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"DISGUSTING TELEVISION" AND OTHER NARRATIVES
ON MEDIA USE

How young adults living in St. Petersburg tell about
their media environment?

The topic of this study is the patterns of media use among young adults who live in St. Petersburg. The central research question is how the societal macro context appears in the narrative on media use. The participants in the study are young adults who were teenagers at the time when the Soviet Union disintegrated. After the disintegration of the Soviet Union, Russian society and the media system changed dramatically in a short time. Therefore, Russia is an interesting context in which to study people's relation to their media environment.

The research material was collected in May-June 2006 in St. Petersburg. The material consists of eight qualitative interviews. The participants in the study were 25–30-year-old men and women with a university education. The analysis was based on a narrative approach. As a result of the analysis, three different orientations were recognised. The orientations are combinations of different relationships with the media environment and media use and inner narratives. The concept of inner narrative refers to understanding of oneself.

The recognized orientations are *Societal*, *Instrumental* and *Private*. Characteristics of the Societal orientation are strong criticism of the political circumstances of contemporary Russia and a clear division of the media environment into the organs of the ruling power and its opposition. The Instrumental orientation emphasizes the usefulness of information as a factor directing media use. The Private orientation, in turn, represents media use in the context of everyday life. The narrators with this orientation evaluate media content based on its emotional effects on people, which differentiates this orientation from the two others.

Additional questions for the analysis were the participants' relation to reading and the print media and how the dual characteristic of the media as technological objects and the mediators of social meanings appeared in the narrative. Based on the analysis, one can conclude that reading and the print media are still culturally valued among young adults, even if in everyday use the printed format has been replaced by the Internet, especially in relation to informational needs. The dual character of the media was analyzed in relation to mobile phones. The material contained gender-based variation, so that the female participants emphasized the function of mobile phones as a mediator of social relations. In the narrative of male participants, the mobile phone was also represented as a technological object, which is desired because of its status value.

The qualitative approach that was applied in the study revealed the participants' own signification processes. The analysis proved that societal conditions appear in the narrative as a factor affecting media use. To be able to cover the participants' own views of everyday media use, it was important to include all the media formats in the same analysis.

TAMPEREEN YLIOPISTO

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LEINONEN, ANNA: "VASTENMIELINEN TELEVISIO" JA MUITA KERTOMUKSIA
MEDIANKÄYTÖSTÄ Miten pietarilaiset nuoret aikuiset kertovat mediankäytöstään?

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Tutkimus käsittelee pietarilaisten nuorten aikuisten mediankäyttöä. Tutkimuksen keskeinen kysymys liittyy siihen, miten yhteiskunnallinen makrokonteksti tulee esille mediankäyttöön liittyvässä kerronnassa. Tutkimuksen osallistujat ovat nuoria aikuisia, jotka olivat teini-ikäisiä Neuvostoliiton hajotessa. Neuvostoliiton hajoamisen jälkeen Venäjän yhteiskunta ja mediajärjestelmä ovat muuttuneet voimakkaasti lyhyessä ajassa. Siten maa tarjoaa mielenkiintoisen kontekstin mediasuhdetta käsittelevälle tutkimukselle.

Tutkimuksen aineisto on koottu kevätkesällä 2006 Pietarissa. Aineisto koostuu kahdeksasta haastattelusta. Tutkimuksen osallistujat olivat 25–30-vuotiaita akateemisen koulutuksen saaneita naisia ja miehiä. Analyysissä sovellettiin narratiivista lähestymistapaa, jonka avulla aineistosta tunnistettiin kolme erilaista orientaatiota. Orientaatioilla tarkoitetaan kerronnassa esiintyviä yhdistelmiä suhteesta mediaympäristöön ja mediankäyttöön sekä tarinoiden sisältämiä käsityksiä omasta itsestä, johon viitataan sisäisen tarinan (inner narrative) käsitteellä.

Analyysissä tunnistetut orientaatiot olivat *Yhteiskunnallinen*, *Instrumentaalinen* ja *Yksityinen*. Yhteiskunnalliselle orientaatiolle tyypillisiä piirteitä ovat voimakas kritiikki Venäjän vallitsevaa politiikkaa kohtaan ja mediaympäristön jakaminen kahteen osaan valta–oppositio-akselilla. Instrumentaalinen orientaatio korostaa saatavan informaation hyödyllisyyttä mediankäyttöä ohjaavana tekijänä. Yksityisessä orientaatiossa sen sijaan mediankäyttö esiintyy arkisessa oman elämän kontekstissa. Tämän orientaation kertojat arvioivat mediasisältöjä niiden tunnevaikutusten perusteella, mikä oli poikkeavaa kahteen muuhun orientaatioon verrattuna.

Tutkimuksessa analysoitiin lisäksi osallistujien suhdetta lukemiseen ja printtimediaan sekä sitä, miten medioiden kaksoisluonne teknologioina ja toisaalta sosiaalisten merkitysten välittäjinä tuli esiin kerronnassa. Analyysin perusteella voi päätellä, että lukeminen ja printtimedia ovat edelleen kulttuurisesti arvostettuja nuorten aikuisten keskuudessa, vaikka painettu formaatti on tehnyt tilaa internetille arkipäivässä etenkin tietotarpeisiin liittyen. Medioiden kaksoisluonnetta analysoitiin etupäässä matkapuhelimia käsittelevässä kerronnassa. Aineistossa oli havaittavissa sukupuolten välistä vaihtelua siten, että naisten puheessa korostui matkapuhelinten funktio sosiaalisten suhteiden ylläpitäjänä. Miesten puheessa matkapuhelimet esiintyivät myös teknologisina objekteina, jotka voivat olla haluttuja niihin sisältyvän statusarvon vuoksi.

Työssä sovellettu lähestymistapa mahdollisti osallistujien oman merkityksenannon esiintulon tutkimuksessa. Analyysi osoitti, että yhteiskunnalliset olosuhteet tulevat kerronnassa selkeästi esille mediankäyttöön vaikuttavina tekijöinä. Osallistujien oman arkipäivän näkökulman kannalta oli tärkeää sisällyttää kaikki mediamuodot samaan analyysiin.

Contents

1   Introduction

The formulation of a research problem may be a slow and gradual process. Although the topic of this study – the patterns of media use among young adults who live in St. Petersburg – was clearly in my mind long before I even started the research, the final definition of approaches and research questions took a rather long time. When I selected the topic for my master's thesis I knew that Russia is an interesting society for a study on media use as it has undergone a fundamental social and political change during the 1990s after the collapse of the Soviet Union. The transition from the Soviet system to the present one also affected Russian media structures and equally people's attitudes towards the media. Elena Vartanova, professor of journalism at Moscow State University, suggests that Russians have turned from a reading nation to a watching nation (Vartanova 2002, 24). This refers to the declining importance of newspapers in the daily lives of Russians in society more generally and the growing importance of TV. In addition to internal social changes Russia is also involved in general global developments (I. Zassoursky 2002, 75; Rantanen 2002). In the field of communication these developments can be divided into technological and structural changes. In the technological sphere new technologies have emerged such as the Internet and mobile communication technology. The structural changes of media systems can be described by four tendencies: privatization, internationalization, commercialization and media concentration (Sinue 1998, 1).

From the very beginning I was interested in the generation of Russians who were born in the Soviet Union and grew into adults through the turbulent years of change in the 1990s. Semenova (2005) has produced a typology of generations based on qualitative analysis of texts by 1600 Russians who were asked to describe their own generation. The participants in my study are somewhere between the two youngest generation groups: the *generation of the transformation period*, who were born in the 1960s and 1970s, and the *post-perestroika generation*, who were born in the 1980s. Semenova characterizes (2005, 102) the first group as active people who adapted to the changing social conditions but lost a collective goal in their lives. This generated experiences of alienation and early disappointment. Therefore, this generation tends to turn back to the past rather than orientate to the future. However, they are pragmatic and diligent people and therefore able to achieve certain success in their lives despite the changing conditions and disappointing experiences. According to

Semenova (op.cit., 105) the representatives of the youngest post-perestroika generation are individual, future-oriented and conscious about goals in life. On the other hand, they have also adopted a hedonistic way of life which is directed to achieving happiness and pleasure instead of fulfilling any obligations. As the participants of my study were quite young in the years of transformation – they were born in 1981–1976 – I believe that they represent the post-perestroika generation rather than the previous one but some of the older participants might fit also into the previous generation.

As I was interested in the societal change in Russia and a group of certain aged people, it felt natural to choose a biographical approach in the interviews that I made for the study. A great deal of the interview time consisted usually of narration on childhood memories and changes in media habits during the course of life. However, the biographical approach did not provide sufficient guidelines for the analysis. The material was not in-depth enough to analyze influences of the childhood background or life experiences on the participants' use of media. Over time, I started to realize that the interview talk gave an insight into the interviewee's general views of her or his media environment rather than a coherent review of inner development as a media user.

However, I was finally able to formulate a research problem for my study:

How participants, who are young adults with an academic educational background, present their relationship to the media environment through their narrative on media use.

This research problem generates a methodological challenge: How to interpret and understand the participants of the study and their experiences of life? My choice in this study, as the formulation of the research problem suggests, is narrative approach. There are different understandings and approaches to narrative research in different disciplines (Heikkinen 2000), but for this study, the most important aspects are the following. First of all, the term narrative refers to the process of knowing and the constructionist view of knowledge, meaning that people construct their worldview and identities based on their former experiences and knowledge. Therefore, static identities are also not possible, but they are constantly reshaped in narratives and negotiated in social communication. The second aspect of narrative approach is that the research material itself is considered narratives, which follow certain stylistic rules or storyline. In this study, the research material consists of the interviewees' memories and telling about their media use. The objective of the analysis is to explore the participants' own understanding on their media use. A central theoretical framework used in the

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analysis is a model of narrative circulation (Hänninen 2004) which discusses the interactions and relations of told narrative (speech), lived narrative (life experiences) and inner narrative (the understanding of oneself). This model led me to recognize different variations in the narrative, which I call *orientations*. The orientations are combinations of different relationships to the media environment and inner narratives. I discuss the methodological issues in more detail in the second chapter of this study. The analysis findings, including the three orientations that I recognized in my material, are presented in the fifth chapter.

As my research problem was to explore the participants' relation to their media environment therefore it was necessary to have a basic knowledge of this environment. As a result, I included in this study a chapter about the Russian media environment and the changes after the disintegration of the Soviet Union (in the chapter 3). This chapter describes the changes based on statistics and former research literature. Many of the previous studies concentrate on the structural development of the Russian media system (e.g. Vartanova 2002; Belin 2002; Rantanen 2002) or on relations between the political power and the media (e.g. I. Zassoursky 2002 and 2004; Simon 2004). There are also some studies that explore the development of journalistic norms and practices in the Russian media (Pietiläinen 2002b; Voltmer 2002; Pasti 2005). Media users or audiences have not attracted that much attention among scholars, even if in recent years, some openings in this field, especially in a form of Nordic–Russian cooperation, have emerged[1].

When I travelled to St. Petersburg to collect research material for this study, I also had another objective in mind. I wanted to reach the sources of contemporary Russian audience or media use research. I started searching from the library of the Department of Journalism at the State University of St. Petersburg which hosted my visit. The results were limited; the few studies that I found had been done in the Soviet times. They had titles, such as *Television audience: Structure, orientation, cultural activity* (Akademya Nauk SSSR 1973); *Editors and audience: Sociological analysis* (Korobeinikov 1983) or *Mass communication and the public opinion of young people* (Ossovskii et.al. 1990). A common basis for these studies is that they all are based on quantitative

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[1] The Department of Journalism and Mass Communication at the University of Tampere has a cooperation project with Faculty of Journalism at the State University of Moscow titled "Media in a changing Russia" (2006-2008). One research area of the project is media use. Söderstörns Högskola in Sweden has a project called "The significance of the media for identity and democracy" (2006–2008), which includes comparative analysis of data collected in Stockholm and St. Petersburg. (See http://webappl.web.sh.se/C1256CD200369F7E/0/59CD30E7E1A3C102C125711C0048B616

methodologies and aimed at characterizing audiences or forming audience typologies. The last one had also a methodological focus and it combined a content analysis of newspapers with audience survey. As the library search did not lead me to any contemporary research I tried another strategy and contacted the research personnel of the faculty. I made contact with the departments of Communication Sociology, Contemporary Periodicals and Communication Theory and the Institute of Mass Communication. These discussions gave me an insight into the activities of the Faculty of Journalism, which appeared to mainly concentrate on theoretical considerations and research on mass media contents. I was advised to contact the department of sociology, which I also did.

The discussion at the department of sociology[2] strengthened the impression that I had got about the trends of media use research in Russia over the years. My – highly speculative – view is that audience research was an important topic in the Soviet Union because the mass media were central in the dissemination of the official policy and propaganda. An indicator of this is for example that one of the above mentioned books (Korobeinikov 1983) even used a term *sryedstva massovoy informatsii i propagandi* [3]referring to the mass media. In other words, it was important to know the media audience and the mass media effects on it to be able to formulate and direct the propaganda so that the influences would be the desired ones. After the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the commercialization of the media system, the media audience also diversified. The old approaches and information needs did not apply to the new situation and the academy has not found new aims or methodologies to approach the question of media use. This description may be over-simplified and not based on wide enough examination but it is inspired by the ideas of how academic fields evolve. Pietilä presents (1997, 22–24) two general attempts to explain the development of disciplines: internalism and externalism. Internalism refers to factors that are derived from the internal development of academic research; new research findings and cumulative understanding generates new questions and approaches for further research. Externalism, in turn, refers to factors that come outside the academy, such as funding of certain fields or topics, political ideologies, or any societal impact that directs academic research. In the case of Russia, this would mean that media use was not considered an important or central topic for research after the Soviet system did not exist anymore. Instead the commercial media system needed information on audience sizes or

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[2] Discussion with Sergei Vadimovits Damberg on 5 June 2006.
[3] More commonly used version is *sryedstva massovoy informatsii* (SMI), which can be translated freely as *the means for informing the masses*.

media ratings which is also a topic of the almost only recent Russian articles that I was able to find about the media use (Šarkov&Baranova 2005). On the other hand, the internal development in the field of social sciences in Russia has not lead towards new directions such as qualitative analyses on media and therefore also new questions or initiatives for audience research have probably not emerged.

As this study concerns media use, its theoretical background lays in communication research. The history of audience research has been divided into two main lines: the Mass Communication Research (MCR) tradition and culturally oriented research (Jensen &Rosengren 1990; Ridell 1998, Bengtsson 1995). One aspect, which separates these lines, is the dominance of quantitative methodologies in the MCR-tradition and qualitative approaches in the culturally oriented tradition. Based on methodological aspects this study is part of the culturally oriented tradition. Another argument to this direction is that this study takes the *everyday life's context* in media use as an important starting point. The everyday life's context appeared to media use studies intensively in the 1980s along with a school of qualitative audience research, which is called media ethnography.

The supporters of the ethnographic approach in media studies claimed that the former research had over emphasized the significance of the media messages and the individual's role in the receiving process (Alasuutari 1999b). Characteristic to the new ethnographic direction of research was the diminishing interest in programme contents; instead the functions of the medium in the lives of the informants become central to the research (op.cit.,4–6). Some scholars even claimed that media use should be understood as a relatively meaningless routine activity rather than saturated with meanings, as the previous culturally oriented research had presumed (Hermes 1993). In many cases, the ethnographic approach in a study meant that it contained in-depth interviews of media users. This provoked criticism in the field of research, and it is claimed that this so called "media ethnography" did not manage to bring any new methodological or epistemological approaches to qualitative reception studies (Jensen 2002b, 165–166). Jensen suggests that new perspectives could be found applying multidisciplinary approaches in the research of audience experience and use of media. There could be two alternative setting for research: either the study could explore the use of a certain medium or genre by several audience groups, or the uses of several media or genre by one specific social group. This study follows the latter pattern, and therefore I encouraged the interviewees to tell about their media use as a whole and not to concentrate on a single medium.

