural Identity and the Movies* (1999), *Hollywood Spectatorship: Changing Perceptions of Cinema Audiences* (2001), *Hollywood Abroad: Audiences and Cultural Exchange* (2004). In addition, it is worth considering among other things Tom Stempel, *American Audiences on Movies and Moviegoing* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky 2001); Jeffrey Richards and Dorothy Sheridan, eds., *Mass-Observation at the Movies* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987). Vivian Sobchack opened up a relevant theoretical line of enquiry in her *The Address of the Eye: A Phenomenology of Film Experience* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992).

59. This is the outcome of a great deal of research on fans, for instance. See in particular Henry Jenkins, *Textual Poachers* (London: Routledge, 1992). See also, in connection with film audiences, Barker and Brooks, *Knowing Audiences: Judge Dredd, Its Friends, Fans and Foes* (Luton: University of Luton Press, 1998).

60. An essay exploring some of these problems is forthcoming—see Martin Barker, "Discourse Analysis and the Problem of Researching 'Impossible Objects,'" in Mike Pickering, ed., *Cultural Studies Methods* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008).

61. We are still analysing this aspect of the research. One striking finding already to have emerged is that there is a surprising, highly structured difference between those whose answers indicate use of digital sources (the Internet and World Wide Web) versus those using only conventional (press, television, and so on). The former show a more *emotionally committed* response with a stronger sense of *belonging to a community*.

62. The details of that project were published in Barker, Arthurs, and Harindranath.

63. Chinese, Danish, Dutch, English, French, German, Greek, Italian, Norwegian, Russian, Slovenian, Spanish, Turkish, and Welsh.

64. A minimal amount of data cleaning was necessary. In a small number of cases, double-clicking the "submit" button caused two entries in the database. We found just one simply abusive response, and deleted it as pointless.

65. We will not list all conference papers members of the teams made in relation to the project, but we would like to highlight a few occasions where different teams of the project made presentations: Lothar Mikos, Susanne Eichner, Elizabeth Prommer, and Michael Wedel of the Hochschule für Film und Fernsehen organised a conference/workshop on the methodology of the project, in Potsdam (April 30–May 1, 2004); Martin Barker, Kate Egan, and Ernest Mathijs organised the closing conference of the project in Gregynog, Aberystwyth (December 10–12, 2004); team presentations were made at the ESA Research Network for the Sociology of the Arts conference (Rotterdam, November 3–5, 2004), the Society for Cinema and Media Studies conference (London, March 30–April 1, 2005), and the International Communications

Association conference (New York, May 26–30, 2005). Martin Barker also presented findings from the project at the Tolkien Society annual conferences in 2004 and 2005. Details of the papers and participants can be found at the websites of the respective organising societies.

Publications directly stemming from the project include: Martin Barker, "*The Lord of the Rings* and 'Identification': A Critical Encounter," *European Journal of Communication* 20, no. 3 (2005): 353–378; Daniel Biltereyst and Giselinde Kuipers, eds., *Tijdschrift voor Communicatiewetenschap en Mediacultuur* 34, no. 1; Wasko and Shanadi; Daniel Biltereyst and Philippe Meers, "Blockbusters and/as Event: Distributing and Launching *The Lord of the Rings*"; Mathijs, "Reviews, Previews and Premieres"; Susanne Eichner, Lothar Mikos, and Michael Wedel, "'*Apocalypse Now* in Middle-Earth': 'Genre' in the Critical Reception of *The Lord of the Rings* in Germany"; Anne Jerslev, "Sacred Viewing: Emotional Responses to *The Lord of the Rings*"; Mariano Longo, "Cooperation versus Violence: An Ethnographical Analysis of *The Return of the King* Video Game"; Stan Jones, "Fixing a Heritage: Inscribing Middle Earth onto New Zealand," in Mathijs, ed., *The Lord of the Rings: Popular Culture*; Martin Barker and Ernest Mathijs, "Seeing the Promised Land from Afar: Perceptions of New Zealand by Overseas *Lord of the Rings* Audiences," in Adam Lam and Nataliya Oryshchuk, eds., *How We Became Middle-Earth: A Collection of Essays on The Lord of the Rings* (London: Walking Tree Publishers, 2007).

ONE. *THE LORD OF THE RINGS:* SELLING THE FRANCHISE

1. This chapter draws on material presented in Janet Wasko and Govind Shanadi, "More Than Just Rings: Merchandise for Them All," in Mathijs, ed., *The Lord of the Rings: Popular Culture*, 23–42.
2. New Line Entertainment, "About Us," available at http://www.newline.com/about/index.shtml (accessed January 28, 2004).
3. Jonathan Bing and Cathy Dunkley, "Kiddy Litter Rules H'wood," *Variety* (January 8, 2002), 1.
4. David Rooney, "Not of This Earth," *Variety* (January 4, 2004), 1.
5. "Toy Biz Granted Master Toy License for One of the Most Highly-Anticipated Film Franchises of All-Time," *Business Wire* (June 12, 2000), available at http://www.licensingmedia.com/news/html/ddhistory2000.html (accessed April 30, 2004).
6. Michael White, *The Life and Work of J. R. R. Tolkien* (Indianapolis, IN: Alpha Publishers, 2002).
7. White, *Life*.
8. There is a discrepancy in the reporting of ownerships rights at this point in time. Lowson et al. say that UA maintained some rights, but the National Arbitration Forum states that Zaentz has held the rights since 1976. See Iain Lowson, Keith Marshall, and Daniel O'Brien, *World of the Rings: The Unauthorized Guide to the World of J.R.R. Tolkien* (London: Reynolds and Hearn, 2002); National Arbitration Forum, "Start-up Trademark Opposition Policy Decision: The Saul Zaentz Company v. Gandalf R.r.1.," Claim Number: FA0112000103063 (February 19, 2002).
9. Miramax actually began development of the first film, but let it go into turnaround to New Line because they couldn't commit to financing three films at one time. Thus, Miramax also receives a piece of the "backend" of the films (Adam Dawtrey, "Will 'Lord' Ring New Line's Bell?" *Variety* (May 21–27, 2001).
10. See National Arbitration Forum.
11. White, 252.
12. Hugh Davies, "Lord of the Rings Royalties Owner Issues Pounds 11m Writ," *London Daily Telegraph* (August 20, 2004), 7.
13. See Vanessa Juarez and Misty Schwartz, "Hell on Middle-Earth," *Entertainment Weekly* (December 15, 2006), 17–18. This suit plus other copyright issues are currently complicating

plans for the production of *The Hobbit*. Also, in 2003, Viggo Mortensen led a group of actors in their demands for more compensation, and received undisclosed bonuses from New Line.
14. Nina Munk, *Fools Rush In* (New York: HarperCollins, 2004), 256.
15. John Lewis, "Following the Money in America's Sunniest Company Town," in Julian Stringer, ed., *Movie Blockbusters* (London: Routledge, 2003), 61–71.
16. Biltereyst and Meers, "Blockbusters."
17. See MPAA, "Research and Statistics," available at http://www.mpaa.org/researchStatistics.asp (accessed November 1, 2006).
18. See www.boxofficemojo.movies; see also John Horn, "Crossed Swords, Cold Cash," *Newsweek* (December 10, 2001), 78.
19. Stephen Galloway, "Movies and the Media: Marketing Expenditures Spiral Ever Upward . . . ," *Hollywood Reporter* (July 1, 2006), available at http://www.hollywoodreporter.com/hr/search/article_display.jsp?vnu_content_id=1003254883 (accessed November 17, 2006).
20. Toby Miller, Nitin Govil, John McMurria, and Richard Maxwell, *Global Hollywood* (London: British Film Institute, 2001).
21. Dawtrey, "Will 'Lord' Ring New Line's Bell?" *Variety* (May 21–27, 2001).
22. Biltereyst and Meers, "Blockbusters," 81.
23. Dawtrey, 1.
24. "The Fellowship of New Line," *Primedia* (September 2001): 1.
25. Dawtrey.
26. "'The Lord of the Rings' Generates More Than 350 Million Hits on Website as New Line Prepares to Unveil Footage in Cannes," *PR Newswire* (April 10, 2001).
27. Nigel Reynolds, "Stars Given Early Viewing of the First Hobbit Film," *Daily Telegraph* (May 11, 2001), 7.
28. Ibid.
29. Maris Matzer Rose, "NL 'Rings' in New Strategy," *Hollywood Reporter* (December 5, 2002), 1.
30. "26 million Lord of the Rings Bookmarks Help Deliver Youth Audience," *PR Web* (December 24, 2003), available at http://www.prweb.com/releases/2003/12/prweb95721.htm (accessed December 1, 2004).
31. Bill Higgins, "Outwellington'ed," *Variety* (December 8, 2003), 79.
32. Claude Brodesser and Paul Sweeting, "Longer Two Towers Headed to Theaters . . . ," *Video Business* (August 25, 2003), 7.
33. Andy Seiler, "The Line for 'Return of the King' Tickets Goes around the World," *USA Today* (November 28, 2003), 6E.
34. Pat O'Brien, "Tickets to 'Lord of the Rings' Trilogy up for Bid on eBay," *Press-Enterprise* (December 7, 2003), F10.
35. Dawtrey. See Eric Hedling, "Framing Tolkien: Trailers, High Concept and the Ring," in Mathijs, ed., 225–237, for more detailed discussion of the *LotR* trailers.
36. See Jonathan Gray, "Bonus Material: The DVD Layering of *The Lord of the Rings*," in Mathijs, ed., 238–253.
37. VNU, "The Rings' Lord over the Entertainment Industry" (December 19, 2003), available at http://www.nielsenmedika.com/newsrelease/2003/LOTR.htm (accessed November 17, 2006).
38. Aliya Sternstein, "Web Strategy Treads the Cutting Edge of High Tech," *Variety* (August 23–29, 2004), 41.
39. Ty Braswell, "In Search of QEIB: Gordon Paddison Interview," *imedia connection* (May 8, 2003), available at http://www.imediaconnection.com/content/1179.asp (accessed December 2, 2006).
40. Shefrin, 262.
41. Shefrin, 267.
42. Joseph Szadkowski, "All Things Middle Earth in Site about Film Trilogy," *Washington Times*

(December 27, 2003), B1.

