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## 1. Introduction – The Finnish Media Landscape

This article presents the first findings of the Transmedia Literacy Skills research project (EU Horizon 2020) in Finland. The data gathering occurred in two periods: 1. March-May 2016, questionnaires, workshops and interviews in four Central Finnish schools, and 2. May-June 2017, netnographical observation of three popular Snapchat personalities. The research methodology and procedures were designed in the international Transmedia Literacy Research Consortium, and similar field work was conducted in eight countries altogether (Australia, Colombia, Finland, Italy, Portugal, Spain, the UK, Uruguay).

Around 2009 happened a major change in the media use of Finnish youth. In 2009 still, television took a major share of time spent with media, but after that, Internet use has taken over television (Rahja 2013; Herkman & Vainikka 2012). For the youth, the online phenomena are not a separate domain, but seamlessly intertwined with their physical life-world. The youth mainly have the same kind of interests in both domains, that is, friends, hobbies and media contents. (Uusitalo 2013) The time spent online has increased in every age group, but the growth has been most rapid amongst the young adults (15–29 years). (TNS Gallup 2012.) The youth are often watching television and using the Internet simultaneously, and mobile devices enable non-stop media use: one fifth of them uses mobile device practically everywhere and all the time. (MTV3 2013.)

Reading habits of the youth have been changing. Magazines, journals and newspapers are increasingly read online, if read at all. Already five years ago, in 2012, 84% of the age group 13–29 year old read newspapers online.

## 2. Research Methodology and Key Concepts

The main focus of the Transmedia Literacy research project has been to investigate the informal learning strategies applied by teenagers, in regards, especially, to transmedia skills acquisition. It was decided, however, that the most efficient way to reach the teenagers and arrange the field work was through schools.

In the context of the Transliteracy Project the ‘transmedia skills’ are understood as a series of advanced competences related to digital interactive media production and consumption (Jenkins 2006; Manovich 2009). These skills range from problem-solving processes in videogames to content production and sharing in the context of web platforms and social networks. Attention will also be paid on the narrative contents (fanfiction, fanvids, etc.) produced and shared by teens in digital networks. The transmedia skills have been divided into *video game literacy*, *participatory culture literacy* and *web/social networks literacy*.

## 2.1. School Selection

Four schools were selected in each participating country, so that there were two types of schools, and one elementary school and one upper secondary school from both types. It was left to the local research teams to decide the criteria for school selection. The dichotomy between **urban/rural** schools was selected it seemed to provide distinction concerning media usage: for pupils in urban schools, the school travel is usually considerably shorter than in rural area, thus less time in spent in transit; the class mates usually live relatively close to each other, thus face-to-face meetings outside of schools hours is easy; the city environment offer rich possibilities for hobbies and extracurricular activities, also media and game related clubs and workshops are provided by the Youth Department of the City of Jyvaskyla. In contrast, in rural areas pupils often spend long durations in transit (either in buses or parents’ cars), pupils live scattered around a wide area and face-to-face meetings outside of schools hours are more demanding); there are less clubs and other organized hobbies in the rural areas, but on the other hand, more options for various outdoors activities, such as motor sports, skiing, horseback riding etc. There are also technical differences in that the broadband connections (wired and mobile) in urban area are faster and more common than in rural areas. Also, the schools are predominantly public ones, the private ones being mainly either religious (Christian) or based on alternative pedagogical approaches (Steiner, Freinet etc.). The private schools are very small, which rendered them impractical, and also less interesting, for this study.

The ICT infrastructure level varies from school to school, and also within a given school, there are big differences in how individual teachers employ ICT tools. It would have been very challenging to identify significantly different classes on this criterion. Jyvaskyla being a relatively small city (130.000 inhabitants), and the high school network lately reduced through school mergers, made the distinction between downtown/periphery practically useless. Traditionally, Jyvaskyla has been culturally and linguistically highly homogeneous. The multiculturalism has started to increase only lately, and at this point still, there are no distinctively 'multicultural' schools in the area.