The media ethnography approach has also been criticized for its denial of theories (Ridell 1998). The critics claim that ethnographic researchers acknowledge the position of 'theory' to people's commonplace understanding on media use. Taking this critique seriously, I wanted to find some background theory for my study to help me analyze the qualitative interview material. For this purpose I found from earlier research literature a theoretical model called the uses and dependency model (Rubin&Whindahl 1986), which the writers characterize as a society-based and user-centric model. In other words, the model combines the societal macro context of media use and the more user-centric and individualistic aspects of the Uses and gratifications theory. The uses and dependency model is based on quantitative research traditions, but it still provided a useful framework for my qualitative analysis together with the model of narrative circulation which was discussed above. The uses and dependency model has been utilized in the analysis of Chinese society (Sun et.al. 2001), and discovered to be suitable for analyzing transforming societies, such as China – or such as Russia has certainly been in the 1990s and in the beginning of the 21st century.

2   How to study media use? Methodological aspects

In this study, I explore how young adults living in St. Petersburg tell about their relation to the media environment and about their own media use. This topic has three different aspects, which need to be discussed to formulate a methodological framework for the study. The first one is *the concept of media*, which is widely used in today's research literature, but not always explicitly defined. Therefore, I start by defining the concept of media. The second aspect is *media use*, and more precisely, how this type of activity has been understood in the different traditions of media use research. This discussion follows in the second sub-section of this chapter. The third sub-section discusses the possibilities to study people's experiences and life stories, and represents some theoretical concepts that are central for this study.

2.1   Two dimensions of media: technological and social

The concept of media is not necessarily so clear in today's world, even if it is not always discussed in research reports. The media are understood in this study, according to Jensen's (2002a, 6) definition, as *technologies that enable reflexivity on a social scale, as they produce and circulate meaning in society.* By the definition, the media are phenomena, which contain two dimensions: one as a technological artefact, and on the other hand, as an actor that participates in the processes of signification. When the media are understood like this, the concept includes not only the traditional mass media, but also other media, such as mobile phones, electronic games or DVD-movies.

To wider conceptualize the variety of the media, Jensen identifies three different *degrees* of media (op.cit., 3–4). This division can be used as a framework for understanding the technological development in the field of media technology. Figure 2.1, which I have constructed based on Jensen's division, illustrates this development. The outer circle represents the media of the first degree, which are dependent on the presence of a human body, and therefore, they operate always in local time and space. Examples of these are speech, or verbal language in general, musical expression, painting or creative arts more generally. These media are not included in this study,

whereas the two inner circles in the figure 2.1 are in the scope of this study. The middle circle represents the media of the second degree, which are technically reproduced forms of communication. Technology enables communication across time and space, and therefore the circulation of meanings is not anymore dependent on the number or presence of the participants in the communication process. The traditional mass media are examples of this type of media. In the core of the figure 2.1, are the media of the third degree. The development of digital technology has enabled the reproduction and combination of the previous media to single platforms. A good example of this development is a mobile phone, which can include a camera, terminal device for recorded music and electronic games, or even for TV broadcasting. This development has also changed the processes of production and distribution of the media messages: Internet enables anyone with adequate technical skills and sufficient equipment to establish own on-line publication. Another aspect to note is that the media in the inner circle complement, and in some extent possibly even replace, the use of the media in the outer circles. This aspect brings another dimension in the picture, the use of media.
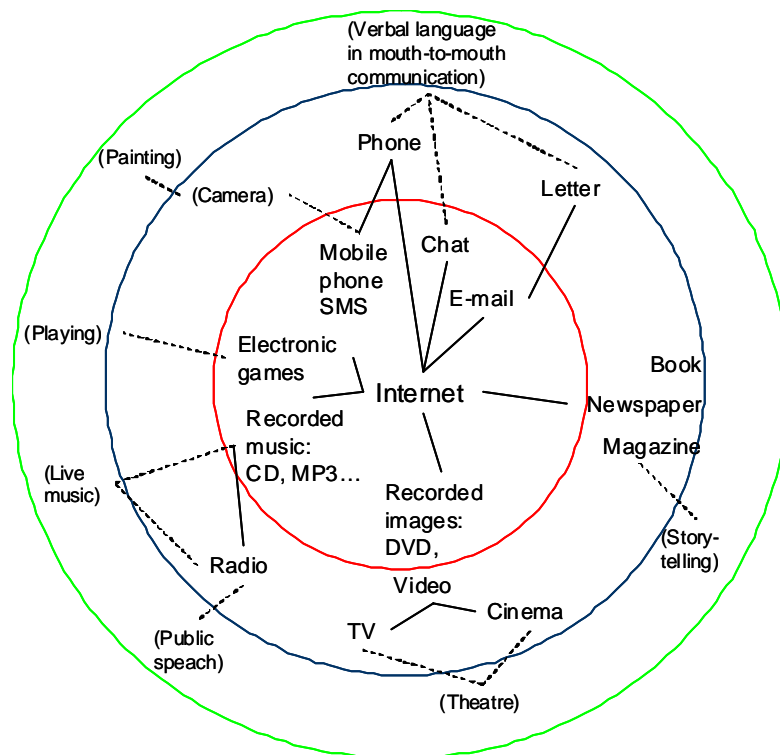

Figure 2.1. The circles represent (from the outermost to the inner one) 1) the media of the first degree, which are dependent on the presence of the human body; 2) the media of the second decree, which are technologically reproduced forms of communication; 3) the media of the third degree, which are digitally reproduced platforms.

The user perspective is central in Livingstone's insight on new media. She (1999, 60) argues that the 'newness' of new media technology cannot be understood if the technological development is not located 'within the cultural process and associated timescale of domestic diffusion and appropriation'. This means that the newness is rather a process of cultural change or an appearance of new social uses of the media than a technological property, and therefore, to understand the new media and the societal difference they make, these social uses should be brought on the research agenda. Rantanen (2001) applies Livingstone's distinction between technologically new and socially new media to Russian context (see table 2.1).

Table 2.1. Technologically and socially old/new communication technologies in the Soviet Union/Russia. (Rantanen 2001, 87).

	SOCIALLY NEW	SOCIALLY OLD
Technologically new	Internet Mobile phones	Samizdat Videos
Technologically old	Telephone	Television

As the Soviet Union was a centrally controlled society, the official policy favoured also centralized communication technologies, such as television or public telephones for individual use. Almost every household in the Soviet Union had a television, but telephones were available primarily to organizations. Because telephones were not widely accessible in the Soviet Union, they can be classified as socially new, even if the technology is old. On the other hand, television is both technologically and socially old due to its wide use in the society. In another end of the *centralized/decentralized* division are the technologically new communication technologies, such as Internet or mobile phones nowadays, and samizdat publications and videos in the Soviet times. To understand the socially old, but technologically new, technologies, we need another division: *official/unofficial*. The official centralized policy produced an unofficial society, which used new technologies for communication. *Samizdat* is a term used for underground, self-made copies of officially prohibited literature that were distributed by hand. Videos entered Russian markets in the 1980s through the unofficial society, mainly through individuals' foreign contacts. The forth field in the division of communication technologies are the technologically and socially new technologies. Examples here are Internet and mobile phones, which are becoming common in Russia only recently, in the beginning of the 21st century.

This sub-section discussed the concept of media. By the definition that is adopted in this study, the media can be understood as phenomenon, which contain two dimensions: They are technological artefacts in one hand, but at the same time they are actors in social signification processes. This suggests that when people are speaking about their media use patterns, they may refer to both these dimensions. When the media are seen as technological artefacts, they are something that you can buy from a domestic appliance store; or dream to have, if you cannot afford to buy; or use as a decorating element at your home. When people are speaking about the other dimension of the media, they are probably also telling about their relations to other people or the world around them at the same time. Another implication of the technological aspect of media is that they can be developed as any other technologies. In recent decades, we have indeed seen a huge development in this field, but as was recognized above, the adoption of new media is always a social process. Therefore, the newness of media technology should be evaluated rather on social than technological bases. The Post-Soviet Russia constitutes an especially interesting context to this kind of evaluations because the Soviet media system was centrally controlled and the use of some technologies was restricted.

How should we then approach the phenomenon of media use and how do the different research traditions approach it? I elaborate this question in the following sub-section.

2.2   The traditions of media use research

In this sub-section I give a brief background for the media use research traditions. Bengtsson (1995, 1–2) summarizes the broad field of media use research into three principal questions, which cover the research perspectives:

- *How do we use the media?* This question includes various research issues, such as the amount of media use, the type or genre of used media content, or the relation established with the media content.
- *Why do we use the media?* This question covers perspectives that are interested in the individuals' motives to use certain medium, or the gratifications obtained in the use. Also, any societal, social or individual characteristics that affect the media use are in this focus.

- *How do we interpret and respond to the media?* This question has been approached from two perspectives: how people interpret the mediated messages, on one hand, and how the messages affect people, on the other.

The research has approached these three principal questions from different perspectives, and we can even talk about separate research traditions in the field of communication studies, although there might not be a total consensus on the traditions among the scholars. (See for example Jensen&Rosengren 1990, Bengtsson 1995, Ridell 1998, who all make a slightly different divisions of the research traditions.) I follow the division by Ridell (1998). Table 2.2 shows the main characteristics of four research traditions. The main division goes between the Mass Communication Research (MCR), which emerged in the USA in the 1930s and the cultural research tradition, which shaped in the late 1970s, and was based mainly on the European traditions of thoughts. The most significant separator of these main branches was the transition from the hegemony of quantitative research methods to qualitative ones.

Table 2.2. Main characteristics of the media use research traditions (based on Ridell 1998, 450)

	MCR TRADITION		CULTURAL AUDIENCE RESEARCH	
	Effects Research	**Uses and gratifications**	**Reception analysis**	**Media ethnography**
The time of formation	Late 1930s	(1940s-) 1960s	Late 1970s	Mid 1980s
Key word	Effect	Need	Meaning	Everyday routine
Research focus	The effects of media content on the attitudes	The use of media content to gratify the needs	The relation of media content and the receiver	Consumption of media in everyday context
Audience	Passive receiver	Active user	Active interpreter	Active consumer
Message	Carries the effect	Satisfies the needs	Polysemic text	Media technology as a text
Type of theory	Psychological behaviorism, empirical sociology	Social psychology	Semiotics	"no theory" (structuralism)
Methods	Quantitative	Quantitative	Qualitative	Qualitative

The MCR tradition understood mass communication as a process, where *A sends a message via a certain channel to B, who receives it with a certain effect*. This process is generally known as the transmission model of communication (Jensen 2002a, 7–8). This line of thought resulted in a psychologically oriented view on media use which disregarded social or cultural aspects. The

reception of mass media messages was understood according to behavioural psychological theories, which perceived human behaviour as series of reactions to various stimuli. A characteristic of the MCR tradition was a strong belief in the ideal of empirical and causal model of scientific research. Based on this ideal, the typical research setup was a laboratory test where a test group was exposed to certain stimuli (like propagandist radio speech) and their reactions, the effects of mass media, were measured afterwards (Pietilä 1997, 156–178). Ridell (1998, 437) argues that MCR-tradition and effects research understood media audience as a group of individuals, which was possible to delineate using valid scientific methods. The audience was seen as passive receivers, and they were always viewed as objects from the sender's end of the mass communication process. This view was a subject of criticism, which resulted in a turning of the viewpoint from the producer to the user, and formulation of the Uses and gratifications theory of media use in the 1960s.

A basic assumption of the Uses and gratifications theory is that media users are active participants in a communication process (Rubin 1994, 420). Therefore, media selection is goal-directed, purposive and motivated activity. This view differs from the previous understanding by the effect research, which considered media audience as a passive involuntary group of people used by the media. Instead, Uses and gratification theorists were interested in how people used and selected various media contents to gratify their needs and satisfy their interest. According to the theory, social and psychological factors mediate people's communication behaviour. Therefore, also the effects of media on people could not be understood to be straightforward, as in effect research, but filtered through the person's social and psychological circumstances, including for example the potential for interpersonal interaction, social categories and personality. The fundamental presumption of active role of the media users makes it necessary to recognize that media compete with other forms of communication in people's lives. People have other *functional alternatives* to gratify their needs and wants, and once again, the social and psychological circumstances of the media user define how well media or interpersonal communication satisfies one's needs and wants.

Ridell (1998, 439–440) argues that, even if the Uses and gratifications theory emphasized the active role of the media audience, its understanding of the audience was actually relatively similar to the Effects research. In both traditions, the audience was understood in accordance with the transmission model as a group of individuals who are a target for the media messages and a subject for the research to be delineated. The Uses and gratifications research was mainly based on

quantitative survey methods which gave the respondents preformulated alternatives describing media use and its motives. According to Ridell, the research therefore rather formulated the media audience such as was presumed beforehand than described it in its own terms. However, the Uses and gratifications researchers' pursuit of understanding the media audience and its uses and motivations resulted in different analyses of media use (Rubin 1994, 427). One of these was the recognition of two alternative media orientations: *ritualized* or *instrumental*. Ritualized media use refers to habitual time consumption and diversion. It also relates to greater exposure to and affinity with the medium than its instrumental counterpart. Instrumental media use is utilitarian in nature. It refers to information seeking and purposive and active media use, which stresses utility, intention, selectivity, and involvement.

In the 1970s, culturally oriented researchers started to question the MCR-tradition's understanding of mass communication and reception. The concern was that the MCR-tradition did not consider mass communication as a culturally mediated process, which is situated in a larger societal, economic and political context (Ridell 1998, 440). They criticized also the conception of media audience as a group of individuals who could be classified and delineated with socio-demographic indicators. Instead, the researchers started to be interested in the processes which took place in people's minds in the moment of reception. The new conception of media audience was an active interpreter of media messages. This new direction encouraged the use of qualitative research methodologies and the endeavor to carry out interpretative and understanding analyses.

Also in culturally oriented audience research, it is possible to recognize different phases. The first generation was reception research, which originates from the encoding/decoding model of communication introduced by Stuart Hall in his book *Encoding and Decoding in the Television Discourse* (published in 1973). The idea of the model is that the receiver generates the actual meaning of the message in decoding process. This meaning may differ from the one that was encoded by the author or producer of the message and another receiver may decode a different meaning from the same message. The distinction between this and the previous behavioural theories was that communication was no longer understood as a technical process, but semiotic or cultural. The decoding process became an important topic of reception research, in other words "the particular strategic moment when the encoded media message enters the brain of an individual viewer" (Alasuutari 1999b, 4).

The second generation of qualitative audience research emerged in the 1980s. Representatives of the second generation emphasized that one should examine reception from the audience's end of the mass communication chain. This resulted in demands for proper ethnographic case studies, which explore the everyday life of a group and relate the use of a program or a medium to it. This tendency was so strong that the academic discussion of the time even talked about *the ethnographic turn* of audience research. Characteristic of the new direction of research was the diminishing interest in program contents; instead functions of the medium in the lives of the informants become central to the research (Alasuutari 1999b, 4–6). Some scholars even claimed that media use should be understood as a relatively meaningless routine activity rather than saturated with meanings, as the previous culturally oriented research had presumed (e.g. Hermes 1993). According to Hermes, the 'meaninglessness' of media use originates from the everyday context and the fact that life is largely organized around routines, which do not allow for elaborate self reflection (op.cit. 498). As a consequence of this kind of thoughts, the research on media use needed to adopt new principles. Herman Bausinger (1984, 349–350) listed some of these principles. Firstly, a meaningful study of media use has to take into consideration the different media available for the user. Secondly, it is important to accept that the media are not used completely or with full concentration, but with varying attention depending on moods or other impulses of everyday life. Media use is an integral part of everyday life, and therefore also, media use is not an isolated, individual process but a collective process, which takes place in the family or other social context. In addition, media communication cannot be separated from direct personal communication; media contents are for example material for conversation.

The ethnographic turn of media studies required that researchers should approach the mass communication process from the user's end. In many cases, this meant that a study containing in-depth interviews with media users considered itself ethnographic. This provoked criticism in the field of media studies, and it was claimed that this 'so called media ethnography' did not manage to bring any new methodological or epistemological approaches to qualitative reception studies (Jensen 2002b, 165). Another subject of criticism is the media ethnography's objection to theories. According to Ridell (1998, 446), media ethnography denies any theorizations from outside when it strives for understanding the media use based on the users' own conceptions. At the same time, people's commonplace understanding on media use gets the position of 'theory', and this actually

constructs the media audience in the limited frame of the role, which is reserved for it by the media industry.