43. "'The Lord of the Rings' Generates."
44. VNU; Sternstein.
45. Sternstein reports that there were 400 *LotR* sites when New Line opened its site, and 300,000 sites after the first film opened in December 2001.
46. Erik Davis, "The Fellowship of the Ring," *Wired Magazine* (October 2001): 120–132; Braswell; Sternstein.
47. Gillian Flynn, "*Lord of the Rings:* Ringmasters," *Entertainment Weekly* (November 16, 2001), 44.
48. Sternstein.
49. "'The Lord of the Rings' Generates."
50. Braswell.
51. Dawtrey, 1.
52. "The Fellowship."
53. Rose.
54. "The Fellowship."
55. "Airline to Middle-earth Scores a Flying Hat-Trick with New 'Lord of the Rings' 747," *Business Wire* (November 17, 2003).
56. New Line Entertainment, "New Line Home Entertainment Breaks New Ground with the Lord of the Rings: The Two Towers Adventure Card," Press Release (August 13, 2003).
57. Dawtrey.
58. Brodesser and Sweeting.
59. Doug Desjardins, "Hot Ad Campaigns Pump Up Video Release of Hit Films," *DSN Retailing Today* (June 10, 2002).
60. Janet Wasko, *How Hollywood Works* (London: Sage, 2003), 170.
61. Time Warner, *Factbook* (New York: Time Warner, Inc., 2003), 4.
62. "Who's Afraid of AOL Time Warner?" *The Economist* (January 24, 2002), available at http://www.economist.com/agenda/displayStory.cfm?Story_ID=952225 (accessed December 1, 2004).
63. Jill Goldsmith, "With Billions at Stake, Toy Biz Is No Longer Child's Play," *Variety* (June 9, 2002), 1.
64. Ian Markham-Smith, "Lord of the Rings Films and Products Set to Out-Magic Even Harry Potter," *TDC Trade* (December 28, 2001), available at http://www.tdctrade.com/imn/01122804/films05.htm# (accessed December 1, 2006).
65. "Movie's Merchandise Proving a Big Hit," *The Sentinel* (Stoke) (December 19, 2003), 6.
66. Teresa Howard, "Now Playing at a Toy Store Near You," *USA Today* (December 8, 2003), 10B.
67. "Rings Merchandise Hits $1.2 Billion," *Dominion Post* (April 30, 2004), 1.
68. A. W. Mathews, "Companies in Licensing Face-Off over 'Rings,'" *San Diego Union-Tribune* (December 21, 2001), E-7.
69. "Movie's Merchandise," 6.
70. Gail Schiller, "News: Marketing," *Hollywood Reporter* (June 10, 2004), 2.
71. Schiller.
72. Mark Rahner, "Lords of Merchandising Churn Out Tchotchkes," *Seattle Times* (December 14, 2003), K4.
73. Mark Monahan, "A Magic Formula to Print Cash," *Daily Telegraph* (September 29, 2001), available at http://www.telegraph.co.uk/arts/main.jhtml?xml=/arts/2001/09/29/bfpott29.xml (accessed December 1, 2006).
74. "New Line Cinema's 'Lord of the Rings: The Fellowship of the Rings' Ignites Marketplace," *PR Newswire* (January 15, 2002).
75. apple-style-span>L. M. Holson, "apple-style-span>A Franchise Fantasy,"apple-style-span> *New York Times* (November 9, 2003), Section 6, 28.

76. B apple-style-span>Ward, "37 Things about Lord of the Rings," *The Ottawa Citizen* (December 13, 2003), I-8.
77. See Wasko and Shanadi for a more detailed discussion of *LotR* merchandising.
78. Rahner.
79. Biltereyst and Meers, 84–85.
80. See Stephanie Schorow, "Beloved Tolkien Trilogy Sets Cash Registers Ringing," *Boston Herald* (October 23, 2004), 25.
81. Ethan Gilsdorf, "Lord of the Gold Ring," *Boston Globe* (November 16, 2003), 12.

TWO. AN AVALANCHE OF ATTENTION: THE PREFIGURATION AND RECEPTION OF *THE LORD OF THE RINGS*

1. Michael Atkinson, *Village Voice* (June 6, 2001).
2. Jürgen Habermas, *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1962).
3. For an elaboration of this approach, see Mathijs, *The Lord of the Rings: Popular Culture,* 6–9.
4. See selected chapters in Mathijs, *The Lord of the Rings: Popular Culture;* Mathijs and Pomerance, *From Hobbits to Hollywood.* As a symptomatic anecdote we would like to cite one story: in January 2007, New Line executive Robert Shaye announced he would not consider offering the direction of the in-development project *The Hobbit* to Peter Jackson as long as Jackson would not drop his lawsuit for arrears in royalties of *LotR* ("Jackson Barred from Filming Hobbit," *Vancouver Sun* [January 12, 2007], C11; "The Breaking of the Fellowship," *Empire* 212 [February 2007]: 24–25). This convolution of the aesthetic and the legal is indicative of how, as John Fiske has it, "the role of the insurance assessor becomes indistinguishable from that of the critic," and it demonstrates, once more, how the public presence of a film at its production level is never just about its textual or aesthetic properties. See John Fiske, "The Cultural Economy of Fandom," in Lisa A. Lewis, ed., *Adoring Audiences* (London: Routledge, 1992), 44.
5. We would like to acknowledge several archives that have made information on the prefiguration and reception of *LotR* available. The Belgian Royal Film Archive has been of tremendous assistance in providing press clippings from around the world, and the British Film Institute offered valuable assistance in collecting U.K.-based press materials. The Aberystwyth-based project enabled us to collect literally all the press materials relating to *The Return of the King* between October 2003 and January 2004, and gave access to invaluable information about 24,739 viewers' preferred use of prefigurative materials in their preparation for *The Return of the King.* Staff of the Koerner Library at the University of British Columbia assisted us in accessing virtually all North American press materials between 2001 and 2004. Online archives and numerous other sites have been helpful in completing an overall view of *LotR*'s public presence. We would also like to thank the teams and researchers in Australia, Belgium, China, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, The Netherlands, New Zealand, Russia, Slovenia, Spain, South Korea, the United Kingdom, and the United States for providing materials they collected from their own local press. The full total of materials used lies around 6,500.
6. See Davinia Thornley, "Wellywood and Peter Jackson: the Local Reception of *The Lord of the Rings* in Wellington New Zealand," in Mathijs, *The Lord of the Rings: Popular Culture,* 101.
7. See "Peter Jackson's Lord of the Rings at New Line" (posted August 23, 1998), available at www.aintitcool.com/node/1948.
8. See "Where My Faith in Peter Jackson and Lord of the Rings Comes From" (posted August 25, 1998), available at www.aintitcool.com/node/1970.
9. We use the term *hype* here in the meaning attributed to it by Biltereyst and Meers, 2006.
10. For a wider exploration of these developments, see Jennifer Lawn and Bronwyn Beatty, "On the Brink of a New Threshold of Opportunity: The Lord of the Rings and New Zealand Cultural

Policy," in Mathijs, *The Lord of the Rings: Popular Culture*, 43–60; and Barker and Mathijs, "Seeing the Promised Land from Afar."

11. Jamie Wilson, "The Lord of the Web Causes Chaos," *Globe and Mail* (June 23, 2000), R7; Fox News website via nzedge.com (July 7, 2000).

12. Mark Burman, "Hobbit Wanted," *Guardian* (July 30, 1999).

13. See Ernest Mathijs, "Reviews, Previews, and Premieres: The Critical Reception of *The Lord of the Rings* in the United Kingdom," in Mathijs, *The Lord of the Rings: Popular Culture*, 119–142. By far the weirdest connection to local British—or in this case Scottish—concerns and speculations about the impact of *The Lord of the Rings* is one short article in the *Scotsman*, in which the author expresses fears that a successful reception of the films might lead to a deterioration in personal hygiene among Britain's youth culture, inciting youngsters to be filthy. According to the writer, "Tolkien fanaticism has long been a barometer of idiocy and poor personal hygiene," and she is clearly scared that the films' popularity might encourage "dippy, unwashed" appearances (Hannah McGill, "Youth Culture Risks Picking Up a Filthy Hobbit," *Scotsman* [November 3, 2000], 5).

14. In some very early reports Sean Connery was also frequently mentioned, as a contender for the part of Gandalf; see "New Line Cinema," *Screen Finance* (September 7, 2000).

15. Jerry Mosher, "Morphing Sean Astin: Playing 'Fat' in the Age of Digital Animation," in Mathijs and Pomerance, 301–318.

16. Philip Kemp, "Gone to Earth," *Sight and Sound* 11, no.1 (January 2001): 23.

17. And it did not stop at national media. Regional media used similar tactics. *Wales on Sunday* reported on the move from shooting to postproduction of *The Lord of the Rings* on the back of the assumption that Tolkien's Welsh connection (he spent time as a youth in Mid Wales) would make the story of interest to readers.

18. It is indicative of the local penetration that even papers as local as the *Bristol Evening Post* (January 25, 2001) considered reporting on this part of their remit.

19. A typical example is the report in the Italian *Corriere Della Serra* (May 12, 2001), which highlights the prices and amounts of money at stake.

20. Erik Hedling, "Framing Tolkien: Trailers, High Concept, and the Ring," in Mathijs, *The Lord of the Rings: Popular Culture*, 225–237.

21. Julian Dibell, "Lord of the Geeks," *Village Voice* (June 6, 2001).

22. Specific case studies of the box office figures (from the opening weekend as well as the subsequent weeks and months), and the reception of the trailers, DVDs, soundtrack, spin-off spoofs (which of course also contribute to the presence of their subject of ridicule), distribution, the location industry (including museums, pilgrimages, and visits), and critical reception in New Zealand, Germany, Belgium, the United States, the United Kingdom, The Netherlands, and Denmark are available in Mathijs, *The Lord of the Rings: Popular Culture*; Mathijs and Pomerance; and Bilterreyst and Kuipers, *Tijdschrift*.

23. Suman Basuroy, Subimal Chatterjee, and S. Abraham-Ravid, "How Critical Are Critical Reviews? The Box Office Effects of Film Critics, Star Power and Budgets," *Journal of Marketing* 67, no. 4 (2003): 103–117; Chin and Gray.

24. Roman Jakobson, *Essais de Linguistique Générale* (Paris: Editions du Minuit, 1963).

25. Shefrin.

26. For a more detailed overview of *LotR* fan activity we refer to selected chapters in Mathijs, *The Lord of the Rings: Popular Culture*, in particular the case studies by Kirsten Pullen and by Jennifer Brayton. Two remarkable characteristics of the *Lord of the Rings* fandom are its high degree of media literacy (see the chapter by Judith Rosenbaum), and its sense of an imagined community—a feeling of shared thought. See also Mathijs and Pomerance.