## **2.2. Questionnaire, Workshops and Interviews**

In the selected schools, in collaboration with the Finnish language and literature teachers (who mainly are responsible for media education) suitable classes were selected. The selection was practical and was based on what courses different classes had in their schedule, with the aim that the selected classes would have media and media education related contents in their regular schedule around the fieldwork period. The basic teaching unit in Finnish schools is 45 minutes. Two of these are often combined, resulting in 90 minutes nonstop class, which is the longest stretch allowed without a break. After discussions with the teachers and the school principals, it turned out 2 times 90 minutes was the most they were willing to grant for each workshops. It would have been impractical, in any case, to distribute the workshops to three separate sessions, so we settled with 180 minutes per each workshop, which is less than the planned 240 minutes. As the workshop procedure was based on 2 times 120 minutes sessions, it means that in Finnish schools we had to run through the various phases quicker than in other participating countries. All the activities were arranged in the school building, but without the teacher around, and also, whenever possible, in other locations than the usual class rooms (such as computer labs, school libraries, and lobbies). The questionnaire and the workshops were conducted during the school hours, whereas the interviews in most cases took place after the school day.

The questionnaire included questions about media use, family background and hobbies. There was also an extra question, if the respondent was more interested in attending

the Participatory Culture, or the Video Game Workshop. Mainly based on the stated preferences, the classes were divided to the workshops.

The Participatory Culture Workshops consisted of the following modules:

- Name five of your favourite stories in Postits (one in each)
- select one of the stories, and describe it briefly to the rest of the group
- collaboratively: everybody gathers around a big sheet of paper, and place the Postits on it, grouping the stories that belong together, and naming the groups; the principle of grouping is left for the teens to decide themselves
- watching a Youtube video: a Star Wars parody clip, made by the Finnish reality-tv posse The Dudesons (similar to Jackass in the USA), about Darth Vader meeting Finnish meter maid (and losing the confrontation); discussion about the clip, ending with question if they had ever created any content for publication online themselves
- direction for the task: create your own story in a small group; genre and format is fully open; make first a plan and outline together, then you will have approximately 2 hours to produce the story; it may be original or based on some familiar story
- free work in groups
- presentation of finished stories and discussion
- sharing in social media: watching a Youtube video Christmas story told in Social Media services; question of which social media services or platforms they recognized;
- in small groups: naming the social media applications they use on Postits, and grouping them on a big sheet, based on for what purpose they are mainly used, and for communication with whom; explanations by each team of their grouping

The Video Game workshops consisted of the following modules

- watching a Youtube video with scenes from various games ('Tribute to Video Games'); discussion about which games they recognized and playing in general

-formation of small teams; everybody asked to name five good games on Postits, one on each; each team is asked to place all of their Postits with game titles on a big sheet, and group the games,, which games belong together? discussion on the groupings by each team

-introduction of the main task: inventing and writing questions to a Trivia game, with the idea that the game will then be played by the teams, with the questions they have invented by themselves

-teams can suggest game related topics of which they would like to make their own questions; each team has to choose two themes

-independent work in teams, writing questions about two themes in each team

-collecting the questions, and providing additional questions written by the research team; discussion on how to choose the winner, if there is a tie, or if time runs out before any of teams reaches goal

-playing the Game Trivia, each time a team knows the correct answer, they have to explain how did they know it; if the team does not know the answer, they have an option once to spend 30 seconds online looking for correct answer; in case of wrong answer, the one who wrote the question has to explain where did he/she know it

-after the game ends, discussion on how they liked it; was there something they would have changed?

-discussion on how and from which sources they find information about games; what kind of social aspects are connected to playing; do they socialise during online gaming sessions etc.?

During the workshops there were two to three researchers facilitating the workshop, photographing and video recording it. The teams were allowed to move around the facility to find comfortable locations.

After the workshops, volunteers were asked for interviews. There was quite little enthusiasm, and less than targeted 40 interviewees were found. Furthermore, many of them cancelled participation before the agreed interview time, so only 20 interviews

were conducted. They were done in the school building, in most cases after the school hours, and they lasted from 15 to 40 minutes. The interviews were video recorded in full, but in such a way that the face of the interviewee was not shown. There were passages in the interview, where the student was asked to show certain things on their mobile phone or tablet (What kind of pictures you post in Instagram? Which applications you have in your phone etc.), and these were captured on video.