Pertti Alasuutari (1999b) suggests that qualitative audience research is moving towards a new generation after the media ethnography. This new direction is not yet completely formed, but Alasuutari lists three outlining aspects of the new research agenda. The first one is increasing reflexivity among researchers, but also among audience members. This means that the researchers should be, and they are, nowadays more conscious of the political perspectives of their research. The second aspect is that the theoretical paradigm of the research is moving from psychology – an attempt to understand audience members' mental processing and interpretation of media messages – to sociology. According to Alasuutari, the sociological view is focused on frames and discourses on the media and their contents, which are topics of the research in their own right, not 'a lens through which to peek into individual acts of reception' (op.cit., 15). The third aspect of the new research agenda is that the research is addressing the media and programs as a part of social reality. In other words, the research subject is wider media culture rather than single media or programs, and their effects or truthfulness.

In this section, I briefly presented the traditions of media use research. The traditions should not be considered as clearly defined or comprehensive traditions with established theoretical canon, but rather loose constructions with some similar kind of attempts to understand the media audience and media use. The traditions give different action potentials for the audience members. Also, audience's power positions in relation to the mass media are different in different traditions. Some of them see the audience members as passive and involuntary targets for the mass communication messages, and the others as active interpreters who may even resist the intended messages of mass communication. The recent understanding of media users – or human beings in general – is that people are able to reflect their life experiences, which has naturally implications on social research. In the following section, I describe the theoretical and methodological aspects that are crucial for my study.

2.3   The methodological framework of this study

One aspect that all of the research traditions, which were discussed in the previous section, are criticized about is their neglect of the wider societal, political and economic macro-context of media use (Bengtsson 1995, 31–32). All the traditions are relatively individualistic focusing only on the socio-economic or demographic characteristics of media users, or they touch upon the societal aspects only within a micro-sociology of everyday life. My original interest in doing this research focused on the societal change that took place in Russia after the disintegration of the Soviet Union. As a part of the societal change, also the media system changed. I had an implicit insight that the changing societal circumstances and media environment inevitable make the context of media use different, and they therefore also affect somehow the media use. To study this topic, I needed some theoretical concepts to understand the interconnectedness of societal context and media use. On the other hand, I needed also some methodological tools to analyze humans' experiences. This section discusses the theoretical and methodological tools that I used in this study.

To find some theoretical models on the relations of media use and societal context, I needed to go back to the 1980s. Alan M. Rubin and Sven Windahl (1986) suggested a theoretical construction called uses and dependency model. It is formulated by combining the concepts of two other theoretical models: the Uses and gratifications theory and a Dependency model. According to Rubin and Windahl (op.cit., 186), their model overcomes the shortcomings of the both background theories. The dependency theory is based on an idea that media use is essential in modern complex societies because people cannot get direct contacts with societal institutions. At the same time, political and media systems are interdependent: politicians need the media to reach voters and the media can operate only within the limits of the society's political atmosphere. This view is highly deterministic, because it emphases only the socio-structural aspects of media use and diminishes the role of individual as an active user. Equally, the Uses and gratifications theory is too voluntaristic, as it denies the effect of social relations on people's media use.
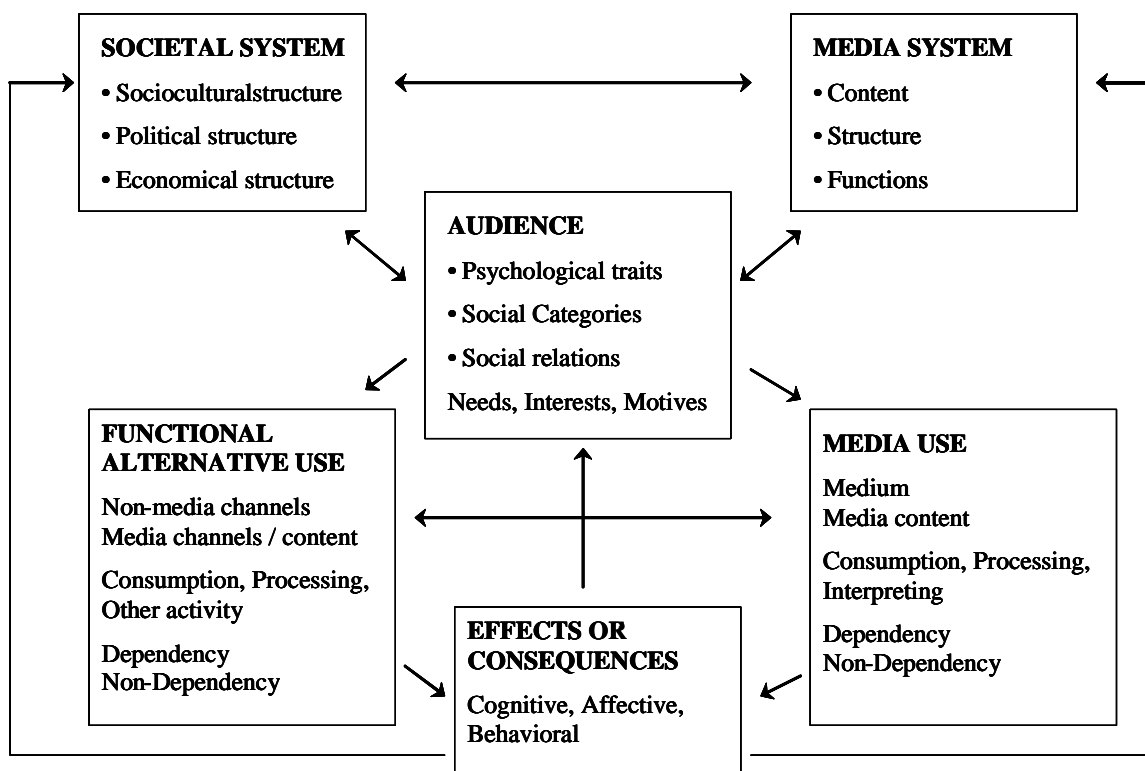
SOCIETAL SYSTEM	MEDIA SYSTEM
• Socioculturalstructure	• Content
• Political structure	• Structure
• Economical structure	• Functions

AUDIENCE
• Psychological traits
• Social Categories
• Social relations
Needs, Interests, Motives

FUNCTIONAL ALTERNATIVE USE

Non-media channels
Media channels / content

Consumption, Processing, Other activity

Dependency
Non-Dependency

MEDIA USE

Medium
Media content

Consumption, Processing, Interpreting

Dependency
Non-Dependency

EFFECTS OR CONSEQUENCES

Cognitive, Affective, Behavioral

Figure 2.2. The uses and dependency model (Rubin&Windahl, 1986)

Figure 2.2 shows an illustration of the uses and dependency model. The basis of the model is to combine user-centric and societal perspectives. In other words, the idea is that not only the individualistic characteristics of audience members, but also the societal circumstances and the media system affect media use. This view suggests that people's needs and motives are not stable, but vary in time and spatial context as they evolve in interactions with societal and communication systems (Rubin&Windahl 1986, 186). Other fundamental elements of the uses and dependency model are concepts of *functional alternatives* and *dependency*. According to Rubin and Windahl (op.cit. 187), dependency may result when an individual instrumentally seeks out certain communication messages or ritualistically uses certain communication channels. A key aspect in media use and dependency on certain channels is, whether there are other functional alternatives available to meet people's expectations or needs for information or communication.

In his earlier work, Rubin (1984) had conceptualized the *instrumental* and *ritualistic* media use. Instrumental media use refers to goal-directed use of media content to gratify informational needs or motives. Ritualized media use, on the other hand, refers to a more or less habitual use of a medium to gratify diversional needs or motives. Rubin argued (op.cit., 69) that the audience

activeness is also a varying phenomenon in quality and quantity, and it should be examined in relation to the above media use orientations. Rubin used quantitative survey data to explore the connection between certain television viewing patterns and contents, and the instrumental and ritualized orientations. Also, the connection between some demographic factors such as age and education, and the media use orientations were analyzed. Rubin's findings were (op.cit., 75) that ritualized television use is habitual, frequent, and indicates a high regard for television as a medium, whereas instrumental television use is purposeful, selective, and goal-directed, without being frequent or indicating a high regard for the importance of the medium. Rubin found also a negative connection with higher education and the ritualized television viewing. However, Rubin points out (op.cit., 76) that ritualized and instrumental television use may not be clearly exclusive or dichotomous, but some situational demands may cause ritualistic or instrumental viewing.

According to Rubin and Windahl (1986), the media use orientations have also a connection to the effects of media use on the user. Rubin and Windahl (op.cit. 195–196) divide the outcomes of media use into effects and consequences. The effects are the outcomes of instrumental use of media content, referring to selection, processing and interpreting of the media content. Consequences, on the other hand, are outcomes of ritualized media use. Examples of this type of consequences may be feelings of belongingness or displacement of activities by media use. Instead of considering direct effects of media messages on people, the uses and dependency model bases on an assumption that individual's personality and social characteristics, as well as needs, motives and patterns of media use affect the view of social reality, which he/she gains via the media.

The incorporation of the societal aspect in the uses and dependency model makes it possible to utilize it in research exploring changes in motives and media use over time or in changing societal conditions. Other subject matters for empirical applications of the model, proposed by Rubin and Windahl (1986, 197), are the technological evolution of media system and cultural comparisons among groups of people or societies. Even if the model provides a good frame of reference for empirical application, it has not been used that much in any empirical research. Sun et.al. (2001) have applied it in the Chinese context. The writers formulated hypotheses based on the Uses and dependence model, and tested them with partly secondary quantitative survey data. Although the use of secondary data did not allow utilizing the uses and dependency model's full potential (including the effects of media use), the writers considered it a meaningful tool to explain the

relations between societal change and audience preferences for media content in China. Russia has undergone similar kind of societal and economic changes as China in recent years; therefore the model might be applicable also in the Russian context. However, the examination by Sun and others was quantitative. My intention from the very beginning was to carry out qualitative research. Therefore, I needed a methodological framework for the analysis to be combined with the theoretical concepts provided by the uses and dependency model. For this purpose I selected the narrative framework, which I discuss in the following.

Narrative perspectives have increased popularity among social scientists and other academics in the recent decades. However, there is not a coherent understanding on the concept of narrative, but researchers in different disciplines use it in different meanings (Heikkinen 2000). Heikkinen lists four different meanings for the concept of narrative. The first one refers to the process of knowing and constructionist view of knowledge. According to constructionists, people construct their worldview and identities based on the former experiences and knowledge. Therefore, there are not stable identities or "truthful" knowledge on the world, but these are constantly reshaped in narratives. This is why research cannot attain objective truth about the world, but it is also a construction, a constructed narrative about the reality. Secondly, the concept of narrative is used to describe the research material. In this sense, the concept covers any material containing narration: conversation, interviews, written stories, diaries, novels, movies or TV-serials. In such narratives, it is possible to identify two different aspects. On the one hand, there is the series of the events (what is told), and on the other hand, the actual text (how it is told) (Larsen 2002, 126). In social research, the recognition of these aspects aims to identifying the respondents' own signification processes. The researchers are interested in how individuals signify various things in their narrative (Heikkinen 2000, 52). In other words, what the narrators mean by their stories and the words they are using. This type of research requires always interpretation. The last two aspects of narrative refer to its uses as an analysis method in academic research or as a practical tool for example in psychotherapy, social work or education. From the media studies' point of view, narrative analysis is especially interesting, because most of the media texts are some kind of narratives, and for example in the analysis of mediated fiction this perspective has produced several practical models (see. Larsen 2002, 123–132).

For my study, the first two aspects of narrative that were discussed above are the most meaningful. First of all, my goal is to attain the respondents' own understanding on their media use. My main subject of research is not their actual media use patterns, but their ways to present their own media environment and the ways to signify certain uses of media. On the other hand, my research material consists of interviews, which contain some aspects of narrative: I asked the interviewees to memorize their childhood experiences and describe their media use patterns and significance of various media in their lives. How should we then understand the relation of these told stories and the actual media use patterns of the respondents? Vilma Hänninen (2004) suggests a useful model to elaborate this question (see Figure 2.3). Her model of narrative circulation consists of three modes of narrative form: told narrative, inner narrative and lived narrative. The told narrative is, as the name suggests, an empirical phenomenon, the story about a chain of human events that is represented in a verbal form. The inner narrative, in turn, is not empirically evident, but it refers to the narrative organisation of experience, the story we tell to ourselves. Especially, narrative psychology is interested in the inner narratives. The lived narrative is based on the idea that human life itself has narrative qualities. In other words, life is seen to consist of narrative-like episodes, which have beginnings, middles, and ends.
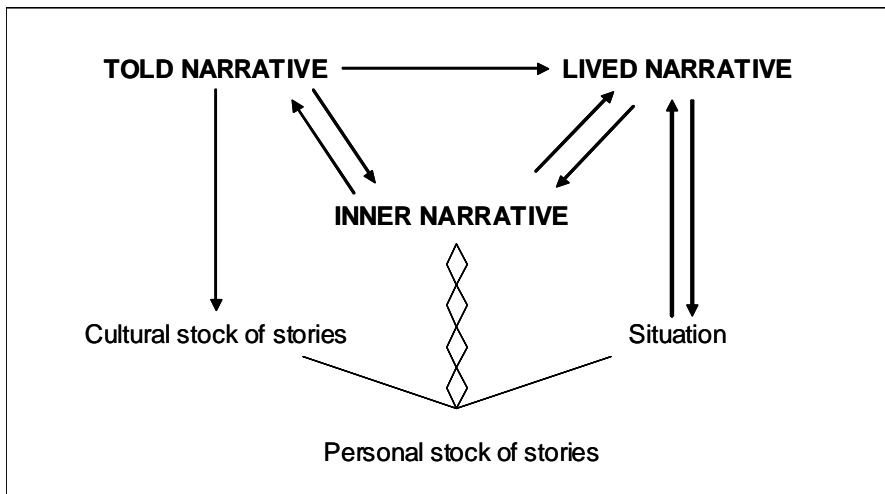

Figure 2.3. The model of narrative circulation (Hänninen 2004, 73).

According to Hänninen (2004), the model of narrative circulation is a framework, which makes it possible to articulate the relations of various branches of narrative research. The arrows in the model represent the ways in which meanings are transferred from one realm to the other. The inner narrative is formed in a process in which the lived narrative and situation is interpreted by using

cultural and personal stocks of stories as a resource. The cultural stock of stories is understood to contain all the narrative representations that the person hears or reads in the course of his/her life. The personal stock of stories, in turn, is the collection of narratives that the person has stored in his/her memory. The situation refers to the actual condition of life, the various possibilities, resources and restrictions of actions among which the person is living. Basically, the told narrative is the only way to explore the inner narrative, but at the same time it also shapes the inner narrative. There is a same kind of interaction between the inner narrative and the lived narrative. On one hand, the inner narrative shapes the lived narrative as it guides the person's action by setting values and goals. On the other hand, the lived narrative is a source of experiences, which are interpreted for the inner narrative.

If we apply the model of narrative circulation to this study, the told narratives would naturally be the interviews in which the respondents tell about their media use. These representations reflect the lived narratives, the actual media use patterns of the respondents and their life experiences. The told stories reflect also the respondents' inner narratives, which in this case correspond to their valuations and conceptions of media use, as well as understanding of themselves. These may include some cultural valuations, for example different media may be more or less valued in different cultures, or conceptions that originate from the personal experiences. Also, the actual life situation of the respondent may influence on these conceptions, and in that way the life situation is present also in the told narrative.

Bamberg (2006) brings another situational aspect to the figure: the particular moment of interaction in which the told narratives are presented. According to Bamberg, there are always two aspects in talk – the content (what is said), and the situation (in which it is said) – and these aspects are always related to each other. The narrator wants that the 'aboutness' of her/his talk is relevant to the interaction. Therefore, the narrator needs to position her/himself throughout the talk in relation to the 'world out there' and the 'social world here and now' (Bamberg 2006, 144). According to Bamberg, this positioning is taken by the interlocutors as a 'sense of the narrator's self'. In other words, narrative is not a coherent entity but a collection of *short stories*, which are told in a certain situation of social interaction. Of these views, there are important implications on my study, too. It is important to note that I, as an interviewer, and my interviewees are different nationalities. The interviewees knew that I do not share the same experiences with them, even if the age difference

between us was not very big. In order to make their narratives, or the 'aboutness' aspect of them, understandable in the social interaction, the interviewees positioned themselves in relation to their conceptions of foreign, non-Russian or Finnish people. The other implication is that the told narrative is not equal, in Hänninen's (2004) terms, to the lived and inner narratives. Therefore, the interpretations about the inner or lived narratives that I am doing in this study might be different, if someone else had done the interviews, even if the interviewees were the same. This would be a consequence of the positioning in talk: the interaction between the interviewer and interviewees might be different if they both were Russians.