27. *Houston Chronicle* (December 14, 2003). Similar considerations are also at the front of Jennifer Brayton, "Fic Frodo Slash Frodo: Fandoms and *The Lord of the Rings*," in Mathijs and Pomerance,

137–153.

28. For reasons of space, we are leaving out a more detailed discussion of the use of "television."

29. The *Times* affiliated itself strongly with the immediate run-up to the releases, as did the *New York Times* in the United States. New Line considered both as "privileged partners" who could count on extra materials (fold-outs, free posters, website materials, photos, and so on) to woo readers. Their mentions seem to confirm New Line's strategy of attempting to control the hype by proffering preferential media treatment. See Mathijs, "Reviews, Previews, and Premieres."

30. Philip French, "Are the Critics Able to Stop a Turkey in Its Tracks?" *Observer* (May 21, 2006); Jay Stone, "Why We Movie Critics Are Feeling a Little Insecure," *Vancouver Sun* (December 2, 2006), F17.

31. See, among others, Daniel Bilterreyst and Philippe Meers, 'Blockbusters and/as Events: Distributing and Launching *The Lord of the Rings*, in Mathijs, *The Lord of the Rings: Popular Culture*, 71–87.

32. As reported in *Publishers Weekly* (December 23, 2003).

THREE. PROMOTIONAL FRAME MAKERS AND THE MEANING OF THE TEXT: THE CASE OF *THE LORD OF THE RINGS*

1. Throughout this chapter I will make reference to the group effort of this project. I wish to thank to Dejan Jontes and Tanja Oblak for their excellent contributions to this paper.

2. The film premiered in Slovenia on January 17, 2004; the world premiere took place on the weekend before Christmas, or four weeks in advance of the first showing in Slovenia.

3. D. Stephen Reese's definition says that frames are "organizing principles that are socially shared and persistent over time, that work symbolically to meaningfully structure the social world." D. Stephen Reese, "Prologue: Framing Public Life: A Bridging Model for Media Research," in D. Stephen Reese et al., eds., *Framing Public Life* (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2003), 11.

4. Additionally, 91.5 percent of the Slovene respondents/viewers were under thirty-five years old and 98.1 percent were under forty-five years old. The demographic composition of *Lord of the Rings* audience reflects the cinema-going demographics in Slovenia, where more than 90 percent of cinema-goers are younger than forty-nine, and confirms that the viewers of *LotR* were casual audience—that is, the regular cinema-goers or a bit younger—and not the committed readers of Tolkien's books who would have some preknowledge of the Tolkien's trilogy. On cinema attendance in Slovenia, see Mediana TGI, Institute for Market and Media Research, Mediana, Ljubljana, 2006, "Obiskovalci Kinematografov po Starosti in Izobrazbi [Cinema Visitors According to Age and Education], 2003, 2004, 2005," in *Statistical Yearbook of the Republic of Slovenia*, available at http://www.stat.si/letopis/index_letopis.asp (accessed February 5, 2007).

5. Nicholas Abercombie and Brian Longhurst, *Audiences* (London: Sage, 1998), 121.

6. John Fiske, "The Cultural Economy of Fandom," in Lisa A. Lewis, ed., *The Adoring Audience: Fan Culture and Popular Media* (London: Routledge, 1992), 30–49.

7. Cornel Sandvoss, *Fans* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2005), 29.

8. From December 1, 2003, to February 1, 2004, we monitored all major Slovene media: all five Slovene daily newspapers (*Delo, Slovenske novice, Finance, Večer, Dnevnik*); ten weeklies (six general-interest weekly magazines, two women's weeklies, two teen magazines: *Dru ina, Mag, Lady, Jana, Nedeljski Dnevnik, Stop, Smrklja, Pil Plus, Mladina, 7D*); the monthly *Premiera*, devoted solely to film; one magazine devoted to popular culture in general; and two national television stations (national public service TV and commercial POP TV).

9. For a discussion of a reception of *LotR* and of domestification of global culture in Slovenia, see Breda Luthar, "Kulturna Globalizacija, Film in Promocijski Re im" [Cultural Globalisation,

Film, and Promotional Regime: The Case of Lord of the Rings]," *Teorija in Praksa* 43, nos. 1–2 (2006): 5–24.

10. Nick Couldry, *Inside Culture: Re-imagining the Method of Cultural Studies* (London: Sage, 2000), 86.

11. For a different understanding of the text as an event that places the emphasis on the aesthetic background at the expense of social, cultural, and economic context, see Hans Robert Jauss, "The Identity of the Poetic Text in the Changing Horizon of Understanding," in James L. Machor and Philip Goldstein, eds., *Reception Study: From Literary Theory to Cultural Studies* (London: Routledge, 2001), 7–28 (originally published 1978).

12. Janet Staiger, *Interpreting Films: Studies in the Historical Reception of American Cinema* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992), 36.

13. Ibid., 46.

14. Similarly, Janice Radway argues that changes in textual features or generic popularity should not be considered as the direct evidence of ideological shifts in the culture. What she calls the "institutional matrix" of the cultural industry should be taken into consideration (publishing and marketing of romance novels in her case). The institutional matrix is the necessary context in which we can understand their textual form (*Reading the Romance* [London: Verso, 1984], 19–45). The buying of books and the reading of books are thus not merely the result of the interaction between book and reader. They are also influenced by publishing as an organised culture and the technology of production, distribution, advertising, and other promotional techniques.

15. See Justin Wyatt, *High Concept: Movies and Marketing in Hollywood* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994), 25.

16. See Robert Sklar, *Movie-Made America: A Cultural History of American Movies* (New York: Vintage Books, 1994), 323, on the changed distributional strategies in the film industry of the 1970s. According to Wyatt (23), high-concept films are differentiated within the marketplace through an emphasis on style and an integration with their marketing.

17. See Janet Wasko, *How Hollywood Works* (London: Sage, 2003), 194.

18. This is reflected in their answers to the question of the kind of story *The Lord of the Rings* was for them. The largest proportion of "casual"/unskilled viewers defined it as a fight of good versus evil.

19. *Dnevnik*, December 2, 2003, on the world premiere.

20. *Dnevnik*, January 9, 2004.

21. An author's byline is not necessarily an assurance of an independently authored text. Usually it merely designates the person who compiled information from the promotional material or someone who used promotional press releases, Internet sources, or foreign press sources to put together an article that is mainly promotional in style and content and reproduces the framing of the film offered by promotional discourse.

22. See Karen S. Johnson-Certee, *News Narratives and News Framing* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005), 133, on the strategic ritual of factism in journalism.

23. P. David Marshall, "Intimately Intertwined in the Most Public Way: Celebrity and Journalism," in Stuart Allan, ed., *Journalism: Critical Issues* (Maidenhead: Open University Press, 2005), 19.

24. See Angela McRobbie, "*Jackie* Magazine: Romantic Individualism and the Teenage Girl," in McRobbie, ed., *Feminism and Youth Culture* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000), 86.

25. Ibid., 84.

26. The difference between the film role and the private celebrity persona is usually completely erased in magazines aimed at young women. The male stars of *The Lord of the Rings*, Mortensen, Wood, Bloom, and Astin are represented as the embodiment of some of the features of their fictional film personalities and portray the values of the fictional characters they play in the film.

27. Short news reports on her weight problems and her supposed resistance to Hollywood beauty standards were also part of the publicity for the first and second parts of the trilogy: "Dieting,

No Thanks," *Pil Plus* (January 16, 2004); "Happy and Fat" *Lady* (December 17, 2004); "Liv Has Gained Weight," *Slovenske Novice* (January 3, 2004).

28. Graeme Turner, *Fame Games* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 158.

29. I don't want to engage in a deeper discussion of the cultural aspects of the phenomenon. Very briefly, the overall expansion of the phenomenon of celebrity is, according to P. David Marshall (*Celebrity and Power: Fame in Contemporary Culture* [Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997], 26), an effective means for the commodification of the self. At the same time, however, the phenomenon is an embodiment of the egalitarian nature of modern culture and is thus associated with capitalism as well as with democracy. David Chaney (*Cultural Change and Everyday Life* [Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002]) defines the modern types of fame as an articulation of the transformation of the concept of authority and prestige in mass societies, where the traditional foundations of authority have been eroded. Authority no longer rests on role/position, which would confer authority independent of the actor occupying a given position.

30. The classification of forms of reading/reception of *Dallas* in different cultural/national contexts is made by Tamar Liebes and Elihu Katz, *The Export of Meaning: Cross-Cultural Readings of Dallas* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993).

31. Cultural domination is tied not to a lack of information, but to the "exclusion from the power of naming."

32. *ND*, January 25, 2004.

33. See Colin Campbell, "The Desire for the New," in Roger Silverstone and E. Hirsch, eds., *Consuming Technologies: Media and Information in Domestic Spaces* (London: Routledge, 1992), 56.

34. See H. White, *Figural Realism* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 70. See also Allan's argument on gendered nature and masculinist epistemology of objectivist discourse.

FOUR. WHAT DO FEMALE FANS WANT?
BLOCKBUSTERS, *THE RETURN OF THE KING,* AND U.S. AUDIENCES

1. *New York Times* (December 21, 2003).

2. Melanie Nash and Martti Lahti, "'Almost Ashamed to Say I Am One of Those Girls': Titanic, Leonardo DiCaprio, and the Paradoxes of Girls' Fandom," in Kevin S. Sandler and Gaylyn Studlar, eds., *Titanic: Anatomy of a Blockbuster* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1999), 64–88.

3. Letter, *New York Times* (January 4, 2004).

4. David Bordwell, *The Way Hollywood Tells It: Story and Style in Modern Movies* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 58, 59, 60.

5. The exact figures for female participants are: 431 students under sixteen; 900 students, sixteen to twenty-five; 48 professionals, sixteen to twenty-five; and 237 professionals, twenty-five to thirty-five years of age.

6. Along the same lines, the information doesn't warrant categorical statements about how female responses differ from male responses. Random sampling of the data does suggest, however, that women express the importance of the emotions raised by the epical filmmaking of *RotK* more explicitly and in much more detail than male viewers.