There were some challenges in the fieldwork:

-the class sizes were smaller than expected, only in School 3 clearly exceeding 20 pupils; furthermore, there were several absences because of sickness during first workshop sessions in School 2; also, the number of pupils not willing to participate was relatively high – all this meant the groups within workshops were often small (in extreme case, only 5 pupils in one workshop)

-in School 2 (elementary school) the pupils in the Storytelling Workshop were not used to working in small teams; initial division to 3 teams first lead, through a merger, to just two teams, and after the story-telling really started, they simply decided to do just one story all together (we accepted this, as we considered it more fruitful to let them work as they wished, instead of forcing them to continue in smaller teams).

### **3. Findings: Applying Informal Learning Strategies to Obtain Transmedia Skills**

After all materials were gathered, transcribed, coded and analysed, we made the first overall evaluation of the findings. This was based on the existing background data considering the media use habits of the Finnish teens (Rahja 2013; Kupiainen 2013; Aarnio & Multisilta 2012) and intense involvement with the materials gathered through the questionnaire, workshops and interviews, we distilled a list of Top 5 Outcomes. These findings capture the general tendencies in the data, and also mark some apparent exceptions to the previous understanding of the field.

## Five Most Significant Tendencies in the Finnish Transmedia Literacy Research

### 1. Social media is the main channel for receiving and following news of daily events, but also of media contents

"Yeah I use social media to watch the news, especially Twitter I check for comments on what is happening in the world. I may check the local tabloids after I've seen the news of Twitter. I think in Twitter the news get faster, because the tabloids have to write the articles first. Of course in social media you have to use your own personal filter to decide what is reliable and what is not. About the personal filter, I check the sources and the quality of the writing. Sometimes I've bumped into stuff that I've had to check for facts from elsewhere." (Boy, 17)

### 2. Game related information like releases of new titles is received almost exclusively through friends and social media (Youtube); game articles, reviews and criticism in print and online game journals are not read at all by the Finnish teenagers.

"Usually I hear about the games from my friends." (Boy, 17)

"I play what my friends play. I don't browse games from App Store or somewhere like that." (Boy, 18)

"I just downloaded Sansa the Cat into my phone. I watched the Lakko and Herba tv-show where they played it, so we downloaded the game with my little sister." (Girl, 17)

### 3. Googling is by far the most important information searching strategy and also a vast majority of media engagement starts through Google; the various platform specific search tools (like Youtube Search) are used only rarely.

"Maybe sometimes I've watched Youtube-tutorials about some stuff, for example one was when we tried to find some info from Youtube, can't remember what about. If I need to find something, I just go to Google first. (Boy, 17)"

"I only use Youtube if it comes up with a Google search. (Girl, 18)"

"I've never really watched any tutorials from Youtube. If I have a problem with a game, I just go to internet for a search or check Wikipedia." (Boy, 13)

### 4. The transmedia skills are unevenly internalized; teens may e.g. have difficulties in differentiating content based genre categorizations (horror, fantasy etc.) from platform or media based categorizations (tv series, book etc.), but simultaneously fluently understand concepts like transfictional identity.

Genre challenge, from Participatory Culture Workshop, Upper Secondary School: "It turned out difficult to categorize the stories, majority could not name genre or such, but several stated that their favourite programme was not typical of something so they have ideas what e.g. drama is like.[...] Sherlock Holmes is considered difficult as it could fit in almost all categories, film, tv series, novel, game. Grouping based on form, not so much on content. After a bit of prompting, action, fantasy, adventure films were recognized. Final categories: TV series, films, games, reality tv, humour."

### 5. Lack of fandom activities and fan-like attachment to pop culture icons, sports stars or other visible personalities.

From Participatory Culture Workshop, Elementary School : "Writing down five favourite stories on PostIts. Some students struggle to name five stories."