In this chapter, I described the theoretical and methodological aspects of this study. A fundamental part of the theoretical background is the uses and dependency model. It suggests that we need to consider the societal context of media use, including the media system. This is why the next chapter describes the developments in Russia after the disintegration of the Soviet Union. This is the context where my interviewees lived and made their daily media choices.

3 Russian media environment after the disintegration of the Soviet Union

After the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the societal conditions, both economic and political, were unstable in Russia during the whole 1990s. At the beginning of the decade, the abrupt privatization of the state companies and monetary difficulties throughout the decade made the society unstable. At the same time, there were political instability and power struggle between the parliament and president Boris Yeltsin. However, the constitution guaranteed the Russian president wide authority, and therefore Yeltsin could rule without support in the parliament. At the New Year's Eve 1999, Boris Yeltsin resigned and left the presidency to his successor Vladimir Putin. The new millennium meant also new direction in Russia's policy. Vladimir Putin acted as a strong leader and emphasized the policy of strong state. He got some external support also from the world economics: the world market price for oil increased remarkably in the beginning of the 21st century, which brought the desired income to Russia, and made the state stronger also financially. This political and economic development after such a dramatic societal change, which the disappearance of the Soviet system evidently was, had also its consequences to the media system in the country. I will discuss these changes later in this chapter, but before that I describe briefly the characteristics of the Soviet media system, as it is the starting point for the change.

According to Rantanen (2002, 22) the Soviet media system had specific functions due to the special position of the Soviet Union in the world. First, the media were to promote the Soviet way of life and defend the structure of the Soviet Union, as it was a union consisting of fifteen republics. The second and third functions were to spread the Soviet supremacy among other communist countries, and promote international proletarianism. The Soviet approach to media practice and training can be described to conform to the following fundamental premises (Ferguson 1998, 171):

- Mass media should not be privately owned.
- Mass media should serve the working class, and thus be subject to the agencies of the working class, primarily the Communist Party.
- Mass media should serve positive functions in society, in the education, socialization, and mobilization toward socialism.
- Mass media should provide a complete and accurate representation of objective reality, according to Marxist-Leninist principles.
- Mass media, because they are part of the political and educational structure of the state, are subject to censorship of anti-societal publication.

In other words, the mass media were state-owned and controlled institutions that were more devoted to agitation, mobilization and education than to distributing news. The organization and the purpose of the media in the society resulted in various practices characteristic to the Soviet press. One of such characteristics was the self-censorship practices of journalism (Simon 2004, 170). The editors knew how they should write to be published and not to meet any troubles. There were topics that could not be discussed in the media. For example crime, natural or man-made disasters, like industrial accidents were almost totally absent from the Soviet media (Ellis 1998, 213–214). This kind of news could not be published because they would have indicated that the Soviet society is not as progressive as it was supposed to be. Another explanation is that the media were seen as the parts of a propaganda machine, and the task of propaganda was to provide incentive models of behaviour to be emulated. According to this view of information cause and effect, reportage of crime would encourage people to commit crimes.

In the Soviet media system, the media audience was not considered to be passive receivers of the media content. In stead, they were expected to participate in the process of mass communication. For example, there was a rule that 60 percent of the newspaper content should be written by non-professional writers: ordinary workers, mill executives or various experts (Pietiläinen 2007). The audience activity was also a topic for research in the Soviet Union. A Soviet research suggested a typology of media use habits that constructed of three different groups of individuals: the critical users, the professional-functional users and the consumers (Remington 1981, 807–808). The 'critical users' took a discriminating attitude toward media reports by employing their background information to interpret them. They were not dependent on interpersonal communication to understand or evaluate the reports. On the other hand, the 'consumers' absorbed passively and uncritically the media's messages. They relied extensively for evaluative cues and operational information on their friends and co-workers. The third group, the 'professional-functional users', were usually activists in their workplaces and communities who drew information from the media in order to instruct and organize others. These groups use the media, as well as interpersonal communication and social networks, to different purposes. Nevertheless, for all groups social networks supplemented the official media by extending information further into face-to-face conversation. In authoritarian societies, like the Soviet Union, social communication also takes up some of the searching and screening functions performed by the media in open societies (Remington 1981, 814).

In addition to the interpersonal communication, also fine arts and especially literature composed a valid setting of public communication in the Soviet Union (Remington 1981, 815–816). A literary dissidence, a term used to describe 'those who ventured beyond permissible ideological, political and aesthetic limits', emerged in the Soviet Union in the 1950s when the more liberal political atmosphere allowed publication of formerly unsuitable material (Lovell&Marsh 1998, 59). At the same time, developed also two other literary phenomena characteristic to the Soviet society: *samizdat* and *tamizdat* publications. The previous refers to the self-published, unofficial copies of underground manuscripts. The latter, in turn, are publications that were prohibited in the Soviet Union but published in the West, and smuggled back to the country to be distributed to the Soviet audience.

The Soviet media system liberated gradually during the period of *perestroika* reform politics in the late 1980s. Ivan Zassoursky (2002) has divided the Soviet and Post-Soviet media systems from the 1970s up to the 21st century into five periods (see Table 3.1.) According to Zassoursky, the change from the Soviet system to the period of Glasnost was rather ideological than systemic. In other words, the media system remained more or less the same, but the ideological efforts were directed to the new reformative ideas in stead of the communist propaganda. The media system started to change during the first half of the 1990s. Formerly strong news press lost its position to television as a central medium in the society. Also the self-esteem of journalists grew in this period, and the media considered themselves as the fourth power in the society in addition to the executive, legislative and judicial powers. Towards the midpoint of the decade, the fear of Communists returning to power increased among media owners and journalist. This was expected to end the journalistic autonomy, and made the media owners and journalists to support Yeltsin's re-election in the 1996 presidential elections (op.cit., 74).

The 1996 election was a turning point for the Russian media system. The communist party had won the parliamentary election a year earlier and popularity of Boris Yeltsin was in single numbers. It seamed very likely that the communists' Gennady Zyuganov would win the presidential election. Support to Boris Yeltsin was shown especially through partial reporting on TV, for example Yeltsin's health problems were strictly kept away from the publicity (Simon 2004, 176–178). The election proved that the media could shape the political landscape of the Post-Soviet Russia and

journalists could be mobilized to promote political agenda. The campaign showed also that a strong position in the media sector, and especially on TV, was a passport to power and influence in the present politics (Belin 2002, 143–144). This equation resulted in a new media model, which Ivan Zassoursky (2002) calls a Media–Political System. According to him, this means that the media owners pursued their own political aims via the media companies, in other words the media holdings functioned as political parties at the time's Russia. At the same time, the media system polarized into commercial and political lines.

Table. 3.1. The periods of the Soviet and Post-Soviet media system (based on Zassoursky 2002)

PERIOD	MEDIA SYSTEM	MEDIA SYSTEM STRUCTURE	POLITICAL SYSTEM	IDEOLOGY	MEANS OF CONTROL
1970–1985	Propaganda machine	Newspaper-based, radio very important, state-controlled TV	Corporation USSR – united management. One power center.	Communist-imperialist, evidently false but pervasive. Stable.	Party and Soviet social institutions
1986–1990	Glasnost-oriented propaganda machine	Newspaper-based, stronger TV, strong radio	Shifting and shaking. Democratic reforms coincide with dry law and tobacco shortages.	Democratization, socialist reforms. Optimistic.	Party and Soviet social institution, unifying reform policy
1991–1995	"Forth power", independent media	Transforming: printed press in decline, broadcasting (TV and FM radio) on the rise	No system. Struggle. Complete decentralization. Strong opposition.	Market fundamentalism, democratic reforms, anti-communism. Utopia.	Fear return of communists. Subsidies, press law
1996–2000	Media-political system, society of the spectacle.	Commercial media environment	Mediated, strong regional leaders, media holdings function as political parties. Elected monarchy.	No coherent belief system. Symbolic space is built around dramatic conflicts.	Politicized capital invested through media holdings, media owners
2000-	Instrumental media model	State-controlled media system in the commercial media environment vs. the Internet	Centralized system based on law enforcement agencies and army. Weak opposition. Political system emerges.	Emerging national identity (strong state + capitalism) vs. flexible identities.	The new power system built around law enforcement agencies

The fifth period started in the beginning of the 21st century, after Vladimir Putin had come to power. The new order caused changes in the media system; especially the political media were attacked. Where Yeltsin distributed the power to a number of allies, Putin centralized the power. His policy was directed at creating a strong state – "The Great Russia". Centralized power meant also state monopoly on information distribution. In September 2000 the Security Council, the president's foremost policy-making body, introduced a "Doctrine of Information Security". According to the doctrine, only the state can provide reliable information and therefore state-owned and controlled media should dominate the information market. After adoption of the doctrine, Putin's administration has implemented the reasserting of state control over the major television networks. In all cases prosecution of financial crime and tax evasion were used as a ground for legal actions (Belin 2002, 149–151). According to Zassoursky (2002, 83–85), the emergence of Internet has, however, formed a space for free communication, and therefore also a counterforce for the centralized and state-controlled mass communication in today's Russia.

One way to evaluate the position of various media in the society is to compare their market shares in advertising. The advertising revenue tells about the operational preconditions of the media. Figure 3.1 shows how the shares of different media have changed from 1992 till today. As can be seen in the figure, the printed press has lost its share, while television's share has increased, especially in the 21st century. Today, television holds almost a half of the total advertising market. Internet does not yet play an important role in the Russian advertising.

Shares of total media advertising
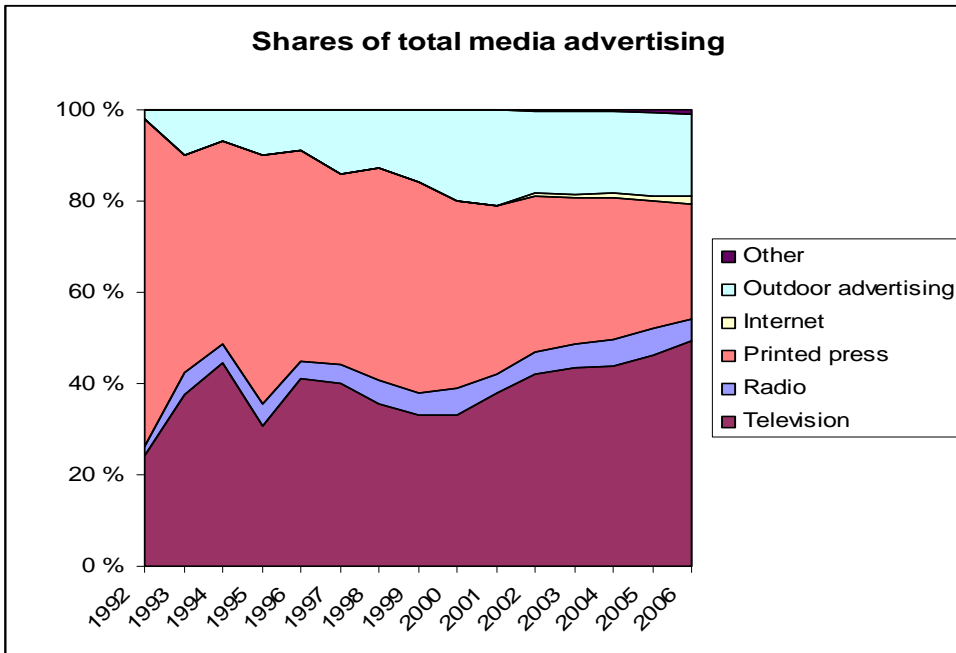
Figure 3.1. Television gains the biggest share of the advertising money in today's Russia. (Data source: AKAR)

Another aspect of the media environment, in addition to the political and economic structures, is peoples' actual media use patterns. Figure 3.2 shows the main leisure time activities of Russians, explored in a nation wide survey in 2001 (SOFIST). Mass media have a central role in Russians' leisure time activities. Among the eight most frequently mentioned leisure activities, there are only three which are not related to media use. These are domestic work (on the second place, main activity for almost 60 per cent of the respondents), meeting friends (on the fifth place, approximately 45 per cent), and resting (on the sixth place, less than 40 per cent).

What is your main occupation in your leisure time?

Activity	%
I watch TV, video	76
I run my household	59
I read newspapers, magazines	58
I read books	52
I meet my friends to visit with	43
I just have a rest	37
I listen to music	36
I listen to radio programs	35
I have a hobby to enjoy at home	14
I go to theaters and concerts	13
I operate on the computer including computer games	10
I learn additionally to get educated and to upgrade	10
I visit discotheques and nightclubs	9
I visit museums, exhibitions and picture galleries	8
I go to cafes, bars and restaurants	8
I visit sports clubs and training sessions	8
I attend the church and religious gatherings	7
Other	4
I take part in the activities for youth	2
I attend interest clubs and amateur circles	1
I attend political organizations and take part in rallies	1

Figure 3.2. The main leisure time activities in Russia in 2001 (Data source: SOFIST).

In the following subsections, I describe in more detail the changes of Russian media structures and contents after the disintegration of the Soviet Union. I discuss first the print media, then television, and finally Internet and mobile communication.

3.1 Changes in the Print Media

Reading has traditionally been a popular way of spending leisure time in Russia. In the 1980s, some 19 per cent of adult Russians read 'regularly', and 25 per cent read two or more books a month. The share of those who did not read at all was 21 per cent (Butenko 2005, 224). Since the early 1990s, reading has become less popular. In a 1994 survey, 23 per cent of the adult population replied that

they did not read books at all, and 53 per cent did not read journals and magazines; by 2002 as many as 40 per cent did not read any books, and the share of respondents who did not read journals or magazines remained the same (Menzel 2005, 48–49). On the other hand, there have also been some structural changes in reading habits as figure 3.3 suggests. It shows changes in the average time spent consuming different media in 1990 and 1994. As the figure shows, both men and women used almost half of the time reading newspapers in 1994 than they did four years earlier. This statistics shows even more dramatic decrease in the time spent on reading magazines; the decrease is approximately to one fourth. At the same time, men and women watched TV and read books almost as much as earlier, and women had even increased the time they used on reading books.
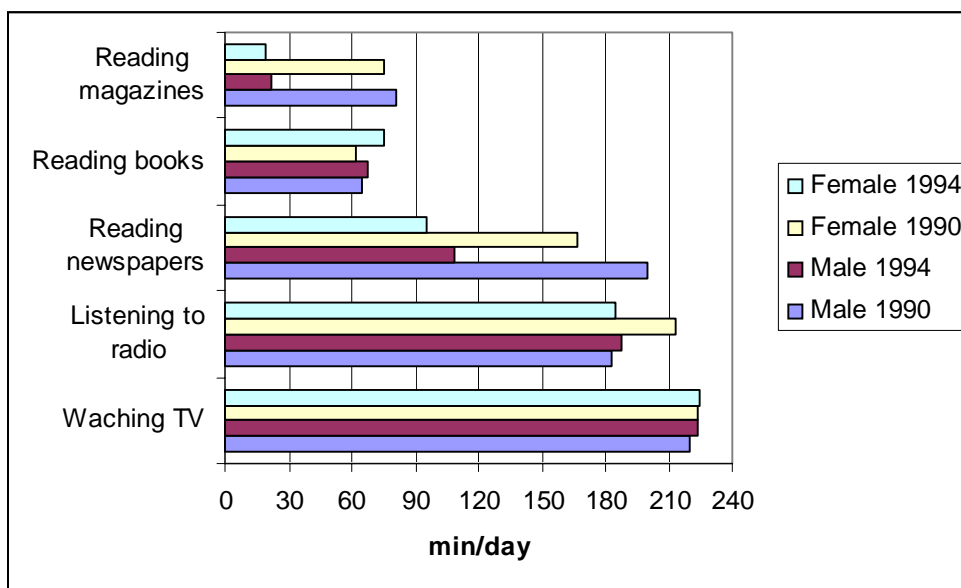
Figure 3.3. Time spent on consuming different media (min/day) by gender in 1990 and 1994. The data is taken from (Butenko 2005, 224).