7. To analyze individual responses from the groups that form the basis of my study, I examined a random sample of approximately thirty questionnaires for each group by age and occupation. I want to thank Katarzyna Chmielewska, my research assistant, for her substantial help in quantifying the U.S. database. I also want to thank Bjorn Ingvoldstad for his research assistance in the project's early stages.

8. As Annette Kuhn argues, the theatre has often constituted a memorable world for moviegoers.

See *Dreaming of Fred and Ginger: Cinema and Cultural Memory* (New York: New York University Press, 2002). The blockbuster does not monopolise the creation of this outer world, then; it stands as a particularly visible instance of the meaningfulness of this world to fans. Further, the "inner" and "outer" worlds blockbusters generate for their fans are part of larger processes involving other kinds of films and other kinds of moviegoers. For more on this see Kuhn's "Heterotopia, Heterochronia: Place and Time in Cinema Memory," *Screen* 45, no. 2 (2004): 106–114.

9. See chapter 12 in this volume.

10. Exact figures for age were: sixteen to twenty-five, 36 percent; twenty-six to thirty-five, 23 percent; and thirty-six to forty-five, 16 percent.

11. Figures for other professions are: 3 percent each for self-employed, executive, and service; 2 percent each for home/child care, unemployed, and skilled manual; and 1 percent for retired.

12. The ability of fandoms to create communities among women and others is a familiar formulation in fan studies and has emerged in discussions of fandom in relation to many media, from literature to the Internet. See, for example, Janice Radway, *Reading the Romance: Women, Patriarchy, and Popular Literature* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984); Henry Jenkins, *Textual Poachers: Television and Participatory Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1992); Nancy Baym, *Tune In, Log On: Soaps, Fandom, and Online Community* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2000).

13. For more on Trilogy Tuesday, see theonering.net/features/newsroom/files/.

14. As Tom Gunning writes, "The realism of the image is at the service of a dramatically unfolding spectator experience, vacillating between belief and incredulity" ("An Aesthetic of Astonishment: Early Film and the (In)Credulous Spectator," in Leo Braudy and Marshall Cohen, eds., *Film Theory and Criticism* [New York: Oxford University Press, 2004], 865). Gunning's work on the early "cinema of attractions" has been widely used in relation to special-effects cinema. Not all points of his argument apply here, but they provide a framework not only for thinking about the contrasting potentials of effects within classical cinema, but also the role of contemporary epic CGI adaptations in heightening the play between realism and illusion in the viewing experience.

15. On this point, see, for example, Jenkins; Constance Penley, *NASA/Trek: Popular Science and Sex in America* (New York: Verso, 1997).

16. On this point, for example, see Ien Ang, *Watching Dallas: Soap Opera and the Melodramatic Imagination,* trans. Della Couling (London: Methuen, 1985).

17. For example, a professional identifying herself as a political science student wrote, "I had to very consciously ignore the Europeanness of the good guys and the otherness of the bad guys (especially the Southrons and the Haradrim). I also admit to wondering if white nationalist types like the movie and hoping that they don't" (26–35).

18. Richard Dyer, *Only Entertainment* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), 18.

19. Ibid.

20. For example, "Hollywood vs. Women," *Entertainment Weekly* (October 6, 2006).

21. *New York Times* (October 11, 2006).

FIVE. THE BOOKS, THE DVDS, THE EXTRAS, AND THEIR LOVERS

1. Various writers identify the first major exploration in this area as George Bluestone, *Novels into Films: The Metamorphosis of Fiction into Cinema* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1957).

2. See, for instance, the arguments of Seymour Chatman, "What Novels Can Do That Films Can't (and Vice Versa)," in Gerald Mast, Marshall Cohen, and Leo Braudy, eds., *Film Theory and Criticism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 445–60.

3. See, for instance, the tart comments on "adaptation-as-betrayal" in Andrew S. Horton and Joan Magretta, eds., *Modern European Filmmakers and the Art of Adaptation* (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1981)—a book that proposes an alternative account via the concept of "twice-told tales."

4. Brian McFarlane, *Novel to Film: An Introduction to the Theory of Adaptation* (Clarendon: Oxford, 1996). "Fidelity critiques" do not go away so easily. Robert Giddings and Erica Sheen responded in their (edited) *The Classic Novel: From Page to Screen* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000).

5. See the comments on the "jejune" state of adaptation theory as a result of the dominance of literary-connected film programmes in the United States, in James Naremore, ed., *Film Adaptation* (London: Athlone Press, 2000).

6. See also, for example, the sardonic commentary in Lynda E. Boose and Richard Burt, eds., *Shakespeare the Movie: Popularising the Plays on Film, TV, and Video* (London: Routledge, 1997).

7. A clear statement of this notion can be found in Neil Sinyard, *Filming Literature: The Art of Screen Adaptation* (London: Croom Helm, 1986), this quote p. ix.

8. See, for instance, two essays on *Cape Fear* in McFarlane, 171–193; Kirsten Thompson, "*Cape Fear* and Trembling: Familial Dread," in Robert Stam and Alessandra Raengo, eds., *Literature through Film: A Guide to the Theory and Practice of Film Adaptation* (Oxford: Blackwell 2005), 126–147.

9. See especially recent work on remakes (the renaming is a good signal, in fact), for instance Andrew S. Horton and Stuart Y. MacDougall, eds., *Play It Again, Sam: Retakes on Remakes* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); Constantine Verevis, *Film Remakes* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006).

10. This is broached, for instance, in John Orr and Colin Nicholson, eds., *Cinema and Fiction: New Modes of Adapting, 1950–1990* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1992).

11. For a clear example of the former kind, see Carol N. Dole, "Austen, Classics and the American Market," in Linda Troost and Sayre Greenfield, eds., *Jane Austen in Hollywood* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2001), 58–78; for an extraordinarily lazy set of declarations about the "knowing audience," see the chapter "Audiences" in Verevis.

12. In a separate essay we are exploring some fascinating patterns our questionnaire data and materials revealed concerning the distribution of *kinds of disappointment* across generations of readers.

13. Most notably, Humphrey Carpenter, *J R R Tolkien: A Biography* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1977).

14. See, in particular, Catherine A. Lutz and Jane L. Collins, *Reading National Geographic* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993); Zhang Chengzhi, "The Eyes You Find Will Make You Shiver," *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 5, no. 3 (2004): 486–490.

15. We do not wish to overplay this example. There are clearly other processes at work. Bearing in mind that this documentary was first available before the release of *The Return of the King,* it had to avoid "spoilers." This might throw light on another oddity. During the comparison with Agincourt, the voiceover suggests that King Henry's rousing speech at Agincourt can be equated with the appearance of the Elves at Helm's Deep. No mention is made of the fact that this was a key change between book and film—nor is there any reference to what would have been the more obvious analogy: namely, Aragorn's direct invocation of Henry's speech in the final battle before the Gates of Mordor (also not present in the books). Keeping this high-drama moment back was surely a marketing decision, whereas the Elves' arrival needed justifying to suspicious fans.

16. This glossing over of potentially problematic aspects of Tolkien's work is further evidenced in both the *National Geographic* and extended edition documentaries, where Jackson and Boyens appear to elide the class dimensions of Sam and Frodo's relationship in the book, and stress pure friendship rather than the notion of upper-class gentleman and lower-class gardener or "batman."

17. As we will go on to argue, we see these documentaries as complementary, with each building

on and complementing the argument of the last. For us, this seems justifiable, in the sense that these two documentaries are located together, one after another, on the same menu page of each extended DVD (and, indeed, and as Craig Hight has also noted, if the viewer selects the "play all" function on this page, these extras will always play in the order given on the menu). For us, our aim here is to consider, as Hight does, how "possible combinations" of extras on particular DVDs can function "as part of trajectories, shaped by the disc's interface." Craig Hight, "Making-of Documentaries on DVD: *The Lord of the Rings* Trilogy and Special Editions," *Velvet Light Trap* 56 (2005): 11.

18. Arguably, this "collective voice" strategy could also be seen to serve two other, related purposes. Firstly, to demonstrate that the experts on Tolkien have given the filmmakers their seal of approval—that they are aligned with the views and interpretations of the filmmakers, and that, therefore, lovers of Tolkien's books can trust these filmmakers to do appropriate service to the books. Secondly, this strategy also seems to highlight to viewers that the cast and crew working on the films all know and understand Tolkien's books and, equally, understand how and why Jackson is adapting the books in the way that he is.

19. Interestingly, this "correction" argument is given a further seal of approval by key Tolkien "guardian" Christopher Lee, in the *Fellowship of the Ring* "Book to Script" documentary. There, Lee notes that many of the changes made to the first film were not only necessary but also, in many cases, improvements on the book. Lee's assertion of the necessity of omitting Tom Bombadil from the first film would surely have derived force, for devotees, from his well-known status as a lifelong fan of the books. Notably, Lee's contribution lessens in the extras on the *Return of the King* DVD, no doubt because of his heavily publicised discontent at being cut from the theatrical version of the *Return of the King* film.

20. See Hight, 13, for further discussion of these discursive strategies in other *LotR* extended extras.

21. The success of this discursive strategy was acknowledged by many of our U.K. project interviewees, with, for instance, one respondent noting that "if you *do have* any criticism of it, it kind of makes you forget them . . . because of the fact that so much work went in to it" (including "the amount of time they had to edit down the *script*"), another noting that "Philippa Boyens has got a clear understanding of what some of the messages are in the book," and another commenting that "it's quite interesting when you buy the DVDs and you watch how Jackson's *done* it, he's quite *frank* about it, he's got to portray a *story*" and "he can't put everything in."

22. This, coupled with Boyens's discussion of the need to balance the focus on fidelity to the book with the commercial concerns of the studio (cited earlier in the chapter), runs counter to Hight's argument (13) that the *LotR* extended extras make no reference to the economics of the film production or to the reactions and views of the Tolkien fan base. This suggests, firstly, that the adaptation extras may serve a different discursive function to the more filmmaking-specific extras on the extended DVDs, and, secondly, that Hight's argument may be rather driven by a residual ideological commitment to "prove" that filmmakers work to conceal their material interests.

23. For a more elaborated consideration of this notion of "completeness" among our respondents, see Martin Barker, "Envisaging 'Visualisation': Some Challenges from the International *Lord of the Rings* Audience Project," *Film-Philosophy* 10, no. 3 (2006): 1–25.