The most obvious characteristic in the Finnish case is a limited application of the transmedial possibilities. Youtube and Google are dominating the media use in a striking way. Youtube is the favoured source of entertainment, news, and instruction, and Google is an almost exclusive starting point for any information search. Wikipedia should be added here, as the standard way of looking for information on a specific issue (like when the students were preparing questions for a Trivia game, or, during the game, when they were allowed to look for answer online) was doing a Google search, then following a link to Wikipedia. Print media and broadcast television play almost no role in the life of these teens. Despite the heavy involvement in (online) media, the students did not express behaviour typical of media fandom, nor did they recognise and acknowledge themselves as fans, but in a very few exceptions. The fan-like relation was limited to regular following of e.g. certain bands or artists, but no fan production activities were detected. There was also a mixed result concerning the Narrative and Aesthetic Skills (elaborated below), the teens expressing highly nuanced understanding and appreciation of phenomena like transmedia identity, but simultaneously struggling to differentiate between content based genre categorizations and media/platform based genre categorizations.

On this level of generalization, the digital fluency of the Finnish teens seems to be clearly more limited in scope, compared to previous research (Rahja 2013, 8). It is obvious, that Finnish school, neither elementary school nor upper secondary school, is not providing all the skills necessary for active agency in the transmedial environment, but the informal learning strategies applied by the teens are also not able to compensate for that shortcomings.

### **3.1. Informal Learning Strategies**

As part of the analysis procedure, the informal learning strategies of the students were mapped in a table. The listing includes both strategies explicitly mentioned and described in the interviews, and strategies employed in the workshop tasks and observed by the researchers.

INFORMAL LEARNING STRATEGY	DESCRIPTION
Searching information from Youtube, learning about gaming through videos and streams	Searching instructional materials such as manuals, tutorials, Let's Plays in Youtube
Searching information from online forums	Searching for peer information, usually related to hobbies, eg. sports discussions. More passive (browsing) than active (posting questions or answers).
Searching information with search engines	Mostly Google, searches mainly related to general issues, not specified inquiries
Searching information from Wikipedia	Searching for more detailed information
Getting information through friends	Getting information both live (realtime) and online (asynchronous), recommendations for applications etc.
Getting information through family (tacit knowledge transferral)	More technically oriented information (eg. how to get started with new mobile phone) learned from the family members. Kids often also teach their parents, or younger siblings may teach the older ones.
Searching information from social media	Information about current events about the world and friends often found in social media.
Trial and error / Learning by doing	The most common way of learning about software, video games and new technology is just starting to experiment and learning along the way.

The set of strategies appear relatively limited. Information search from a narrow field of sources, trial and error, and searching for solutions with available materials are the dominating strategies. Print media, such as newspapers, were not read nor used as a source of information at all. There is notable difference to a research conducted just five years ago, where it was found the majority of 13-29 years old read newspapers (either print or digital) actively (Allianssi 2012). In relation to gaming, online videos and streams were often mentioned as a source of learning. Here, imitation is often involved as the game streamers show how particular tasks and challenges may be overcome, but there is also fact and opinion sharing involved as well. Family and friends are very important sources of instruction. Information may be sought after from family and friends, or their

behaviour may be imitated. There is also more indirect influence detected, termed here 'tacit knowledge' transferral.

### 3.2. Transmedia Skills

When analyzing the data, one of the main tasks was to detect all transmedia skills explicated, implicated or demonstrated by informants. The identification and classification of the transmedia skills was left to each research team in the international project. The classification, thus, is data driven is not limited to fixed categories defined in advance. In the Finnish materials, four main categories of transmedia skills were identified: *Production Skills*, *Narrative and Aesthetic Skills*, *Social Management Skills*, and *Risk Prevention Skills*. Below, these are listed one category at a time.