An explanation for the decrease in the time spent on reading magazines is probably the structural changes of the Russian media environment in the early 1990s. One speciality of the Soviet media environment was the thick monthly journals that contained fiction (most literary texts were published first in journals and only later as books), criticism, as well as social and political journalism. These journals had a historical peak in their circulation in the turn of the 1980s and 1990s. For example *Novyi mir* reached a figure as high as 2.7 million in 1990, *Znamia* 1.1 million and *Druzhba narodov* 0.8 million. In 1993, the circulations were only 60,000; 73,000 and 45,000 respectively. In the turn of the decade, these journals responded to a social demand in the society that had recently liberated during the years of *perestroika*. The journals had served the purpose of

politicising and mobilising a mass audience to support the political changes. After the end of the communist system, in 1991, state financial support came to an end, and the thick journals did not manage to maintain their position in the media market. (Menzel 2005, 40–41.)

Localization of the Press Media

In the Soviet Union the press was highly subsidized because it was a part of the state-apparatus, bearing the responsibility of educating people and agitating for the political ideology. These conditions changed in the beginning of the 1990s, after the collapse of the Soviet Union in December 1991. The changing political and economical conditions affected also the media market. These trends can be seen in figure 3.4, which shows the development of newspaper market in the Soviet Union and Russia in 1940–2000.

The first trend to be found is the decrease of newspaper items during the Soviet years (from the 1940s to the 1980s). At the same time the share of national newspapers has increased from almost 30 percent to nearly 70 percent. This indicates the development of centrally coordinated and operated news delivery. The decrease of newspaper items from the 1950s to the relatively constant level between the 1960s and 1980s may be due to the emergence of TV, but also due to other, for example political, reasons. After the collapse of the Soviet Union the number of newspaper items has increased by almost 20 percent. This increase has evidently taken place in the local or regional markets, as the share of national newspapers has decreased during the post-Soviet period, which can be seen in figure 3.4. However, this trend has possibly passed its turning point as the share of national newspapers is growing again towards the new millennium. There were two economic reasons for the localization tendency of the news press (Vartanova 2002, 31). First one was the rise of regional or local economies that created local advertising markets and at the same time a new source of revenues for the local media companies. This development provided economic stability for the local media companies. Second reason was the high distribution costs, which ruined the possibilities of national media houses to organize the newspaper distribution profitably.
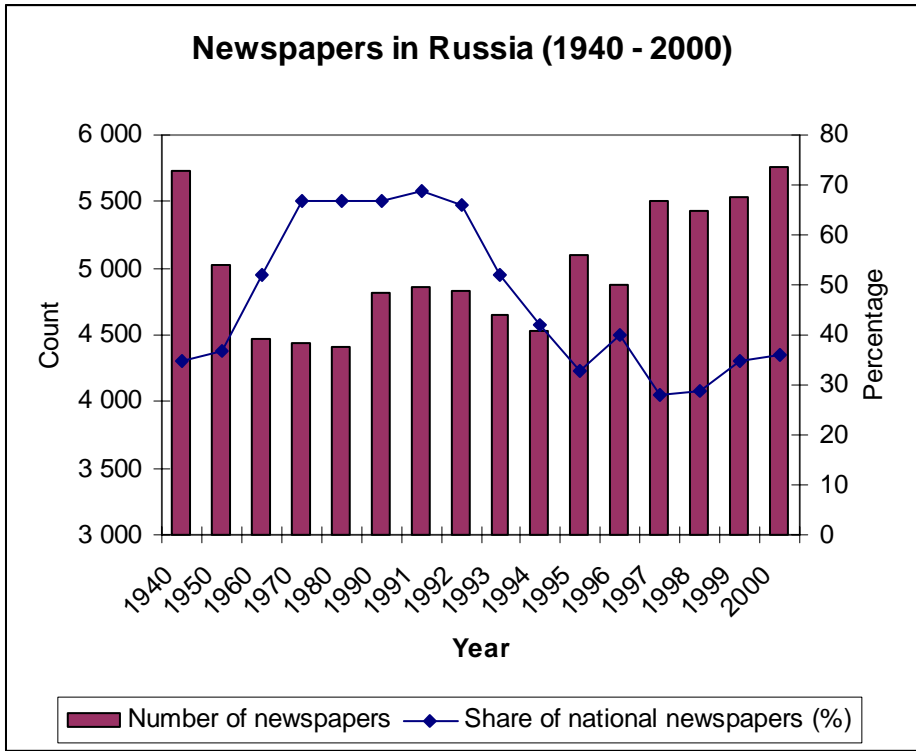
Figure 3.4. Development in the number of newspaper items and their nationality in Soviet Union and in Post-Soviet Russia. (Note that x-axis is not smooth.) The data is taken from (Pietiläinen 2002a, 213).

The structure of the press market has also changed in the 1990s. This development can be seen in figure 3.5, which shows the shares of newspapers and magazines according to their periodicity. In 1990, the newspapers that come out six times a week dominated the media market; their share was nearly 60 per cent of the total circulation. By the year 1993 these newspapers had disappeared totally from the market. The two groups that have taken the dominating position in the press market are the publications that come out once or less than once a week. These two groups held together the share of nearly 80 per cent of the total circulation in 2000. The development of the Russian press media market indicates that Russia follows the general global trends, where newspapers loose their interest among readers and various entertainment and life-style magazines get more readers. There is a wide range of women's and men's magazines, TV guides, and magazines on health, housekeeping and fashion in the Russian market. Some of them are the Russian editions of the international brands, like *Playboy* or *Cosmopolitan*, which have found their own audience, even if the circulations are relatively low. The Russian competitors, such as a TV weekly *7 dnei*, women's

magazine *Lisa* or *Karavan istorii*, which publishes love and life stories of Russian and foreign celebrities, are targeted to wider audiences. (Vartanova 2002, 37–39).

Development of the press market according to periodicity (1990 - 2000)
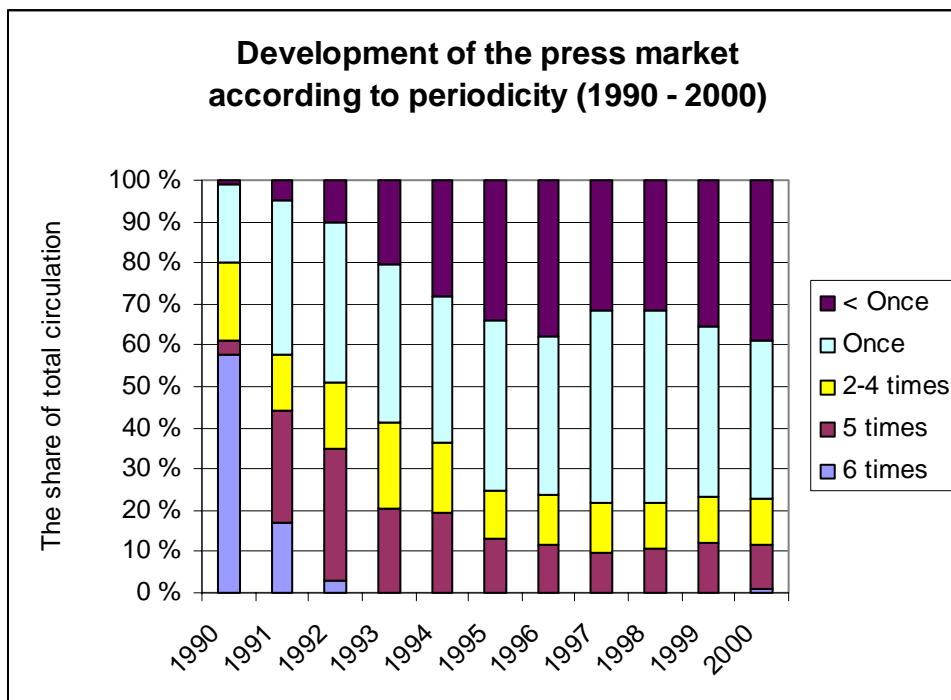
Figure 3.5. Development of the press market in the Post-Soviet Russia. The data is taken from (Pietiläinen 2002a, 215).

As was discussed above, the Russian printed press market has changed in the 1990s. There are two main trends: First one is the diminishing of the national, or all-Russian, press. The audience prefers local perspectives in news and the advertisers are also interested in the local markets. Another trend is the polarization of the print media market to an elite or quality press, mainly financial, and on the other hand to entertainment or yellow press, which is targeted to the masses (Y. Zassoursky 2002, 172). Some newspapers try to operate in the polarized environment by combining these two elements. The most successful of them is the *Moskovskii Komsomolets*, which have serious and analytical content as well as pages bordering on the tabloids. This way it tries to reach different audiences and attract as much advertisers as possible (Op. cit., 174).

Rise of New Literary Genres

The Soviet society liberated in the middle of the 1980s due to the reform policy of *perestroika*. One instrument of the policy was openness, *glasnost'*, which made it possible to publish many of the

previously forbidden literary works. However, the publication proceeded in stages (Lovel&Marh 1998, 74–75). In the first years of *glasnost'* only the works by writers whose careers had begun in the period of Russian modernism before the Revolution could be published. Gradually, also the works by writers, who were still alive and could comment on the *perestroika* policy, appeared in publications. As known from the history, the period of *perestroika* did not last for a long time. In 1991, the communist system ended, and Russia entered to the world of market laws. The end of the political system meant also an ending of the state support for publishers, which affected their operation. For example in 2000, the number of titles printed in the Russian Federation was altogether 50,085; about the same as in the mid-eighties. In 1994–95, under pressures of price liberalisation, this figure had fallen as low as 33,623, which was about the same number as in the year 1913, when most of Russians were still illiterate (Menzel 2005, 42).

As was discussed above, the quantity of reading has decreased in Russia in the 1990s. The reading preferences have also changed. The age, gender and educational level of readers explain the changed habits. While the intellectual-artistic elite of the older generation almost gave up reading fiction and preferred theoretical, philosophical and other humanities literature, the majority of people who read fiction preferred the popular genres, such as detective fiction, historical novel, romance and science fiction or fantasy (see Figure 3.6). Another genre that attracted readers was advice books, which provided information on different problems of everyday life. This was a category that was almost nonexistent in the Soviet publishing, and therefore appeared in the market only in the 1990s. As well as reading preferences, the reading occasion also changed. Earlier, reading was a popular way of spending leisure time, and took place at home. In the 1990s, it became more usual to read on the road, in between private or work commitments, or at work. (Menzel 2005, 49.)
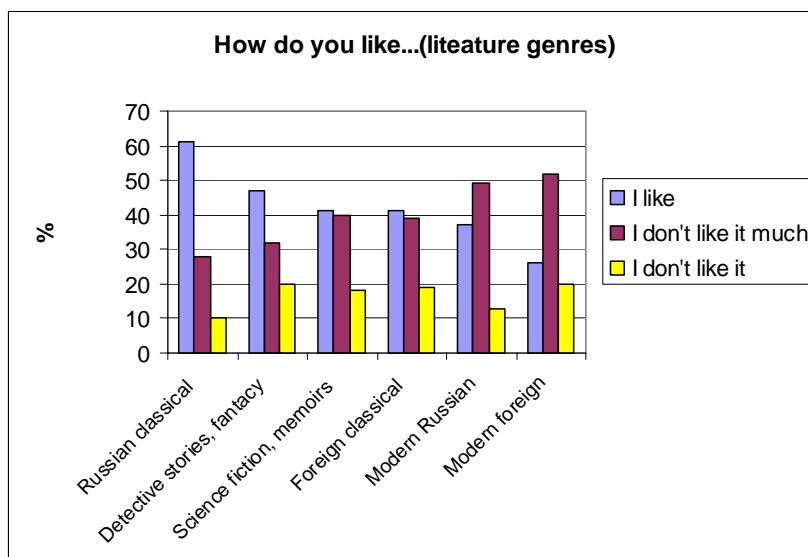
Figure 3.6. Russians' attachment for literary genres in 2001 (Data source: SOFIST).

Literature was an important institution in the Soviet Union to educate and cultivate the people. Meanwhile in the 1990s, the concepts of mass consumption and entertainment describe Russian mass readership. The following figures illustrate this (Menzel 2005, 51): The biggest print-runs of the bestselling detective novels may be several millions a year. But in 2001, only some 2 per cent of all newly published titles were published in more than 50,000 copies, while approximately 35 per cent of all titles were published in print-runs ranging only between 500 and 5,000 copies. As literature turned to a mass entertainment in Russia during the 1990s, a similar tendency can be recognized in television, which will be discussed in the next sub-section.

3.2   The commercialization of television

Today's television in Russia is completely different from its Soviet time's predecessor. In the Soviet Union there were only two national networks, which were centrally controlled by the Communist party (Rantanent 2002, 93). Today there are three nationwide channels, and numerous local television stations and cable TV companies in Russia. Figure 3.7 shows the average shares of daily television audience for the biggest Russian TV channels. Nationwide channels are the First Channel, Rossiya, which are State-owned, and private channel NTV. All these channels can reach over 80 per cent of the Russians. Channels STS, TNT and Ren-TV are private television networks and TV-Centre is owned by the city of Moscow. Their programming consists partially of centrally

produced programs and some local program content and advertising (Vartanova 2002). As can be seen in Figure 3.7, the state-owned channels reach larger audience shares on national level than in Moscow area.

Average share of daily TV audience, week 8/2008
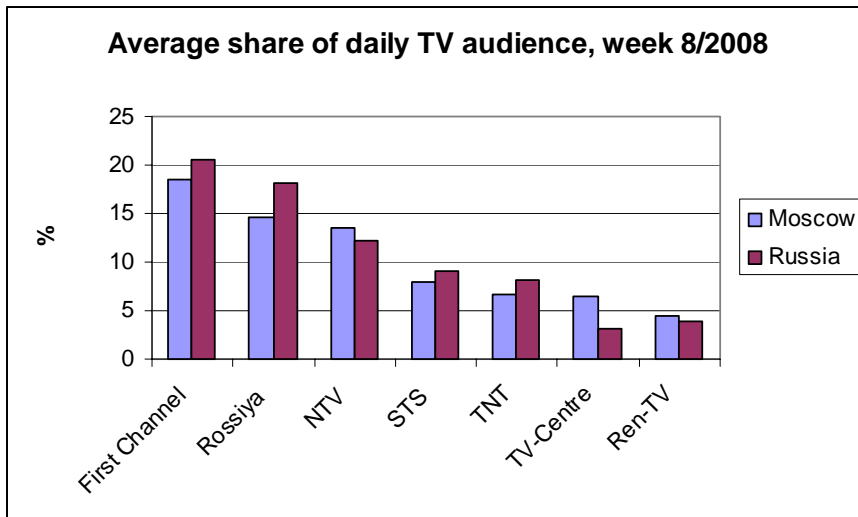
Figure 3.7 Average shares of TV audience during one week in Moscow and all Russia (Data source: www.tns-global.ru).

Television appears to have a significant role in the lives of Russians as a source of information, as well as an entertaining medium. Figure 3.2 above showed that watching TV is the most important leisure time activity to majority of Russians, and figure 3.3 showed that Russians spend in average three and half hours daily on watching TV. Figure 3.8 shows which media Russians use as information sources based on a survey made in 2001. Almost half of the respondents used national TV as a primary source of information, and together with local television stations, TV was the primary source of information for almost 60 per cent of the population. Local and national papers and radio stations were information sources for only 13 and 10 per cent of the population, respectively. However, the situation is slightly different if we consider only the 25–30-year-old urban Russians. Figure 3.9 shows results of a survey carried out in Moscow in 2001. Only 30 per cent of the 25–30-year-old respondents declare that television programs are their main information sources. Newspapers and radio programs on the second and third place reach the level of almost 20 per cent.