24. Pavel Skopal, for instance, notes that 25 percent of the 20 million copies of the *Fellowship of the Ring* DVD sold on the North American market were extended DVD copies, and that, clearly, these were aimed at "high-value customers" willing to pay out the higher price for another, more extended version of the film. Pavel Skopal, "The Adventure Continues on DVD: Franchise Movies as Home Video," *Convergence* 13, no. 2 (2007): 185–198, this quote 186.

25. This sense of a long-term marketing campaign extends much wider than just the extended edition DVDs. At the outset, *LotR* was seen as a risky proposition, not at all guaranteed to be a

success. This meant, among other things, that merchandisers were initially hard to recruit. Following the dramatic success of the first film, all this changed. For one good source on this, see Buzz McClain, "The Lord of the Marketers," *DVD Exclusive* (May 2004), 20, 23.

26. Barbara Klinger, *Beyond the Multiplex: Cinema, New Technologies, and the Home* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 61.

27. Skopal, 6.

28. Hight, 6.

29. Klinger, 61 and 78–85.

SIX. UNDERSTANDING DISAPPOINTMENT: THE AUSTRALIAN BOOK LOVERS AND ADAPTATION

1. Sian Powell, "Readers Choice," *The Australian* (October 15, 1997).

2. Michael Kennedy, email message to author (July 26, 2006). As manager of the Australian Tol Harndor list, Kennedy suggested that it was a literal toss-up as to whether the founders would establish a Monty Python Society or a *LotR* society. Tolkien won the toss.

3. Personal telephone call with author (July 26, 2006).

4. Gordon Farrar, email message to author (August 7, 2006).

5. Curious but true. The first Australian publication of *LotR* was a Braille edition, put out in 1975 by the Queensland Braille Writing Association.

6. Stam and Raengo, 3.

7. The Australian sample constituted 551 respondents the majority of whom (74 percent) found the third film "extremely enjoyable." The second largest group (20 percent), found it "very enjoyable." The majority also considered it "extremely important" to see the film (70 percent) and suggested that it was the books that largely formed their expectations of the films (60 percent), although the next largest grouping (30 percent) suggested that it was the two prior films. By far the majority of the Australian respondents were students (41 percent) in the sixteen-to-twenty-five age range and female (59 percent), with the next largest grouping being twenty-six-to-thirty-five-year-olds (24 percent) and professional (30 percent).

8. Stam and Raengo, 3.

9. Hills, *Fan Cultures*, 2.

SEVEN. INVOLVEMENT IN *THE LORD OF THE RINGS*: AUDIENCE STRATEGIES AND ORIENTATIONS

1. For an approach to *The Lord of the Rings* as a blockbuster and genre film, see Susanne Eichner, Lothar Mikos, and Michael Wedel, "*Apocalypse Now* in Middle Earth: Genre in the Critical Reception of *The Lord of the Rings* in Germany," in Mathijs, *The Lord of the Rings: Popular Culture*, 143–159.

2. The research team in Babelsberg consisted of Dr. Lothar Mikos (project leader), Dr. Elizabeth Prommer, Dr. Michael Wedel, Susanne Eichner, and Sabrina Schäfer, and the students Ulrike Aigte, Nadine Baethke, Angela Burghagen, Patrick Jantke, Jesko Jockenhövel, Jörn Krug, and Cornelia Robe. The project, titled "Production, Marketing, and Reception of 'The Lord of the Rings' in Germany," was carried out from September 2003 through March 2005, in the degree course on audiovisual media studies at the University of Film and Television, Babelsberg. The findings are to be published in 2007.

3. Lothar Mikos and Elizabeth Prommer, "Das Babelsberger Modell, " in Lothar Mikos and

Claudia Wegener, eds., *Qualitative Medienforschung: Ein Handbuch* (Konstanz: UVK, 2005), 162–169; Lothar Mikos et al., *Im Auge der Kamera: Das Fernsehereignis "Big Brother"* (Berlin: Vistas, 2000); Lothar Mikos, "Big Brother as Television Text: Frames of Interpretation and Reception in Germany," in Mathijs and Jones, *Big Brother International*, 93–104.

4. Lothar Mikos, *Fern-Sehen: Bausteine zu einer Rezeptionsästhetik des Fernsehens* (Berlin: Vistas, 2001); Ien Ang, "Ethnography and Radical Contextualism in Audience Studies," in her *Living Room Wars: Rethinking Media Audiences for a Postmodern World* (London: Routledge), 66–81; Lawrence Grossberg, "Introduction: Birmingham in America?" in his *Bringing It All Back Home: Essays on Cultural Studies* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997), 1–32; Lothar Mikos, *Film- und Fernsehanalyse* (Konstanz: UVK, 2003); Uwe Flick, "Triangulation in Qualitative Research," in Uwe Flick, Ernst von Kardorff, and Ines Steinke, eds., *A Companion to Qualitative Research* (London: Sage, 2004), 178–183; Uwe Flick, *An Introduction to Qualitative Research* (London: Sage, 2006).

5. Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln, "Introduction: Entering the Field of Qualitative Research," in Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln, eds., *The Landscape of Qualitative Research: Theories and Issues* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1998), 4.

6. Uwe Hasebrink, "Nutzungsforschung," in Günter Bentele, Hans-Bernd Brosius, and Otfried Jarren, eds., *Öffentliche Kommunikation: Handbuch Kommunikations- und Medienwissenschaft* (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag, 2003), 117; Andreas Fahr, "Involvement," in Günter Bentele, Hans-Bernd Brosius, and Otfried Jarren, eds., *Lexikon Kommunikations- und Medienwissenschaft* (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag, 2006), 113.

7. Peter Vorderer, *Fernsehen als Handlung: Fernsehfilmrezeption aus Motivationspsychologischer Perspektive* (Berlin: Edition Sigma, 1992), 83.

8. Ibid., 84; Donald Horton and R. Richard Wohl, "Mass Communication and Para-Social Interaction: Observations on Intimacy at a Distance," *Psychiatry* 19 (1956): 215–229; Christian Metz, *Psychoanalysis and Cinema: The Imaginary Signifier* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1990); Murray Smith, *Engaging Characters: Fiction, Emotion, and the Cinema* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).

9. Mikos, *Film- und Fernsehanalyse*.

10. Thompson, "Fantasy, Franchises, and Frodo Baggins," 46.

11. A term coined by Michael Wedel in a project group discussion.

12. Thompson.

13. Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002); Herbert Gans, *Popular Culture and High Culture: An Analysis and Evaluation of Taste* (New York: Basic Books, 1974).

14. The following evaluation is based only on the 880 German-language responses to the online survey.

15. Online questionnaire, question 5: "What kind of story is 'The Lord of the Rings' to you?"

16. Question 3 in the cinema audience survey: "What are your spontaneous thoughts about the film?"

17. In addition to demographic data, the cinema audience survey also asked about fan status (question 4, "Would you describe yourself as a 'Lord of the Rings' fan?") and knowledge of the books (question 7, "Have you read the 'Lord of the Rings' books?").

18. J. Distelmeyer, "Zuhaus in Mittelerde: Das Fantasy-Genre und seine Fans," *epd film* 12 (2002): 18–23.

19. Claudius Seidl, "Hinter tausend Kriegern keine Welt," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (December 17, 2003).

20. S. Horst, "Willkommen in Bruchtal!," *Freitag* (December 19, 2003), 52.

21. Ibid.

22. Jens Balzer, "Erlöst," *Berliner Zeitung* (December 17, 2003).

23. Ibid.

EIGHT. GLOBAL FLOWS AND LOCAL IDENTIFICATIONS? *THE LORD OF THE RINGS* AND THE CROSS-NATIONAL RECEPTION OF CHARACTERS AND GENRES

1. The Dutch research was done in conjunction with a group of students of communication science at the University of Amsterdam. We want to thank Monique van Bracht, Tisha Eetgerink, Sabrine Engländer, Arlette de Haas, and Pauline van Romondt van Vis for their enthusiastic participation in this project. Moreover, we want to thank Daniel Biltereyst, Philippe Meers, Martin Barker, and Ernest Mathijs for their helpful comments.

2. See, for instance, Ulrich Beck, "The Cosmopolitan Society and Its Enemies," *Theory, Culture & Society* 19, nos. 1–2 (2002): 17–44; Michèle Lamont and Laurent Thévenot, *Rethinking Comparative Cultural Sociology: Repertoires of Evaluation in France and the United States* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

3. Liebes and Katz, *The Export of Meaning*; Wasko et al., *Dazzled by Disney*; Mathijs and Jones, *Big Brother*; Anne Cooper-Chen, *Global Entertainment Media: Content, Audiences, Issues* (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2005).

4. Sonia Livingstone, *Making Sense of Television: The Psychology of Audience Interpretation* (London: Routledge, 1998).

5. Because of the large number of respondents, we had to resort here to a rather crude recoding: every answer that contained a specific name was seen as an answer where this character was named as a favourite. This means that recoding sometimes didn't completely represent the respondent's answer, for instance with answers like "In the book I preferred Frodo, but in the film my favourite was Aragorn" (favourites: Frodo and Aragorn); or "My favourite is Sam because of his loyalty to Frodo (Sam, Frodo). However, this is only a problem in a very small number of cases. Also, it was not possible to include languages with a non-Romantic language (Chinese, Russian, Greek) in this analysis.

6. See G. Hofstede, *Culture's Consequences: Comparing Values, Behaviors, Institutions, and Organizations across Nations* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2001); G. Hofstede and G. J. Hofstede, *Cultures and Organizations: Software of the Mind* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2005).

7. C. Hoffner, "Children's Wishful Identification and Parasocial Interaction with Favourite Television Characters," *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media* 40 (1996): 389–402; Jonathan Cohen, "Parasocial Break-up from Favourite Television Characters: The Role of Attachment Styles and Relationship Intensity," *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships* 21, no. 2 (2004): 187–202; A. M. Rubin and M. M. Step, "Impact of Motivation, Attraction, and Parasocial Interaction on Talk-Radio Listening," *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media* 44 (2000): 635–654; for a critical discussion, see also Barker, "The *Lord of the Rings* and 'Identification.'"

8. Michèle Lamont, *Money, Morals, and Manners: The Culture of the French and American Upper-Middle Class* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992); M. Lamont, *The Dignity of Working Men: Morality and the Boundaries of Race, Class, and Immigration* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2000); Lamont and Thévenot.