SKILLS	SPECIFIC SKILLS
To create written productions	To conceive and plan
	To write
	To revise (own creations)
To modify written productions	To 'beta-read'
	To appropriate someone else's text and perform changes on it
To use writing software and apps	To use word processors
	To use blogging and presentation and other writing platforms
To create audio-visual productions	To conceive and plan
	To outline
	To edit (own creations)
	To select and prepare costumes and other props
	To play a role
To modify audio-visual productions	To 'beta-watch'
	To appropriate someone else's video and perform changes on it
To use audio-visual production software and apps	To use video editing apps
	To use video and sound recording devices
To create a comic	To conceive and plan
	To storyline
	To draw
	To appropriate someone else's drawing and perform changes on it
To share gaming experience	Recording gaming videos
	Capturing images from video games
	Sharing gaming videos

Table 3. Productive skills.

The sample groups possessed quite a wide variety of productive skills, even though it was generally claimed that not much of it was ever taught in the school. This is comparable to the situation in 2013, when a study conducted at the University of Turku found out, that Finnish youth are mainly self-taught when it comes to IT skills, the role of school as a learning environment for these skills was rather insignificant, stated the 9<sup>th</sup> grader informants (Kaarakainen & Kivinen & Tervahartiala 2013). Writing text played a relatively small role. Especially notable was the total lack of blog writing, which still in 2013 research was found as one of the main activities among teens. At that time Blogger was ranked third popular of social media platforms, but in our data Blogger did not appear at all. (Rahja 2013, 10) The tools they used for content creation was mainly mobile applications and features provided by social media platforms, such as image filters in Instagram. Dedicated editing software requiring a PC was used by just a few, and most of them admitted not mastering the software too well. Shooting video and taking photographs mainly was done in the context of instant messaging, such as WhatsApp and Snapchat. Otherwise creating content specifically for sharing and publication online was rare. Mainly a few photographers invested in good production values and ambitious publishing. There were also some dedicated players, who spent considerable effort in providing game streams. On this area, our findings are in line with previous research: only a small portion of upper elementary school pupils (grades 7 to 9) participate in the content production (Kupiainen 2013); the majority of the youth follow, read and watch online content produced by somebody else (Aarnio & Multisilta 2012).

SKILLS	SPECIFIC SKILLS
To recognise and describe	To know the characteristics and name the different literary genres
	To know the characteristics and name the different cinema genres
	To know the characteristics and name the different music genres
	To know the characteristics and name the different video game genres
	To know the characteristics and name the different Youtube genres
	To know the characteristics and name the different comic genres
	To know the characteristics and name the different formats

	To recognise the aesthetic of an audio-visual product
	To know the characteristics and name the different narrative worlds
	To recognise and understand transfictional identities
	To recognise adaptations between formats

Table 4. Narrative and aesthetic skills.

The narrative and aesthetic skills were quite rich, but there was certain discrepancy detected. There is a nuanced recognition of transfictional identities (identities spanning over wide transmedia franchises, or appropriation of fictional characters from various sources as in Mash-Up videos), recognition of adaptations between formats (e.g. how a novel character differs from a film character in a filmatization), and understanding differences between formats (films, series, trailers etc). On the other hand, it was not at all clear if there is a difference between genre classifications based on content (thriller, fantasy etc.) or format (tv programme, computer game etc.) Also the acknowledgement of aesthetic values of audiovisual productions was quite varied, and topics like perspective in comics and lighting in games were paid attention to.

SKILLS	SPECIFIC SKILLS
To collaborate	To look for beta readers
	To help others in their photo sessions, editing pictures
To coordinate	To coordinate collective actions while gaming
	Arranging and managing game sessions and other related activities
To organise	To distribute roles or tasks in filming or editing
To lead	To lead a cast in a filming
To teach	To teach peers how to edit
To recommend	To recommend peers films, series, videogames, etc.

Table 5. Social management skills.

The social management skills in the Table 5 combine both skills mentioned in relation to the online media use, and skills demonstrated during the workshop tasks. Contrary to the stereotypical notion of Finns as loners, these teens showed versatile social skills. With the younger group of 7<sup>th</sup> graders (13-14 years old) they even preferred bigger groups over small teams. Self-steering and role distribution happened very fluently,

which may be based partly on that they are used to similar working method in their regular classes.