Sources of information for the Russian public (2001)

National television
National papers
Local television stations
National radio stations
Local radio stations
Internet
Local papers
Other
Don't know

Percentage
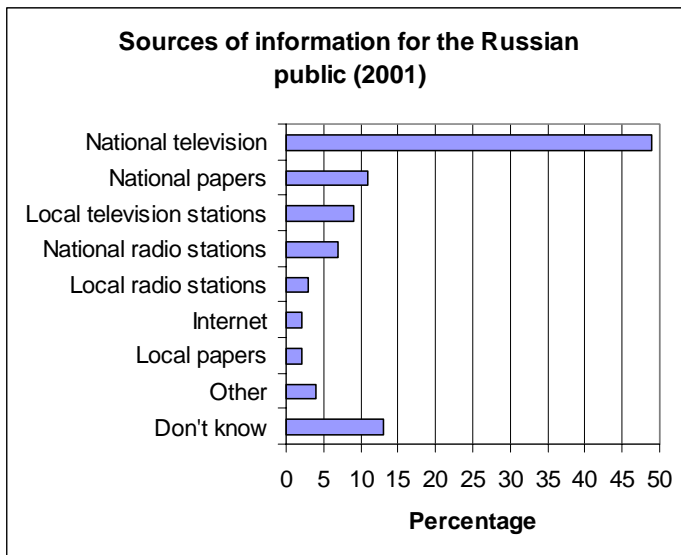
Figure 3.8. Sources of information for the Russian public, a survey made in 2001 (Rantanen 2002, 96).

Information sources about the life of youth; 25-30 years old (N=253, 2001)

Television programs
Newspapers
Radio programs
Magazines
Internet
Other people
Various sources

Percentage
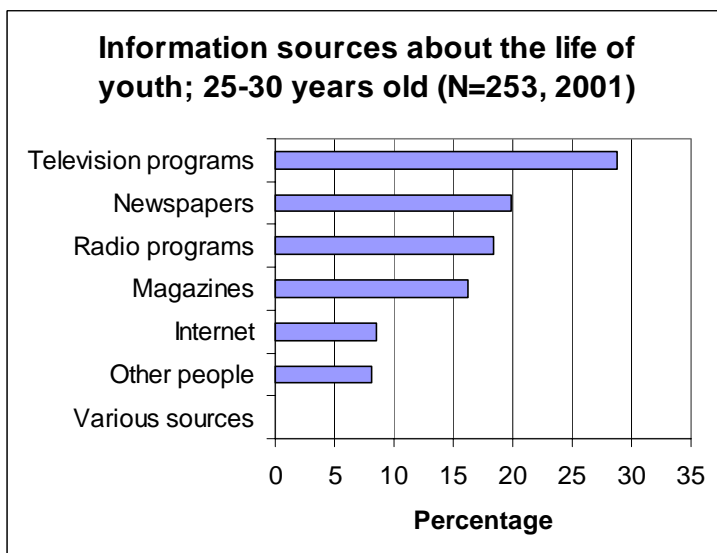
Figure 3.9. Sources of information for 25–30-year-old Russians in Moscow, a survey made in 2001 (Sergeev 2002).

As was described in the introductory part of this chapter, television has played a significant role also in the Russian politics in the Post-Soviet era. The two presidents, Boris Yeltsin and Vladimir Putin, had completely different approaches to the media. As Yeltsin was not willing to control media, and the Russian state was not in a strong economic state over his period, it left room for *oligarchs,* owners of big media holdings, to promote their own political agendas. The most known of these were Boris Berezovsky and Vladimir Gusinsky. After Vladimir Putin had become a

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president in 2000, the state started to act on new political principles. New ideology was based on a strong state, which had also economic resources and willingness to regained monopoly on information flows. This policy led to acts against the media companies and their private owners to regain the control over the media.

As a result of the changes, Russian television became a system that can be described as state-owned commercial television, because the main revenue comes from advertisement. First commercials appeared in the Russian TV already in the end of the 1980s, but advertising grew slowly at first (Rantanen 2002, 27). Today, television gains almost half of the six trillion US dollar total advertising market. Television's superior position in the Russian advertising market can be seen in Figure 3.10, which shows the total volume of media advertising in Russia from 1992 till today: Television has increased its share of the total value of advertising at the same time, when the total volume has grown. The economic crisis in 1988 can be clearly seen in the curves of Figure 3.10. After the year 1999, the growth of the total advertising volume has been very rapid. Therefore, also advertising in the printed press has grown, even if it has lost its total share.
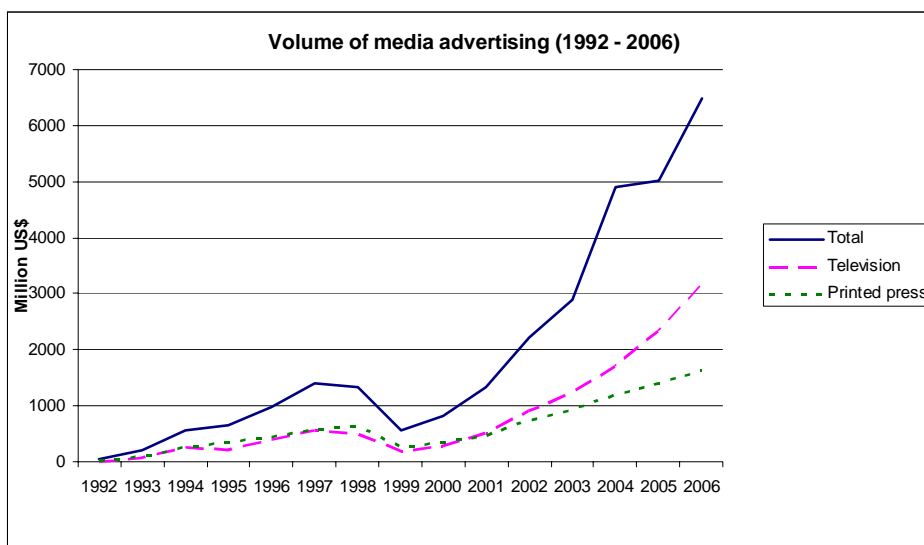
Figure 3.10. Volume of the media advertising in Russia in 1992–2006. (Data source: AKAR)

The amount of advertising shows of course in the television programming, which may irritate viewers. Figures 3.11 and 3.12 show the attitudes among Russian young people towards media advertising and TV commercials. Most of the young people have negative attitudes towards media advertising, as approximately only a quarter of the respondents reported positive or at least in some

extent positive attitudes. In the age group of 25–30 years old, the most frequently mentioned attitudes towards TV commercials were that they disturb watching and their quality is disturbingly low, both alternatives were selected by one third of the respondents (see Figure 3.12).

Attitudes towards advertising in the media (N=754, 2001)

Age group: 25-30, 19-20, 14-18

Legend:
- Positive
- More positive than negative
- More negative than positive
- Negative
- Other
- Difficult to say
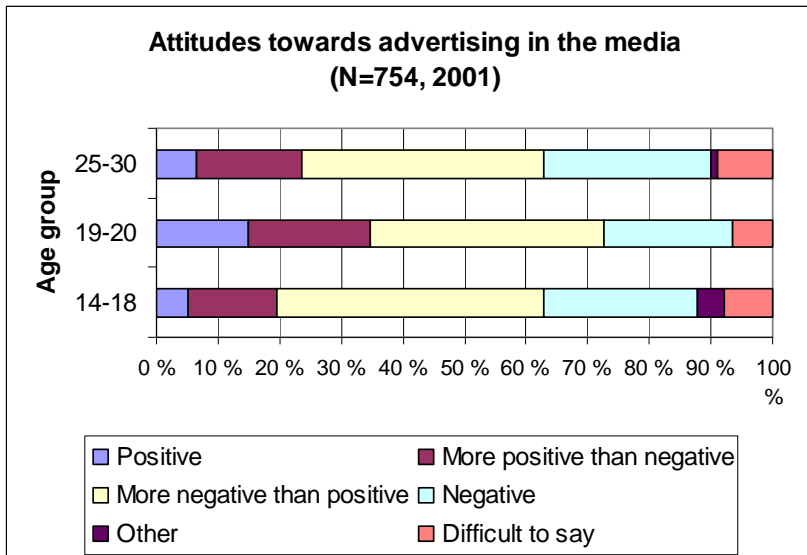
Figure 3.11. Young people have negative attitudes towards media advertising in Russia, a survey made in Moscow in 2001 (Sergeev 2002).

How do you describe your attitudes towards commercials? (N=253, 2001)

■ 25-30 years old

- Difficult to say
- Other
- I don't pay attention to them
- They distub the watching
- I don't like their low quality
- They help me to orient among the huge amount of goods
- I learn new and interesting things

Percentage
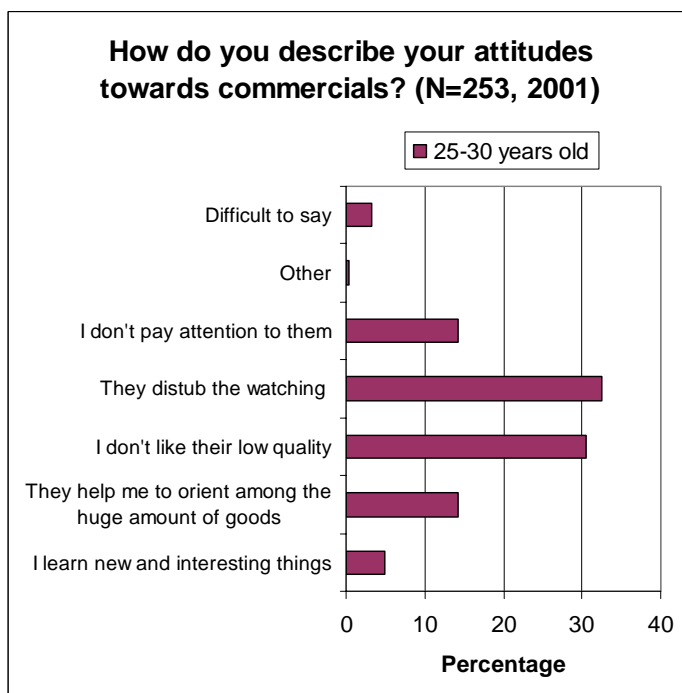
Figure 3.12. TV commercials disturb young viewers, a survey made in Moscow in 2001 (Sergeev 2002).

Another perspective to review the Russian television is the content of programming. In this perspective, the words that could be used to characterize the development are internationalization and "entertainization". These refer to the increasing international entertainment content on the Russian TV in comparison to the Soviet television. The emergence of new TV channels in the beginning of the 1990s multiplied the program time that must be filled. The domestic production could not respond to the demand and therefore a great deal of the Russian television content consisted of foreign, especially Latin-American, soap operas, British or American serials and films. Also, some international formats, such as *Wheel of fortune* or *Who wants to be a millionaire* were adopted to the Russian TV. Fiction films are the one class of TV content where domestic production has been able to maintain its share during the whole period of changes. In 1998 almost a half of all the films shown on Russian TV were new Russian or old soviet films. Reasons for this are nostalgic sensations of the TV audience but also their affordability compared to foreign films: the soviet film industry was highly productive and they can be shown on TV without extra costs from the dubbing (Rantanen 2002, 96–100). Figure 3.13 shows the firm popularity of old Soviet films among the television viewers: More than 80 per cent of the respondents in a nation wide survey have reported to like old Soviet films. Interestingly, modern Russian films share their position in popularity with foreign films as the shares of those who like them and do not like them very much are almost equal. Rantanen (2002, 105) reminds that television viewers tend to return back to domestic production if it is available. Thereby, the avalanche of foreign programs in the Russian television has been a temporary phenomenon.
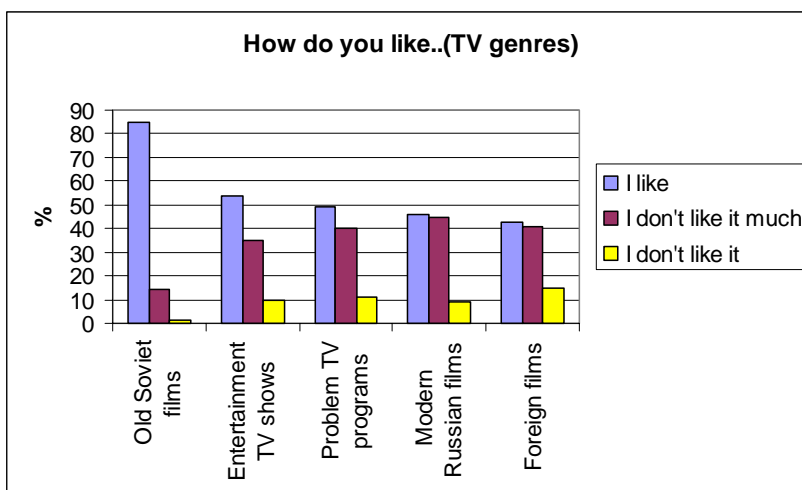
Figure 3.13. Old Soviet films are most popular among Russians, data from 2001 (Data source: SOFIST).

As a medium television is both socially and technologically old in Russia, as regular television broadcasts started in Moscow as early as in 1931, and by the late 1970s there was a television set almost in every household (Rantanen 2002, 92–93). Completely new means for communication were introduced to the Russian public in the 21st century. In the next subsection, I move to examine Internet and mobile communication.

3.3   New Possibilities for Communication: Internet and Mobile Phones

History of the Internet in Russia goes back to the Soviet times, as there was technically functioning information network in the Soviet Union. Only, it was accessible to a limited number of academic users. Between the years 1993 and 1997, there was a rapid growth in the Russian Internet, Runet, and the number of users doubled each year, reaching the landmark of one million users in 1998 (Vartanova 2002, 58). By 2002, the number of Internet users was estimated to be 6 million people (Russia e-Readiness Assessment 2004, 31). The total number of Internet users may be even higher, if the frequency of the use is not considered. Figure 3.14 shows data from 2003, and as it shows, the 6 million users may be considered regular users, as they use Internet at least on weekly basis. The number of those, who used Internet at least once in a half year, was 11.5 million. However, it should be noted that the users are not evenly distributed over Russia, but there are huge regional differences in the proportion of internet users. In 2003, the share of Internet users in Moscow was 33 per cent of total population, while the whole Russian average was only 10 per cent (op.cit., 33).
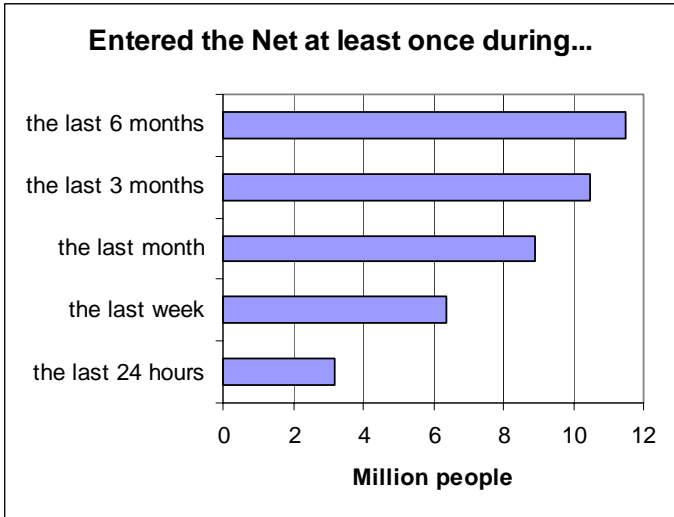
Figure 3.14. Internet users in Russia in spring 2003 (Russia e-Readiness Assessment 2004, 31).

The profile of an average Russian Internet user is a young (20–35 years old) male with higher education and living in a big city (Vartanova 2002, 60). A peculiarity of the Russian Internet use is that it is oriented strongly towards domestic Internet services. In a comparative study of 15–19-year-old students in the Baltic Sea region, it was discovered that some 65 per cent of Russian students (living in St. Petersburg) preferred using domestic Internet resources, while only 30 per cent of their peers in Copenhagen, and 44 per cent in Helsinki preferred domestic pages (Svynarenko 2005, 83). In general, the younger generations in Russia are more active computer users and they own more mobile phones than the older generations do, as can be seen in table 3.2. These figures suggest that there is a wide generation gap in using the modern information and communication technologies in Russia.