9. The reason for this is that we didn't find clear relations between the various modality choices or favourite characters, but also there weren't very strong correlations between particular character preferences and modalities. Neither personality choice nor character preference, moreover, was strongly linked with appreciation. However, see chapter 9 in this volume.

10. See Biltereyst, "Blockbusters"; Meers, "Fandom."

11. This means that differences from the average are converted into standard deviations. A differ-

ence of 1 means that the score is 1 standard deviation higher than the average; -1 means that the score is 1 standard deviation lower than the average.

12. See Daniel Biltereyst and Philippe Meers, "The International Telenovela Debate and the Contra-flow Argument: A Reappraisal," *Media, Culture & Society* 22, no. 4 (2000): 393–413; J. D. Straubhaar, "Beyond Media Imperialism: Asymmetrical Interdependence and Cultural Proximity," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 8, no. 1 (1991) 39–59.

13. See Stuart Hall, "Encoding/Decoding," in Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, ed., *Culture, Media, Language: Working Papers in Cultural Studies, 1972–79* (London: Hutchinson, 1980), 128–138; David Morley and Charlotte Brunsdon, *The Nationwide Television Studies* (London: Routledge, 1999).

14. See Hall.

15. Lamont, *Dignity*.

16. See Barker, "The *Lord of the Rings* and 'Identification.'"

17. See also Biltereyst.

18. Jenkins, *Textual Poachers;* John Fiske, *Reading the Popular* (New York: Routledge, 1991); *Understanding Popular Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1994).

19. See Biltereyst; Thomas Elsaesser, *Hollywood op Straat: Film en Televisie in de Hedendaagse Mediacultuur [Hollywood on the Street: Film and Television in Today's Media Culture]* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2000); Julian Stringer, ed., *Movie Blockbusters* (London: Routledge, 2003).

NINE. THE FUNCTIONS OF FANTASY: A COMPARISON OF AUDIENCES FOR *THE LORD OF THE RINGS* IN TWELVE COUNTRIES

1. This owes a great deal to comments, often critical, from colleagues in the *LotR* network around the world. Many thanks to all of you.

2. For reasons of space, this essay cannot explain every procedure followed, each methodological decision made, or how the key findings were located. For anyone who has a particular interest in examining these, a much fuller version of this essay is available on request from the author.

3. Based on thirty-eight responses, which was the full set of "Spiritual journey" mentions excluding "Epic."

4. In the 1960 and '70s, a substantial debate took place within the social sciences over this. Triggered in part by the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis (see, for instance, P. Kay and W. Kempton, "What Is the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis?" *American Anthropologist* 86, no. 1 [1984]: 65–79) that languages embody and thus enforce separate cultural understandings of the world, and then carried into the philosophy of the social sciences by Peter Winch's influential *The Idea of a Social Science and Its Relation to Philosophy* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958), this kind of extreme cultural relativism underwent stringent criticism. For one particularly astute challenge, which criticises Winch at both epistemological and political levels, see David Lamb, "Preserving a Primitive Society," *Sociological Review* 25, no. 4 (1977): 689–719.

5. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991).

6. Michael Billig, *Banal Nationalism* (London: Sage, 1995).

7. See, for instance, Dominic Strinati and Stephen Wagge, eds., *Come on Down? Popular Media Culture in Post-War Britain* (London: Routledge, 1992); Philip Davies, ed., *Imagining and Representing America* (Stafford: Keele University Press, 1996).

8. Karl Mannheim, "The Sociology of Generations," in his *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1952), 276–320.

9. On 1960s readers of Tolkien, see, in particular, Martin Barker, "On Being a 1960s Tolkien

Reader."

10. See, in particular, Joseph Ripp, "Middle America Meets Middle-earth: American Discussion and Readership of J R R Tolkien's *The Lord of the Rings,* 1965–69," *Book History* 8 (2005): 245–286.

11. See, for instance, Speake, "The Power of the Ring."

12. Personal message to Sue Turnbull.

13. Yannis Skarpelos, email to the author, June 2006.

14. Krysla Diver, "Troubled Germans Turn to *Lord of the Rings,*" *Guardian* (October 4, 2004).

TEN. BEYOND WORDS: *THE RETURN OF THE KING* AND THE PLEASURES OF THE TEXT

1. Jenkins, *Textual Poachers;* Will Brooker, *Using the Force: Creativity, Community and Star Wars Fans* (New York and London: Continuum, 2002); Hills, *Fan Cultures.*

2. Kurt Lancaster, *Interacting with Babylon Five: Fan Performances in a Media Universe* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001).

3. Hills, 180.

4. Lancaster, 155

5. Hills, 71.

6. Hills, 129.

7. Sue Harper and Vincent Porter, "Moved to Tears: Weeping in the Cinema in Postwar Britain," *Screen* 37, no. 2 (Summer 1995): 152–173.

8. See Martin Barker and Julian Petley, *Ill Effects: The Media Violence Debate,* 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2002).

9. Brian Massumi, *Parables for the Virtual: Movement, Affect, Sensation* (Durham, NC, and London: Duke University Press, 2002).

10. Garth Jowett et al., *Children and Movies: Media Influence and the Payne Fund Controversy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 69.

11. Massumi, 28.

12. Wendell S Dysinger and Christian Rucknick, *The Emotional Reactions of Children to the Motion Picture Situation* (New York: Macmillan, 1933).

13. Klaus Scherer, "What Are Emotions? And How Can They Be Measured?" *Social Science Information* 44, no. 4 (2005): 695–729.

14. Ibid.

15. Stam and Raengo.

16. Pseudonyms have been used to ensure confidentiality.

17. Vivian Sobchack, *Carnal Thoughts: Embodiment and Moving Image Culture* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2004).

18. Sobchack, 2004, 65.

19. Hills, 28.

ELEVEN. HEROISM IN *THE RETURN OF THE KING*

1. "Tolkien's 'basic passion' was for 'myth (not allegory!) and for fairy-story, and above all for heroic legend on the brink of history' [letter, no. 131 to Milton Waldman, 1951]. This passion was dramatically expressed in a body of work unique in the history of English-language literature. So unique, in fact, as to lead us to consider with incredulity the reading *The Lord of the Rings* as nothing more than a ripping good yarn." Wright, *Tolkien in Perspective,* 33.

2. " . . . in fact, that *The Lord of the Rings* is at least partly an attempt to restore the hero to mod-

ern fiction" (Wright, 60).

3. "Roger Sale, one of the sages under whom I studied at the University of Washington, went so far as to claim, 'In any study of modern heroism, if J.R.R. Tolkien's *The Lord of the Rings* did not exist it would have to be invented Why? Precisely because of the Stultifying effects of modernism."("Tolkien and the Fairy Story," in Isaacs and Zimbardo, *Tolkien and the Critics*, 247). Oddly enough, Reilly sees Tolkien's work as "a major contribution to modern literature" (Wright, 61).

4. "One reason *The Lord of the Rings* works for so many contemporary readers is that it provides a world in which we can glimpse an authentic and powerful truth, one that we know is correct even though great powers of evil and error threaten to overwhelm it. His heroes seem like authentic heroes because doubt and despair—the great threats of modern world—are legitimate enough threats that they claim would-be heroes such as Saruman and Denethor" (Joe Kraus, "Tolkien, Modernism, and the Importance of Tradition," in Bassham and Bronson, 148.

5. "The same wisdom that his heroes use to escape from the evils of Middle-earth serves as a story that lets his contemporary readers escape, briefly, from the challenge of the modern. Middle-earth has enough landmarks to tell us that it will one day develop into our own, but it remains more magical" (Kraus, 149).

6. Petty, 256.

7. "His fiction reiterates an anti-'heroic' theme. The sorrows of the Elves in Beleriand, in *The Silmarillion*, stem from Féanor's vengeful decision to pursue the crimes of Melkor with war" (Rosebury, *Tolkien*, 163–164). "The heroes of the *Lord of the Rings* do not like the war, they morally win by rejecting this source." (Matthew Dickerson, *Following Gandalf* [Grand Rapids, MI: Brazos Press, 2003], 81).

8. "The seemingly inexhaustible ability of consumers of popular culture to experience personal identification with a tremendous range of heroes, from Spiderman to Obi Wan Kenobi to Neo to Van Fanel to Frodo, reveals a need for heroes that has never died away. Tolkien's books continue to supply a grand smorgasbord of heroes for generation after generation—his 'epic temperament,' as he described it, was not at all lost on readers accustomed to short attention span and novels that could be easily devoured in a few hours" (Petty, 259).

9. Ibid., 258.

10. Barker, "*The Lord of the Rings* and 'Identification.'"

11. "Aragorn is a fair king" (survey, male, 36–45, skilled manual). "His physical appearance and the role he plays as a king are very attractive to me" (survey, male, 36–45, self-employed). "He is the king who has to recover his throne. He is strong, brave and loyal" (survey, male, 26–35, creative).

12. It is worth noting that the largest proportion of complaints related to the suppression of Saruman.

13. Kayla McKinney Wiggins, "The Art of the Story-Teller and the Person of the Hero," in Croft, *Tolkien on Film*, 114.

14. Ibid., 121.

15. Petty borrows these terms from Northrop Frye's typology and applies them to these two characters, among others. See Petty, 252.

16. For this author, "Popular heroes are often public servants, such as police officers, fire-fighters, or co-workers in an office, who perform extraordinary acts of heroism while doing their regular jobs. When placed in life-threatening conditions or situations well beyond their previous experience, they rise to the task of helping others. They have no supernatural gifts, but their very nature allows them to respond heroically" (Porter, *Unsung Heroes*, 20).

17. "The recoil of the wounded hero is mainly, however, on Sam. He longs to stay with Frodo forever, but Sam has achieved true maturity; and as the Heroic Age passes, he longs to put down roots into the soil of the Shire and raise a family" (Marion Zimmer Bradley, "Men, Halflings, and Hero Worship," in Zimbardo and Isaacs, *Understanding*, 90).

TWELVE. THE FANTASY OF READING: MOMENTS OF RECEPTION OF *THE LORD OF THE RINGS: THE RETURN OF THE KING*

1. The authors wish to thank Ann Leysen and Philippe Meers, as well as the Ghent University Research Fund (BOF), for help and support with this project.

2. Vivian Sobchack, "The Fantastic," in Geoffrey Nowell-Smith, ed., *The Oxford History of World Cinema* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 316.