SKILLS	SPECIFIC SKILLS
To evaluate	To critically reflect on oneself's digital identity
	To evaluate economic significance of copyright issues
To take action, or, To apply	To manage relations and contacts on social media (taking into account aspects of privacy and security)
	To control any personal details shared on the Internet (taking into account aspects of privacy and security)
	To filter content depending on the people you want to share with
	To construct and manage a digital identity (taking into account aspects of privacy and security)

Table 6. Risk prevention skills.

In general, the teens in our sample group were relatively well informed about the potential risks in the digital media usage. They seemed, however, not to have adopted significant security practices, beside 'being cautious over potential risks'. The role of parental control was small.

### 3.3. Netnography: Snapchat Celebrities among Finnish Teens

The field work for the netnography approach to Finnish teens' use of Snapchat was conducted from May 10th to June 10<sup>th</sup> 2017. The Snapchat personalities to be followed were selected based on the previous fieldwork at Jyvaskyla area schools, including workshops and interviews with students at 7<sup>th</sup> grade (12-13 years old) and at upper secondary school 2<sup>nd</sup> grade (16-17 years old). Three of the personalities were mentioned during workshops and/or in the interviews, and one was selected based on his quickly risen following among teenagers, even though he was not yet as well recognized at the time of the field work at schools (Spring 2016).

Here we will concentrate on the two active and visible Snapchat users, @soikkuyo and @Tuireboelius. Snapchat is challenging to observe as a regular follower, as none of the replies by followers – either responses as snaps, or through the chat channel – are not visible for other users. Thus, the observations are limited to the published content by

the Snapper, where other user feedback is openly mentioned and reacted to, or possibly implied in various ways.

Snapchat is relatively novel service in social media, and there is not much research of it available yet. Rahja (2013) reported on the youth media use, especially concerning news, that teenagers mainly receive their daily news through social media, like vlogs. Also in a Finnish tv current affairs programme, in August 2017, the 10-11 years old in an interview told they follow news through Roni Back's vlog (Roni Back, 23, being currently one of the most popular Youtubers in Finland). The teenagers interviewed in schools, however, considered Snapchat more as a personal communication channel, mainly with friends, and didn't at that time (Spring 2016) much relate to popularities' snaps.

Soikku (born 1991) is a female social media personality, who turned 26 during the fieldwork period. She is actively using Youtube, Instagram, Snapchat, Twitter and Facebook, and previously (2011-2016) she occasionally published in her blog as well. She started posting Youtube videos right after Youtube was opened in 2005, and started her own channel in 2012. She concentrates on her daily life, and often shows her pets (currently a dog and a bunny) in the videos. The main part of her followers are girls between 13 and 17 years. In 2014, Soikku appeared in the Finnish version of the tv show Dances with Stars. She has 100.000+ subscribers to her Youtube channel, and tens of thousands of followers in Snapchat, Instagram, Facebook and Twitter.

Tuure Boelius (born in 2001) is a 16 years old Youtuber, media personality, and at the time of the field work, still an upper primary school pupil. After the field work period he has published his first song as a singer. Tuure is active in Youtube, with 130.000+ subscribers to his channel, in Instagram with 101.000 followers, and in Snapchat with tens of thousands of followers. Tuure is openly gay and due to his vlog entry titled "I am gay" in 2016, he was nominated the Gay of the Year 2017 in Finland. The nomination created a fuzz and provoked angry responses, as many considered it inappropriate to make a minor a figurehead of gay community. Tuure was 15 years old when he published the coming-out vlog, but had already turned 16 at the time of the nomination. Despite this kind of fuzz about him being gay, Tuure's Snapchat or other social media

publications are not programmatically promoting or presenting sexual identity as a topic in itself.

In interviews Tuure has stated, that he is aiming at a career of a performing artist, and considers social media publishing a way to prepare for such career. In addition to social media, he has been appearing in a Finnish tv youth programme Summeri, appeared in three theatre plays, and he practices dance. At the time of the field work, Tuure just finished elementary school and started what he calls “a year off”, not attending any school but focusing on his social media content production. for a whole year.