Table 3.2. Computer users and mobile phone owners in different age groups in Russia in 2003 (Svynarenko 2005)

Age group	The share of computer users	The share of mobile phone owners
Under 30 years	60 %	50 %
31–50 years	42 %	32 %
Over 50 years	12 %	9 %

The number of mobile communication subscribers has increased during the late 1990s very slowly, as can be seen in Figure 3.15, but year 2002 was a turning point for the Russian mobile phone market. By that year the formation of national mobile companies was completed, and mobile

communication networks had been set up in each federal district. At present, over 70 per cent of the Russian population lives on territory covered by mobile communication network. Competition between different mobile communication operators has resulted in a wide range of different tariff plans with complicated schemes of calculating cost per minute, but also reduced the prices. Therefore, the number of mobile communication subscribers has continued to grow, in 2003 it was already 36.4 million people (Russia e-Readiness Assessment 2004, 24–28).

Mobile communication coverage in Russia 1995 - 2002
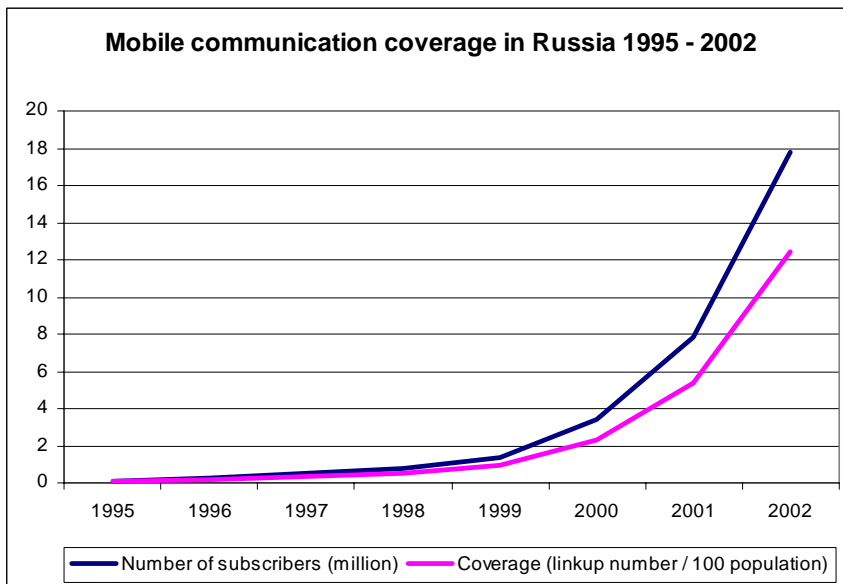
Figure 3.15. Number of mobile communications subscribers in Russia (Russia e-Readiness Assessment 2004, 25).

The tighter control over the mass media in the beginning of the 21st century has aroused some concerns on the independency and freedom of journalism in Russia. On the other hand, Internet has been seen as a possibility for free and critical communication. For example, Ivan Zassoursky (2002) believes that horizontal communication in the Internet can form the needed counter-force for the strong state power:

> It is possible that Putin is powerful enough to bend mainstream media to his will. A couple of years ago we could come to desperate conclusions that such pressure would unleash the spiral of silence and destroy the opposition.
> But, luckily enough, there are things that power cannot control – like alternative media and the Internet. The Net is saturated with venture capital to such an extent that it appears commercialized. However, the Net is impossible to judge. It does not even support generalizations. --- the Internet supports, strengthens and helps to visualize, the interpersonal, group and other models of horizontal person-to-person and group communication.
> This is very important. The spiral of silence will work only in environments in which points of view are not supported by instant access to like-minded virtual communities. (Zassoursky I. 2002, 83–84.)

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How realistic is this view of Zassoursky's? Could the Internet gather and form virtual communities that would have the needed critical mass to make a difference? As was mentioned above, the share of Internet users of the whole Russian population was 10 per cent in 2003. Obviously, the critical mass would need more people. Elena Vartanova reminds that the backwardness of the national telecommunication infrastructure and economic difficulties hinder the diffusion of Internet (Vartanova 2002, 62). It can be seen in Figure 3.16 that there were approximately 25 telephone subscriber lines per 100 people in Russian Federation in 2002. Also, the telephone lines are unevenly distributed throughout the Russia (Russian e-Readiness Assessment 2004, 21). Even if Zassoursky says that it is impossible to control Internet, there have been some attempts to do so. Alexander (2004) lists several laws and other legal documents that contribute to increasing control over Internet. Among them is the Information Security Doctrine from the year 2000, which defines Internet policy as national security concern and gives the executive branch more power. Another act was the System for Operational-Investigative Activities, which means that the Federal Security Service (FSB) forced Internet service providers to install hardware that allows FSB to monitor Internet usage and e-mail messages of the providers' customers.
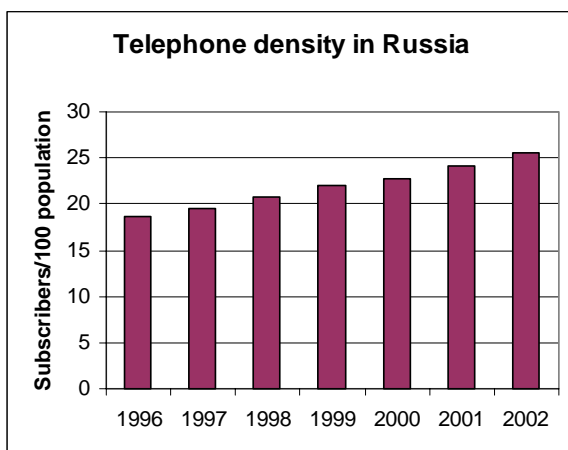
Figure 3.16. Changes in telephone density in Russia
(Russia e-Readiness Assessment 2004, 20).

In 2004, a Moscow-based Institute of Information Society published an extensive analytical report on the e-readiness of Russia (Russia e-Readiness Assessment 2004). E-readiness is a concept used to evaluate how prepared various countries are for the wide-scale use of information and communication technologies (ICT). An adaptation of the assessment framework enables

international comparisons. The assessment is based on indicator values that represent society's progress on different areas influencing on the use of ICT. Based on these indicators the society is evaluated on a four point scale, where one represents poor and four good e-readiness. The concept of e-readiness, adopted in the report, consisted of factors that influence the production and use of ICT, including access to ICT, human capital, business climate and regulatory environment, and on the other hand, factors describing the ICT use in the key spheres of education, business, public administration and culture (see Fig. 3.17).
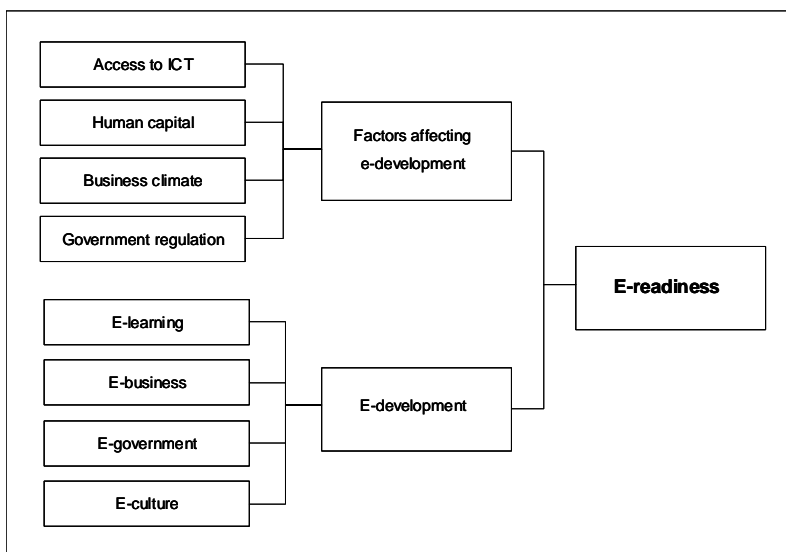
Figure 3.17. Conceptual framework for e-readiness assessment (in Russia E-Readiness Assessment 2004, 8).

The results, representing data from the year 2002, showed that Russia's advantages are a relative good level in access to ICT (the indicator value is 3), and the level of education and other factors representing the human capital (also 3). However, the report reminds that this score is heritage from the Soviet times and will be lost if the state does not invest enough money in the educational system. In addition, the areas that would need immediate improvements, according to the report, are business climate and government regulation (they both got only 2). For example, the protection of intellectual property rights is not on acceptable level in Russia. In the assessment of the key spheres in the society, it was found out that educational and culture institutions would need more investments on their e-development, but e-business and e-government had taken a step from the level of two to three in two years (comparison from 2000 to 2002).

Based on the e-readiness assessment on the state of Internet use in Russia at the moment and the regulation environment, it seems that Ivan Zassoursky is far too optimistic in his belief that Internet could be the needed arena for a societal change to emerge. Internet seems to be an elite medium for wealthy and well-educated people in today's Russia. It would need strong economic and political contribution from the state to spread Internet in Russia, as the e-readiness assessment suggested. Another factor is the present generation gap among the Internet users. The key question would be: Are the young inhabitants of the cyber space willing to contribute their energy towards societal change and politics?

4   The research process

The general objective of this study is to undertake a qualitative examination of media use patterns among young adults living in St. Petersburg, Russia. The main body of the research material is eight qualitative interviews that I carried out in St. Petersburg in May–June 2006. The interviews have a biographical approach to media use and its changes through the course of their lives. As was described earlier in the methodology section, I will use a narrative approach in the analysis. I have two main research questions for the analysis. They are:

1. How do the participants construct their relation to the media environment in their narratives? Is the macro context of media use somehow present in the narrative on media use?
2. How do the participants signify their media use in the told narratives?

In addition to the previous questions, I will examine two other more specific questions, which are:

3. How is reading of print media positioned in comparison to other media in the respondents' narratives?
4. Is the dual characteristic of media as mediators of meanings and as technological objects somehow articulated in the narratives?

I am interested in these topics for various reasons. Reading is an interesting topic because Russian culture is traditionally a literal culture, but reading has lost its popularity among Russians in the 1990s (Vartanova 2002). Therefore, it is interesting to examine how the young adults participating in my research signify reading of books or newspapers as a part of their daily media use. The question about the dual characteristic of media is interesting in the context of my study because I included all media in the same research process. In traditional audience research, which is concentrating only on single medium or certain kind of media content, it is more difficult to explore this question.

In the following sections, I will first reflect the research process as a whole. My special attention is in the challenges which originate from researching a foreign culture. After that, I will present my research material and explain how I analysed the material.

4.1 Research in a foreign culture: challenges and how to cope with them

Researching a foreign culture brings some extra challenges to the research. In the following, I discuss the challenges that I met during my research process. The discussion is mainly based on my field notes during the period that I spent in St. Petersburg gathering the research material. Roughly, the challenges can be divided into practical and cultural ones.

First of all, organising the collection of the material requires an extra effort when it happens in a foreign country. In the case of Russia, there is an additional trouble with the visa regulation, starting from the required invitation document, HIV-test results, and the official registration of the visa after entering the country. In addition, one needs to arrange the travelling and a place to stay. For these practical issues, I got help from the Journalism Department of the St. Petersburg State University. The practical difficulties continued as the actual material collection started: How to make contact with people? How to find participants for the study in a strange city with very limited contacts beforehand? And when a participant is finally found, where should one arrange the meeting to carry out the interview? These challenges are naturally present in any research process, but foreign culture brings an additional flavour to them. For example, what does 'yes' and 'no' mean in different cultures? If a Russian person promises to participate in a study or help you in finding participants, does she or he really mean it, or is it only a polite way to get out of the situation? In the course of the material collection, I realized that a personal contact with the respondents was essential to get them participate in the research. This is another challenge when you are operating in a foreign country because the time period for the material collection is limited. It is not easy to supplement the material with additional interviews afterwards, because an extension of the field work period would increase the expenses considerably, and sometimes it is not even possible due to an expiring visa or hire contract or any other practical reasons. I spend six weeks in St. Petersburg, and this was hardly enough time to find the participants and to collect sufficient material for this study. The last two of the interviews I made only a day before leaving back home. An extra fortnight might have produced a larger material as the last interviewees started to suggest their friends to participate in the research.

An obvious challenge is the use of a foreign language when carrying out social research in a foreign country. It is also a challenge that I needed to overcome many times and during different phases of the research process. First of all, occasionally I had some troubles in making myself understood when I tried to explain what I was after, what my research topic was, and why I was in St. Petersburg. This happened especially when I had conversations with the researchers at the university and tried to find out whether similar topics were covered in the Russian research world. My final conclusion was that some of the troubles originated from the unfamiliarity of my research perspective in the Russian academia (as discussed in the introduction). To ease the communication with the respondents, I had prepared a one page introduction to my research and another two pages of instructions for the production of research material. (This material is in Russian in appendix 1.)

Another story related to the use of foreign language is the making of the interviews. I had a prepared list of questions for the interviews. However, I wanted the interviews to be as spontaneous as possible and therefore I could not rely only on the prepared questions. The limited language skills make it more difficult to respond to the interviewee's initiatives. This is why the interviews are more dependent on the interviewees' ability and willingness to tell about the subject. On the other hand, this is not only a disadvantage: it prevents the interviewer to offer her/his own interpretations to the process of producing the research material. Therefore, the interviews may be considered to be more based on the interviewee's own expression and conception than a result of constructive dialogical process with the interviewer. Suvi Salmenniemi (2007, 28–29) had similar experiences on doing interviews with civil activists in a Russian provincial city Tver' for her doctoral thesis. Other advantages are mentioned by Anna-Maria Salmi (2006, 77) based on her experiences of interviewing Russian doctors for her doctoral thesis. According to Salmi, the outsider's position made it easier to ask questions that might have been perceived as rude or ignorant, if they were asked by a Russian interviewer. Also, the interviewees did not make any assumptions that the foreign interviewer would know what they were talking about but they answered the questions in great detail. I will discuss the interviews in more detail in the section about research material. However, my general experience of doing the interviews was that my language skills were sufficient to collect the material for this study, but to make in-depth interviews one would probably need to have native speaker's language skills, and more time to spend in the field.

After the material is collected, the research work continues, and the next challenge is to get the material in a form that enables closer analysis. The first step is to get transcriptions of the recorded interviews. Even if the language skills were good enough to be able to make the interviews in a face-to-face context, it would require even more to be able to make precise transcription of recorded speech. Therefore, I needed to turn to outside help in doing the transcriptions[4]. As the interviews are written on paper, one can start to study them. Here again, the foreign language makes the process of familiarization slower and different from a case when native language is used. In your native language, reading the text once or twice may be enough to 'get into the text', but in foreign language the text remains inevitably more distant. To achieve the same feeling of getting into the text may require translation of the phrases – or at least the 'message' or 'meaning' of the words. At the same time, it is evident that something of the original lingual or cultural tone is lost in translation. I will explain more about the ways how I proceeded with the research material in the next section.

Writing is another phase where the use of foreign language complicates the research process. In this case, I needed to operate with three different languages: Russian as a language of my research material, Finnish as a language which I think in, and English as a language of the reporting. The linking of thinking and the material's language was discussed already above, but the reporting language also caused an additional challenge. As is usual in qualitative research, it is important to use quotations from the research material to make the researcher's interpretations more transparent but when the reporting and research material are in different languages it is not as straightforward. Should the quotations be included both in the original language and as translations, or is it sufficient to have only the translations? I came to a solution to report only the translations, which I made myself. This was once again a point where the mixture of languages made the work challenging and time-consuming, as I had to operate with two foreign languages. Even if the translation looses some of the original language's nuances, I considered this aspect less critical in the narrative framework than, for example, in a discourse analytic approach. Probably, the main consequence of the mixture of languages in this work, and coping with it, was that it slowed the process and the completion of the thesis took a rather long time.

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[4] I am grateful to Janina Asmontaite, a native Russian speaker, who did the work for me very quickly and accurately.