3. Ibid., 319.

4. See Biltereyst and Meers, "Blockbusters and/as Events."

5. See, for example, David Morley, *The "Nationwide" Audience: Structure and Decoding* (London: British Film Institute, 1980); Thomas Lindlof, *Qualitative Communication Research Methods* (Thousands Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1995); Martin Barker, *From Antz to Titanic: Reinventing Film Analysis* (London: Pluto, 2000).

6. This analysis is based on the research project The Export of Fantasy: The Lord of the Rings, Global Film Culture and Blockbusters (2004–2005, BOF, Ghent University Research Fund). This project combined a political-economic analysis of the distribution, marketing, and exhibition of *The Return of the King*, with a discourse analysis of the press and media coverage in Belgium, and a wide-ranging audience and reception analysis of the movie. The research was also developed as part of the U.K. International Lord of the Rings Research Project. This chapter relies upon the Belgian data, out of the worldwide survey, as well as the qualitative audience (reception) analysis.

7. In terms of sociodemographics, the group consisted mainly of adolescents (the age group of sixteen to twenty-five years: 66.8 percent, followed by people in the twenty-six-to-thirty-five age group: 16 percent), with a slight overrepresentation of men (56.3 percent) and of higher-educated respondents (for example, 23.7 percent were university trained). Most respondents were still students (62.3 percent), were familiar with Tolkien's books (60.7 percent had read one or more of the books), and considered themselves film fans (92.5 percent). See Ann Leysen et al., *The Lord of the Rings: The Return of the King: A Quantitative Analysis of the Film Reception* (Ghent: Department of Communication Studies, 2005).

8. In total thirty-seven focus group interviews were conducted using a semistandardised format; see David Morgan, *The Focus Group Guidebook* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1998). The interviewees were recruited from the survey respondents. The group of interviewees consisted of fifty males and thirty females. The data were collected as an ethnographic abstract and reported in a research paper: Ann Leysen et al., *The Lord of the Rings: The Return of the King: A Reception Study on The Lords of the Rings: The Return of the King in Relation to the Film Text, Film Experience and the Film Viewing Context* (Ghent: Department of Communication Studies, 2005).

9. See Daniel Biltereyst, "Resisting American Hegemony: A Comparative Analysis of the Reception of Domestic and US Fiction," in Denis McQuail, Peter Golding, and Els de Bens, eds., *Communication Theory and Research: An EJC Anthology* (London: Sage, 2005), 70–88; also Birgitta Höijer, "Studying Viewers' Reception of Television Programmes: Theoretical and Methodological Considerations," *European Journal of Communication* 5, no. 1 (1990): 29–56.

10. Hans Robert Jauss, *Literaturgeschichte als Provokation* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1997).

11. See also John Davenport, "Happy Endings and Religious Hope: *The Lord of the Rings* as an Epic Fairy Tale," in Bassham and Bronson, *The Lord of the Rings and Philosophy*, 204–217.

12. Elihu Katz, "The Ring of Tolkien and Plato: Lessons in Power, Choice, and Morality," in Bassham and Bronson, 5–20.

13. Elana Shefrin, "*Lord of the Rings, Star Wars,* and Participatory Fandom."

THIRTEEN. UNDERSTANDING TEXT AS CULTURAL PRACTICE AND AS DYNAMIC PROCESS OF MAKING

1. Tony Thwaites, Lloyd Davis, and Warwick Mules, *Introducing Cultural and Media Studies: A Semiotic Approach* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), 77.
2. Lothar Mikos, *Film- und Fernsehanalyse* (Konstanz: UVK, 2003); Richard Johnson, "What Is Cultural Studies Anyway?," in John Storey, ed., *What Is Cultural Studies? A Reader* (London: Arnold, 1996), 75–114; Mikko Lehtonen, *The Cultural Analysis of Texts* (London: Sage, 2000); Alan McKee, *Textual Analysis: A Beginner's Guide* (London: Sage, 2003).
3. Wolfgang Iser, *The Act of Reading: A Theory of Aesthetic Response* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978).
4. John Storey, *Cultural Consumption and Everyday Life* (London: Arnold, 1999), 65.
5. John Fiske, *Television Culture* (London: Methuen, 1987) , 115.
6. Quoted in Hight, 6.
7. Hight, 12.
8. Alexander Böhnke, "Mehrwert DVD," *Navigationen* 5, nos. 1–2 (2005): 213–223.
9. Jim Taylor, Mark R. Johnson, and Charles G. Crawford, *DVD Demystified* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2006), 17.
10. Thompson, "Fantasy, Franchises, and Frodo Baggins," 60.
11. Hight, 10.
12. Gerard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).
13. Fiske.
14. Chin and Gray, "One Ring to Rule Them All," 1.
15. Ibid., 2.
16. Ibid., 15.
17. Jonathan Gray, "New Audiences."
18. Couldry, 69.
19. John Frow, "On Literature in Cultural Studies," in Michael Bérubé, ed., *The Aesthetics of Cultural Studies* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2005), 52.
20. Bennett and Woollacott, 64.
21. Couldry, 70.
22. Bennett and Woollacott, 64.
23. Matt Hills, *How to Do Things with Cultural Theory* (London: Hodder Arnold, 2005), 26.
24. Lothar Mikos and Elizabeth Prommer, "Das Babelsberger Modell," in Lothar Mikos and Claudia Wegener, eds., *Qualitative Medienforschung: Ein Handbuch* (Konstanz: UVK, 2005), 162–169.

FOURTEEN. OUR METHODOLOGICAL CHALLENGES AND SOLUTIONS

1. For a fine critical evaluation, see Milly Williamson, *The Lure of the Vampire: Gender, Fiction and Fandom from Bram Stoker to Buffy* (London: Wallflower, 2005).
2. Perhaps the most important attempt to follow in his footsteps has been Tony Bennett, Michael Emmison, and John Frow, *Accounting for Tastes: Australian Everyday Cultures* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).
3. Of course what counts as "mainstream" is inevitably heavily culturally defined, as the case of Latin American telenovelas well demonstrates. "Mainstream" to scholars from this region, this research

can appear exotic to others.
4. The signs of this weakness are to be found in the fact that still the most quoted book on theatre audiences is Susan Bennett's entirely theoretical account (*Theatre Audiences: A Theory of Production and Reception* [London: Routledge, 1998]). Other works, such as Neil Blackadder's excellent historical/archival research into theatre riots (*Performing Opposition: Modern Theater and the Scandalized Audience* [Westport, CT: Praeger, 2003]), are rarely mentioned.
5. See, for instance, the four volumes of essays edited by Melvyn Stokes and Richard Maltby, *American Movie Audiences: From the Turn of the Century to the Early Sound Era* (London: British Film Institute, 1999); *Identifying Hollywood's Audiences: Cultural Identity and the Movies* (London: British Film Institute, 1999); *Hollywood Spectatorship: Changing Perceptions of Cinema Audiences* (London: British Film Institute, 2001); *Hollywood Abroad: Audiences and Cultural Exchange* (London: British Film Institute, 2004).
6. For a recent overview, see Leah Price, "Reading: The State of the Discipline," *Book History* 7 (2004): 303–320.
7. Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy: A Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988).
8. See, for instance, Sarah Thornton, *Club Cultures: Music, Media and Subcultural Capital* (Cambridge, MA: Polity Press, 1995); Ruth Finnegan, The Hidden Musicians: Music-Making in an English Town (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).
9. On this see Daniel Dayan's recent essay, "Mothers, Midwives and Abortionists: Genealogy, Obstetrics, Audiences and Publics," in Sonia Livingstone, ed., *Audiences and Publics: When Cultural Engagement Matters for the Public Sphere* (London: Intellect, 2005), 43–76.
10. On this see Livingstone.
11. See, for instance, David Buckingham, *The Making of Citizens: Young People, Media and Politics* (London: Routledge, 2000).
12. John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze* (London: Sage, 2002).
13. See, for instance, Russell W. Belk, Melanie Wallendorf, and John F. Sherry, Jr., "The Sacred and the Profane in Consumer Behavior: Theodicy on the Odyssey," *Journal of Consumer Research* 16, no. 1 (1989): 1–38.
14. See www.participations.org.
15. There are of course complex histories within mass communications research. Histories from the inside would note increasing sophistication in statistical methods, the growth of field studies, and the rise of particular theorisations (one thinks of the increasing influence of Dolf Zillman's theorisations—see, for instance, his essay "Dramaturgy for Emotions from Fictional Narration," in Jennings Bryant and Peter Vorderer, eds., *The Psychology of Entertainment* [Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2006], 215–238). Histories from the outside would note both the persistence in moral and political agendas and the lack of a real critical evaluation of past work, but also subtle shifts—as, for instance, the rise of "public health" metaphors within recent research.
16. Kim Schrøder, Kirsten Drotner, Stephen Kline, and Catherine Murray, *Researching Audiences* (London: Arnold, 2003), 16.
17. Natasha Walters, "A Hero for Our Time," *Guardian* (July 16, 2005), G2, 27.
18. A very good example of this is the fine study by Livingstone and others of the place of new media in the lives of young people. For all its great strengths as a study, its arguments are made almost entirely by its statistical enquiries. The role of quotations from interviews rarely rises above the illustrative, and they certainly never provide the grounds for any new discoveries of their own.
19. This research was published as "*The Lord of the Rings* and 'Identification': A Critical Encounter," *European Journal of Communication* 20, no. 3 (2005): 353–378.
20. One example: Ernest Mathijs uncovered a complex set of special interests in the film among those reporting themselves as creatives. These were presented under the title "Professional Activity and the Enjoyment of Popular Culture" at "The Art of Comparison: 6th ESA Research

Conference on the Sociology of the Arts" (November 3–5, 2004, Rotterdam).

21. Jerzy Neyman, "On the Two Different Aspects of the Representative Method: The Method of Stratified Sampling and the Method of Purposive Selection," *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* 97 (1934): 558–625.

22. A good reference on probability sampling, for its completeness, is C. A. Moser and G. Kalton, *Survey Methods in Social Investigation* (London: Heinemann, 1971).

23. On theory-driven samples, see Barney G. Glaser and Anselm L. Strauss, *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research* (Chicago: Aldine, 1967), 45.

24. M. B. Miles and A. M. Huberman, *Qualitative Data Analysis* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1994).

25. Alberto Trobia, *La Ricerca Sociale Quali-Quantitativa* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 2005), 32–35.