In both cases, the main tenet is sharing the everyday life of the snappers. The snappers are showing their life at home, in school, with friends and in public appearances. They are advertising their other social media channels, especially Youtube videos, promoting content by fellow Youtubers, and music published by Finnish artists. In Soikku’s case, her pets and topics related to them are recurring themes; in Tuure’s case the lip synced songs often accompanied by a dance choreography are an often recurring theme.

The followers of Soikku are mainly 13-17 year old girls, where as Tuure is followed by a bit younger audience (11-15), genderwise it is a mix, where girls are quite clearly a majority over boys (there is no reliable data on the gender division, but the comments posted in Tuure’s Instagram and Youtube channel seemed to be clearly female dominated. Also the feedback to Tuure’s snaps, based on his responses to it, apparently comes mainly from girls.

The snappers obviously serve as role models to followers, who often are younger than the snappers. With Soikku this is more emphasised, as she is in her 20’s with followers mainly teenagers. As both snappers happened to move to a new apartment during the period, there is much of discussion of what all you need to take into account, and what kind of purchases to do, when furnishing a new home. So running a household is an important skill exposed from various angles in the snaps. Relationship issues also figure heavily, more so in Tuure’s case, but both of them highlight the value of friends and friendship.

How to deal with publicity is also something that the snappers reflect frequently. At the same time as they are inviting people to share their life, also at home, they draw a clear

line to stalking and harassing, and in clear terms tell their followers what kind of behavior is off limits.

The technical issues of producing audio-visual contents is often mentioned, by usually just passing. Tuure is discussing how to create proper lightning conditions to record his lip sync performances. Soikku posts several snaps from the school studio, showing herself involved in recording and arrangement tasks. Both of them also occasionally discuss technical problems and challenges when publishing their videos. Even though they are not providing specific directions on how to solve certain technical challenges, at least point towards the kind of skills which are needed in social media content production.

For Soikku, pets and taking care of animals is a special area. She discusses various issues, and shows how to handle bunnies and dogs: "eka kerta kun kanin hampaat uppos mun käteen, annoin porkkanaa ja se vissiin puri vahingossa" ("first time ever bunny's teeth cut into my hand, I was feeding carrot and I guess it bite me accidentally", Soikku 9.6.) Mainly, the pets appear in the snaps as co-habitants in Soikku's home (see Image 4). For Tuure, his sexual orientation is a cause for much of hate messages in commentary (especially in Instagram), and his way of positively showing off his life serves as an important social skill for anybody in a suppressed minority group.

Based on some of the questions posed by the followers, as repeated by the snappers, as well as questions in the Youtube and Instagram, the followers often turn to the snappers in order to ask their advice in issues related to one's looks (Am I ugly? Am I fat?) and to social relations and especially as regards to the opposite sex (How should I approach him/her? Does this mean he/she is interested in me?) It seems that the snappers are authoritative figures easier approach than parents, teachers, school nurses or such.

More media skills specific questions to the snappers are connected to issues like "Is it ok to ban somebody from your Snapchat?", "Should I follow my ex-boyfriend in Snapchat?" etc.

The snappers make it highly obvious, how much work is required in producing social media content regularly, and with partnerships. They also divide their content delivery to different channels, and require the followers to make their way from Instagram

(where ideas for a challenge are asked) to Snapchat (where preparations for the challenge are discussed) to Youtube (where the challenge video is eventually published).

The snappers regularly participate in promotion campaigns of radio channels or other companies, asking their followers to tag friends in certain social media comment fields, in order to participate in lotteries where eg. tickets to concerts are handed out as prizes. “@melinaleotta instassa on linkki johon kannattaa kaikkien mennä, siellä on hyviä alennuksia” (“@melinaleotta in Instagram, there is a link you should all go to, there are a lot of good bargains”, Tuure 26.5.)

There is a kind of hive-mind or collective intelligence approach especially in Soikku’s snaps, when she asks recommendations or help from the audience. Tuure asks help to notify unofficial Musical.ly accounts: “voitteko käydä ilmiantaa nää [screenshot @boelius ja @tuureboelius musical.ly –tileistä], teen nyt uuden tilin, noi jota ilmiannoin ei oo mun omia” (“can you please go and report these [screenshots of @boelius and @tuureboelius musical.ly accounts], I’ll now create a new account, those that I showed are not mine”). Collective knowledge also implicit in “Tätä ei Jonnet tiedä” (Newbies don’t know this) / “Vaan Jonnet tietää” (Only Newbies know this) lists, mainly about tv series, popular foods, candies of certain era. Most important learning strategies asking help from peers, and anecdotal stories (Tuure in Stockholm: “I avoid using mobile net connection abroad – a friend of mine just managed to make a 70 euro phone bill in Sweden”).

There is a sense of diary in both Snaps, the authors reflect on their own life, choices and options in the posts. It is also part of their living and career making, in that they create publicity which produces employment opportunities and brings in revenue through advertising. In the social media whole, the snaps seem to be glimpses behind scenes, when Youtube videos are more like the show proper (very clearly in the case of Tuure’s Roadtrip to Lapland – he posts snaps through the several day trip, and eventually, there was the compiled and edited My Roadtrip video posted to Youtube, which gave quite different take on the experience). For the audience, the snappers are idols, role models and ambassadors, whose recommendations for music, other Youtubers, events, and such are highly valued.

## 4. Conclusions

This research has found support for the hypotheses that todays teenagers possess significant transmedia skills, which are mainly obtained through informal learning strategies. The learning strategies, despite yielding quite impressive results in some respects, are somewhat limited in scope, emphasizing information search from search engines (almost exclusively Google Search) and sources such as Youtube, Wikipedia and social media. Information is also sought after from family and friends, family especially playing an important role. Trial and error is another important strategy, especially when it comes to learning to use new devices or software products. Imitation is another strategy which is applied either imitating exemplary persons in the close vicinity (siblings, friends) or people performing sample cases online (mainly in Youtube). There is also considerable versatility in making use of available materials for urgent needs, which was demonstrated in the story production workshops, especially. As Rauna Rahja has stated, "Offering peer support, providing recommendations and communal sharing are all natural modes of behaviour online for much of the youth today. They like to act reciprocally and communally in the Internet" (2013, 22) This communal and sharing-oriented spirit is clearly the strength of informal learning contexts, but on the other hand, its use of highly limited sources of information is a serious drawback. One of the lessons here is, then, that where formal teaching is especially needed, is in providing more diverse voices and sources of information into the equation.

There are consiredable skills related to media and story production, narrative and aesthetics, social management and risk prevention. Here again, there are simultaneously shortcomings, such as preferring mobile and social media applications with strictly limited editing options, over more powerful (and demanding) software tools running in PCs/Macs. Aesthetic and narrative skills are broad and quite nuanced. There is a good sense of media related representation conventions, and understanding of complex phenomena such as transfictional identities. Parody as a mode recognized and appreciated.

Netnographical observation of popular Finnish Snapchat personalities provided a complimentary perspective on informal learning and transmedia skills. Soikku and Tuure

Boelius both have accepted a kind of educational role, Soikku more explicitly, as she is a bit older than the majority of her followers. Tuure, on the other hand, provides example of self-esteem and courage to challenge prevailing majority views in his open gayness, and vulnerability. Both of them are constantly receiving questions and pleas of help and advice from the teens who obviously are not willing to face family and friends with such issues. Snapchat practices are deeply seated in a complex transmedial setting, where it is a norm that Instagram, Youtube, Spotify, Twitter and such are constantly referred to, and taken for granted parts of everybody's daily media feed.

The netnography part emphasizes in a highly important way the informality of informal learning. It brings in such intimate themes and issues, that the field work could not touch upon, not even in the interviews. Instead of teaching specific skills, social media seems to be gaining importance in teaching how to find yourself and your own way of life. For the teenagers often struggling with various identity crises, that is a fundamental lesson.

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