26. S. Sarantakos, *Social Research* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 169–170.

27. Richard Dyer, *Only Entertainment* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992).

28. Laura Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema," *Screen* 16, no. 3 (1975): 6–18.

29. Jim McGuigan, *Cultural Populism* (London: Routledge, 1992).

30. Sadly, the one or two overviews of research tend to restrict themselves to these theoretical debates, and are hardly aware of empirical research contributions. See, for instance, Barbara O'Connor and Elizabeth Klaus, "Pleasure and Meaningful Discourse: An Overview of Research Issues," *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 3, no. 3 (2000): 369–387. See also Patricia McCormack, "Pleasure, Perversion and Death: Three Lines of Flight for the Viewing Body," available at http://www.cinestatic.com/trans-mat/MacCormack/PPDcontents.htm (accessed August 7, 2006).

31. Ien Ang, *Watching Dallas: Soap Opera and the Melodramatic Imagination* (London: Methuen, 1984).

32. Barker and Brooks, *Knowing Audiences.*

33. Austin, *Hollywood, Hype and Audiences.*

34. Aphra Kerr, Julian Kücklich, and Pat Brereton, "New Media—New Pleasures?", *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 9, no. 1 (2006): 63–82.

35. For interesting analyses of local struggles over meanings, see Colin Barker, "Social Confrontation in Manchester's Quangoland: Local Protest over the Proposed Closure of Booth Hall Children's Hospital," *North West Geographer* 1 (1997): 18–28; Chik Collins, "To Concede or to Contest? Language and Class Struggle," in Colin Barker and Paul Kennedy, eds., *To Make Another World: Studies in Protest and Collective Action* (Aldershot: Avebury, 1996).

36. See, for example, Elizabeth A. Clark, *History, Theory, Text: Historians and the Linguistic Turn* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004); Victoria E. Bonnell and Lynn Hunt, eds., *Beyond the Cultural Turn: New Directions in the Study of Society and Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

37. Two recent books have done a very good job of delineating the range of approaches currently available and showing something of the nature of the debates among them. The second provides a very helpful account of the different methods and illustrates the kinds of findings they produce. Margaret Wetherell, Stephanie Taylor, and Simeon J. Yates, eds., *Discourse Theory and Practice: A Reader,* and *Discourse as Data: A Guide for Analysis* (both Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 2001).

38. For these and other examples, see Carla Willig, ed., *Applied Discourse Analysis* (London: Sage, 1999).

39. On this, see Abigail Locke and Derek Edwards, "Bill and Monica: Memory, Emotion and Normativity in Clinton's Grand Jury Testimony," *British Journal of Social Psychology* 42 (2003): 239–256.

40. Michael Billig, *Banal Nationalism* (London: Sage, 1995).

41. In a forthcoming essay, Martin Barker has closely examined works of recent discourse analysis, to bring these two issues into view. See his "Discourse Analysis and the Problem of Researching

'Impossible Objects,'" in Mike Pickering, ed., *Cultural Studies Methods* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008).

42. The exceptions to this general statement are those approaches that use computer facilities to study word frequencies and relationships. See the discussion of corpus analysis in Wetherell et al., *Discourse as Data.*

43. The early work in developing these ideas arose with the ideas of "ethnoscience." See, for instance, Jerome S. Bruner, Jacqueline J. Goodnow, and George A. Austin, "Categories and Cognition," and Charles O. Frake, "The Ethnographic Study of Cognitive Systems," both in James Spradley, ed., *Culture and Cognition: Rules, Maps and Plans* (Toronto: Chandler Publishing, 1956), 168–190, 191–205.

44. Thomas McLaughlin, *Street Smarts and Critical Theory: Listening to the Vernacular* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1996).

45. Rick Altman, *Film/Genre* (New York: American Film Institute, 1999).

46. Barker et al., *The Crash Controversy.*

47. Barbara Klinger, *Beyond the Multiplex,* 164–176.

48. The concept of *isotopy* (*iso* = "same"; *topos* = "place") was initially proposed by A. J. Greimas, in 1966, in order to define the recurrence, in phrases or texts, of group of words sharing certain semantic features. It refers to an idea of meaning as a "contextual effect," something that does not belong to words considered one by one, but as a result of their relationships within texts or speeches. See F. Lancia, *The Logic of a Textscope* (2002), available at http://www.mytlab.com/textscope.pdf. A typical technique that yields isotopies is Lexical Correspondence Analysis (LCA) (see below).

49. Because we wanted to be able to pursue these investigations deeply, we inevitably preferred those countries with large sets of responses. The advantage also was that these tended to be the countries in which we had active research groups, who could comment on and interpret our findings for us.

50. Again for practical reasons, we limited our choices here to English-language responses—which anyway generated a very large dataset. We returned to other languages, to explore similarities and differences, at a later stage of this set of searches.

51. For more details on cluster analysis, see B. S. Everitt, S. Landau, and M. Leese, *Cluster Analysis* (London: Arnold, 2001).

52. Trobia, 49–53.

53. L. Lebart and A. Salem, *Statistique Textuelle* (Paris: Dunod, 1994).

54. The description of these algorithms would require many pages and formulas and it's beyond the aim of this writing.

55. See http://eng.spadsoft.com, for SPAD, and http://www.tlab.it, for T-LAB.

56. J. P. Benzecri, quoted in Lancia, 14.

57. For further details, see Trobia, 55–62.

58. David Silverman, *Interpreting Qualitative Data: Methods for Analysing Talk, Text and Interaction* (London: Sage, 2001).

59. Sarantakos, 346. Tesch, instead, listed twenty-six different kind of approaches. See R. Tesch, *Qualitative Research: Analysis Types and Software Tools* (New York: Falmer Press, 1990), 77–102.

60. For instance, N. Blaikie, "A Critique of the Use of Triangulation in Social Research," *Quality and Quantity* 25 (1991): 115–136.

61. Wood, 1978; David Bordwell, "Textual Analysis Etc." *Enclitic* 10, no. 5 (1981): 125–136; Altman.

62. Janet Staiger, *Interpreting Films;* Janet Staiger, *Perverse Spectators: The Practices of Film Reception* (New York: New York University Press, 2000); Barbara Klinger, "Film History Terminable and Interminable: Recovering the Past in Reception Studies," *Screen* 38, no. 2 (1997): 107–128; Ernest Mathijs, "AIDS References in the Critical Reception of David Cronenberg: 'It May not

Be Such a Bad Disease after All.'" *Cinema Journal* 42, no. 4 (2003): 29–45.

63. "Content analysis is a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication." Bernard Berelson, *Content Analysis in Communications Research* (New York: Free Press, 1952), 18.

64. See, for instance, the critical evaluation posed by Brian Winston, "On Counting the Wrong Things," in Manuel Alvarado and John Thompson, eds., *The Media Reader* (London: British Film Institute, 1990).

65. Content analysis is a technique that shows the inadequacy of the traditional separation between qualitative and quantitative methods of research. For a critical review of the definitions, see G. Shapiro and J. Markoff, "A Matter of Definition," in C. W. Roberts, ed., *Textual Analysis for the Social Sciences: Methods for Drawing Statistical Inferences from Texts and Transcripts* (Hillside, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1997), 9–31.

66. See F. Lancia, 5–6.

67. Karl Erik Rosengren, "Time and Culture: Developments in the Swedish Literary Frame of Reference," and Marcus Hudec and Brigitte Lederer, "A Text Model for the Content Analysis of Messages in the Print Media," both in Gabriele Melischek, Karl Erik Rosengren and J. Stappers, eds., *Cultural Indicators: an International Symposium* (Vienna: Verlag der Osterreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1984) 273–299.

68. Rosengren, 284.

69. Janet Wasko, "The Political Economy of Film," in Toby Miller and Robert Stam, eds., *A Companion to Film Theory* (London: Blackwell, 1999), 221–233; Dallas Smythe, "The Political Economy of Communication," *Journalism Quarterly* (August 1960): 156–171; Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of Wealth of Nations* (London: Everyman's Library, 1904 [1776]).

70. Commentators tend to locate its earliest appearance in E. J. Webb, D. T. Campbell, R. D. Schwartz, and L. Sechrest, *Unobtrusive Measures: Nonreactive Measures in the Social Sciences* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1966).

71. See his *The Research Act,* a book that has been through a number of editions (Chicago: Aldine, 1970, 1976, 1981, 1989, and so on), and in which the discussion of triangulation changes over time. Most notably it changes from being, in the earliest versions (in which he was closest to symbolic interactionism), very clearly an additional ground of *validity,* to a more limited and hermeneutic *multiplicity of possible accounts* (as Denzin moved closer to postmodernism). Compare: "My last criterion under the category of validity . . . is the triangulation of methodologies" (Denzin, 27) and "Triangulation is not a tool or strategy of validation, but an alternative to validation" (Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln. *The Landscape of Qualitative Research: Theories and Issues.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1998, 2).

72. See, for instance, the discussion in Michael Quinn Patton, *Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1990), 467.

73. See especially Y. S. Lincoln and E. G. Guba, *Naturalistic Inquiry* (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1985).

74. For a clear account of a number of these criticisms, see Alexander Massey, "Methodological Triangulation; or: How to Get Lost without Being Found Out," in A. Massey and G. Walford, eds., *Explorations in Methodology: Studies in Educational Ethnography,* vol. 2 (Stamford, CT: JAI Press), 183–197.

75. We are of course by no means alone in perceiving these problems within ways of conceiving the "cultural circuit." As just one example, take Ulrike Meinhof's statement of the problems of the relations among "the triad of communication between author . . . , text, and reader/recipient:" "it is the relative privileging of one interpretative focus over the other that influences the appreciation or denial of the power of an audience to assert his or her own readings. An emphasis on production rarely integrates textual analysis and variant readings. A textual analysis usually relegates the reader to that of an implied reader, who activates textual structures that impose their

own authority through the semiotic codes themselves. . . . Audience studies, on the other hand, tend to emphasise the multiplicity of meanings that are activated by readers. Attempts to analyse dynamic interactivity between production/author, the text, and reader/audience— though often asserted as desirable in theory—tend to privilege one perspective over the other" (Ulrike Hanna Meinhof, "Initiating a Public: Malagasy Music and Live Audiences in Differentiated Cultural Contexts," in Livingstone, 115–116). Meinhof's solution is to find a relatively less complicated situation of live performance (a World Music performance in which musicians and audience directly exchange), and look at the "loops" between the three aspects within this special situation. We believe our solution may have wider application.