There is one more aspect related to language that I want to point out. It is the use of certain concepts in different languages and how this may affect the outcomes of the research. In my study, a central concept was *media*. As a Russian equivalent, I used the term средства массовой информации *(sryedstva massovoy informatsii)*. The English concept has connotations with a meditating channel, the medium which can mediate any kind of content. The Russian term, in turn, refers only to information, and this may have guided the interviewees to consider primarily instrumental, and information motivated, uses of media. Some signs of this can be found in the material, as in the following quotation:

> **Q:** Do you listen to the radio?
> **A:** You know, I suppose, only musical [radio stations], and those too quite seldom. I don't consider them as information media (sryedstva informatsii).
> **Q:** Is information, then, the most important thing for you?
> **A:** Well, you just asked about my use of information, didn't you? Right. And I don't consider radio stations as mediators of information. ---

Above, I discussed the challenges that, to my mind, originated from the foreign research context of my study. In the following, I move to describe the actual research process in more detail. First, I describe the research material and how I processed it for the analysis. After that, I describe the process of analysing the material.

4.2   Research material

I collected the research material during a six week's stay in St. Petersburg in May-June 2006. The sampling method used was snowball sampling (Jensen 2002c, 239). I had couple of initial contacts in St. Petersburg, mainly my Finnish friends who were living in the city. Through them I reached five of the eight participants. Through one of these interviewees, I made contact with two more participants. Only one of the interviewees was a person who I met while visiting in a research institute in St. Petersburg. A list of the respondents is in the Table 4.1. At the time of the interviews, the respondents were 25–30 years old and they all had academic education. Two of the respondents were unemployed at the time, the rest were either working or writing a doctoral dissertation. Five of the eight participants are female.

Table 4.1.Profiles of the participants in the study.

RESPONDENT	SEX	YEAR OF THE BIRTH	FIELD OF ACADEMIC EDUCATION; OCCUPATION	LIVING CONDITIONS
A	Male	1979	International relations; Postgraduate student	Shared flat with friends
B	Female	1978	Architecture; Distant working at home	Lives alone
C	Male	1978	Physical education; Unemployed	With parents or grandparents
D	Female	1981	Sociology; Secretary in a research institute, Postgraduate student	With partner
E	Female	1980	Philology; Trainee in a cultural institute	With partner
F	Female	1980	Philology; Instructor	With partner
G	Female	1977	Politology; Marketing communication	With a child
H	Male	1976	Politology; Unemployed	With parents or grandparents

According to the original project plan, the research material was supposed to consist of structured diaries, where the participants would record every incident of their media use during one week, and written stories by the same participants describing the changes in their patterns of media use along the course of their lives, including childhood memories and considerations on the importance of various media in their life. This plan proved to be unfeasible as it was difficult to motivate the participants to fill up the diary or write the stories. Only six out of the eight respondents returned the diary, and out of them, only four were accurately filled in. Therefore, I only used the diaries as a background material in the study, but also to give an insight how this kind of material could be examined, I included some outcomes of the analysis in the Appendix 3. The obvious risk in using structured media diaries as a research material is that the respondents are responsible for producing the material independently. However, I still believe that this kind of data would be useful in the research of patterns of media use. This opinion is based on my previous experience (Leinonen 2005) on analysing corresponding data produced by Finnish university students. Salmi (2006) has used structured diaries in her study on social networks among teachers living in St. Petersburg. The respondents were asked to list all the important encounters containing significant information during fifteen day. She justified the use of structured diaries by their capability to record respondent's own definitions on the content and importance of the relationships (op.cit. 63). According to Salmi (op.cit 70), this is a means to avoid ethnocentrism in the research of foreign

culture, because any pre-designed categories are not provided to the respondents. The diaries also provide a rich and nuanced data, which capture 'tacit knowledge' of the everyday life, which is not always reflected upon. Media use can be considered as a similar kind of phenomenon as daily encounters with other people. In a similar manner, it is an activity which takes place in different forms during the whole day, and in its routine character it is not necessarily reflected upon. Therefore, structured diaries might provide a rich and nuanced data also in the context of studying media use. Only, due to the laboriousness it might be necessary to offer some kind of incentive to the respondents for filling up the diaries.

As I was conscious about the risk factors of my original plan for material collection, I had a substitutive plan to make interviews with the respondents. I conducted the interviews by myself. All of the interviews lasted less than an hour. The questions were formulated using the original instructions for the story writing as a guideline. The list of questions in English is in appendix 2. As was mentioned above, the interviews proceeded freely and every interview differed from the others. However, every interview started usually with the same question: Please tell me, what kind of role the media play in your life? The formulation of this question illustrates the attempt to carry out narrative interviews. According to Hyvärinen and Löyttyniemi (2005, 198–200) one form of narrative interview is to ask questions which encourage the interviewee to answer with narratives. Narrative questions seek expressions of personal experiences which are usually valuable for qualitative research. An opposite alternative would be questions which make the interviewee to report on the topic. In my interviews, I tried to get the narratives out by asking the interviewees to recall their childhood memories and tell about how various media were used in their families. Also, I asked them to describe any periods in their lives when they either used various media more or less than at other times. Asking the interviewees to recall concrete situations or everyday occurrences was one way to guide the respondents towards narrative answers instead of reporting ones.

I referred earlier to the difficulty to get into the research material when it is in a foreign language. I realized that I need to translate the interviews at least in some extend in order to internalize the narrative. Therefore, I came to the following procedure in preparing the material for the final analysis.

1. I divided the interviews into shorter sections, which I translated roughly into Finnish.

2. Based on the translated sections, I constructed a story describing the respondent's media use. The stories had two parts: the first one described the present media use patterns of the respondent and expressed attitudes towards various media; the second one described the past experiences and changes during the life course.

These constructed stories constituted the material for the first stage of the analysis, which aimed to give an overview on the research material. In later stages of the analysis, I returned to the original Russian transcriptions of the interviews for a closer view on the matter. In this stage, I used the Atlas.ti software to extract from the transcriptions sections that were essential for answering the research questions. I will explain the analysis procedure in the next section of this chapter.

4.3   Analysing the narratives

The analysis started when I had constructed the stories about the participants' media use, as was described above. To analyse the stories, I utilized an analysis framework, which I constructed using a framework presented by Alasuutari (1999a, 138–139) as an inspirational model. Alasuutari based his model on the ideas of A.J. Greimas and used it in the analysis of newspaper editorials. The editorials are not narrative in the sense that the plot, or the sequence of events, would be essential or useful to be analyzed. Instead, Alasuutari recognized goals, the means to achieve the goals, obstacles and means of resistance (or forms of opposition) in the editorials. These same aspects did not suit for my purposes of analyzing the stories on media use but I have also four aspects in my framework. They are:

1. **What is the story about?** In every story, there was some basic theme, which framed the media use. This was either a biographical element or reasoning which was repeated throughout the narrative. (This corresponds to the goal of action in Alasuutari's framework.)

2. **How is the media use related to the 'subject' of the story?** This aspect illustrates the characteristics of the respondent's media use patterns. Also, the perceptions of the media environment and any negatively perceived aspects in media use were examined. (This corresponds to the means to achieve the goals in Alasuutari's framework.)

3. **Relation to TV**. The television appeared to somehow be a problematic medium to almost all the respondents. This was an observation, which I already made during the interviews. Therefore, I considered necessary to review this topic in more detail in the analysis.

4. **Life history in the context of media use**. Here, I concentrated on any significant life experiences which tend to have an effect on media use. Also, childhood memories were reviewed here, if they seemed to have some kind of connection to the respondent's present media use.

To illustrate how I utilized the analysis framework, I show an example of it in the following. Table 4.2 shows a summary of a respondent's story. She is a female who was born in 1977. In her story, there is a strong biographical frame for the media use which she expressed throughout the interview. Media use is connected to a project of identity construction which originated from her personal experience of having a child. The media appear in her story as a means to construct the new identity of a socially aware person. This happens by increasing knowledge and participating in the online community. She also expresses a strong division of the media environment into opposition's media (Internet and some of the newspapers) and the media of the official power (TV). This division defines where it is possible to receive reliable information.

Table 4.2. An example of the use of the analysis framework.

What is the story about?	How is the media use related to the 'subject' of the story?
- "An identity project" combined with "societal awakening" - (The respondent *decided* that societal participation is the meaning of human's life)	- Books and information were the means to get rid of the '*individualism*' of which the respondent *suffered* before. - Internet and some newspapers are opposition's organs, from which one can get reliable information. - Online mailing lists are channels for participation in the societal activities and decision making
Relation to TV - The respondent feels an obligation to watch TV in order to know the '*enemy*' (the official power). Therefore, she organizes time for that, even if there is a lack of time in her present life situation. - The respondent wants her child to learn read and start liking it first, before she is allowing her to watch TV. According to the respondent, reading is 'food for human's mind'.	**Life history in the context of media use** - Respondent's father is a scientist and mother is a teacher - The respondent remembers that her parents watched news on TV, and in the time of perestroika they were concerned about the societal inequity and the future of the country. - When the respondent got a child, she felt being left alone and bound into the house. This rouse questions into her mind and resulted in the societal awakening

All eight stories on media use were processed in a similar manner that is shown in table 4.2. The framework allowed me to compare the individual stories to each other. To get an overview of the

material, I started to ask myself how the stories differentiated from each other and what kind of similarities could be found. These questions guided me to recognize different ways to further explain about media use, as well as they indicated different relations to the media environment. The analysis resulted in a typography which I call orientations. The orientations are compositions of the different modes of narrative guided by Vilma Hänninen's (2004) model of narrative circulation. In other words, the orientation described the narrator's relation to the media environment, to media use and they are therefore the means to answer the first two research questions. The other two research questions about reading and the dual characteristic of the media I examined separately. For this purpose, I separated from the material sections dealing with these topics, and analysed them utilizing concepts from the theory (discussed in chapter 2). The findings of the analysis are presented in the following chapter.

5   The media in the lives of the participants

In this chapter I present the analysis of the narratives on media use. In the first section I concentrate on television and examine the narratives as a whole. In the last two sections, I explore two more precise questions. The first one is how the interviewees speak about reading. After that, I examine narrative on technology, mostly mobile phones.

5.1   "Disgusting television" and other media

One observation that I made already during the interviews was that television appeared to be somehow problematic medium for the interviewees. Some of the interviewees stated very strongly that they did not like to watch TV and almost everyone said at least something negative about it. Actually, the expression "disgusting television" in the heading of this section is borrowed from one of the participant's media diary. He wrote after listening to radio news: "I thought that it's good that there were left a free radio in a situation when it's *disgusting* to watch television." This is why I considered it interesting and necessary to analyze the narrative on television more closely. While doing this, I recognized that some of the interviewees combined their critique on TV with critical attitude towards the ruling power in Russia. These respondents also made a clear division of the media into those that are central to the ruling power, and on the other hand, to those that are the opposition's media. In the rest of the interviews, this kind of political or societal division could not be found. This is how I realized that there was two different ways to describe the media environment: some of the interviewees identified the media as a part of the country's socio-political structures, while the others spoke about media use in their personal life's context, without societal considerations. As a rule, one can say that the first alternative was accompanied with more critical views on TV, but the latter narratives included also negative statements on TV. In this case, the high content of negative news or commercials was usually mentioned.

The analysis of the narrated reasoning, why to watch TV – or use some other medium – and why not to do so, led me to the other aspect of the narratives. Some of the interviewees emphasized the usefulness of the information that they wanted to receive through the media and evaluated the different media according to their capabilities to offer this useful information. On the other hand,

some other interviewees evaluated the media content or their relationship to various media in more emotional terms. Thus, there seemed to be different ways to orientate towards the media environment and talk about media use and justify it. I recognized three alternative ways to talk about media use in my research material. The first one is the strongly societal-oriented expression which divided the media environment according to power–opposition line. The second one emphasized the usefulness of information and therefore the media receives a more instrumental position in this orientation. The third orientation connects media use integrally into the personal life's context and utilizes emotional expressions. In the following, I describe these orientations in more detail and show how they appear in the research material. I want to remark that the orientations have a connection to all media use even if the narrative on television was the key element in the recognition of the orientations.

Societal orientation and the propagandist television

The first orientation, which I recognized in the research material, contains an explicitly expressed division of the media environment into the organs of official power and opposition. The narrator also evaluates the media based on this division, as in the following quotation:

> Mainly…I simultaneously use television, and newspapers, and internet. Yes, it's important, because television presents the viewpoint of the official power, the viewpoint of official propaganda and it's hardly truthful. But at the same time, I think that it's very important for me to watch television because, well, I need to know the enemy as it is. Internet represents sufficiently truthful information to me because the official power doesn't reach the internet, and I, or in any case, I don't go to those sites.
> **Q:** Do you also read newspapers?
> **A:** Well, I read only oppositional newspapers, opposition's newspapers. In other words, newspapers and internet, to me they represent opposition to the power, (G [To indicate individual participants, I use the same letters than in table 4.1.], female, 1977)

If we examine the previous quotation in the frame of the uses and dependency model, it suggests that the various media fulfil different functional alternatives in the narrator's life. As the narrator does not trust television as an information source she needs to turn to the functional alternatives newspapers and internet. The key aspect in the evaluation is the division based on the power–opposition line which the narrator is making. TV represents the official propaganda and Internet is a free arena for expression and represents the opposition's voice. However, she finds it essential to watch television even if, according to her own words, in the current life situation time is a scarce resource for her. She explains this need to watch television in the following:

> Propaganda is also an art, it's a peculiar genre. This genre has its own rules. And to know and to understand this genre, you need to watch television constantly, you need to know that there are only lies, no truth, do you understand? (G, female, 1977)

The narrator represents herself as a person who has the capability to recognize the *propaganda* and *lies* that are broadcasted on the television. In other part of the interview, G presents an identity story; she tells how the media helped her in the process of becoming a socially conscious person which she is today. According to her narrative, the background for her social awakening was a situation when she had a child, and she was *bound to* home and *doomed to* loneliness. This life situation raised questions in her mind. These questions required answers, and therefore mass media had a central role in the process.

> So, until I was 22 years, no 23 years old, I was a very stupid person, I was just a silly girl, I was a person, who didn't read anything, I was a person who wasn't interested in social problems and political problems, a person who was an individualist and lived only for the satisfaction of vital everyday needs. Luckily, I become little wiser. Books and of course information helped in this. Above all, well, I, I met certain people; I started to receive news through certain mailing lists; I started to visit certain sites [in the internet] and to read certain newspapers. I realized that in our country there are more and more problems, and withdrawing from them is not at all noble and not good at all. You need to participate, to take part in the solution of them – it's the meaning of human's life, I decided. That's why I have actively taken part in social life since then. (G, female, 1977)

There is a strong binary opposition in the above quotation. The narrator tells how she was previously a stupid person but has now become wiser. She also lists the characteristics describing the "stupidity" and "wisdom" (see table 5.1). In the narrative, media use, and especially reading, is represented as a means to achieve the state of "wisdom". The narrator draws a picture of an enlightened person who seeks information which helps her to recognize the social problems and eventually act on the problems.

Table 5.1 "Stupid" and "wise" in the narrator's (G) identity story.

"STUPID"	"WISE"
Not interested in social problems	Conscious of the social problems
Individualistic, lives only for satisfaction of vital needs	Takes actively part in the social life
Does not read anything	Reads newspapers and books
	Capable to recognize the propaganda on TV

In chapter 2, I presented the model of narrative circulation by Vilma Hänninen (2004). Using Hänninen's terms, I interpret the "wise person", which G constructed in the quote above, to

represent her *inner narrative*, the inner understanding of herself. This "wise person" is, on one hand, able to recognize the propaganda and lies that are broadcasted on the Russian television, and on the other hand, the opposition's truth which is available in the internet and in certain social circles, and in some extent in the printed press. The following quotation shows another expression of this capability. In this case, the narrator makes the distinction between generations, between himself and his parents:

> I probably discuss news more with my friends than my parents (laughs). I think that we just have too different understanding about news. They have little old-fashioned position, yes, to discuss news, because they don't see the secret mechanisms of influence on the mass consciousness, they don't see the manipulation, which I see. To me news represents primarily an instrument of propaganda, and only secondary, means to report information. In other words, it is rather an instrument or disinformation (laughing) than information. (H, male, 1976)

How does the societal orientation then relate to media use? As was described above the narrators evaluate the media environment based on a division between official power and its opposition. In the media system this means a division between the television (ruled by the official power) and the internet and some newspapers (opposition's media). This division is also a foundation for evaluating the truthfulness of the information, and it guides the media use, especially in relation to the informational needs. However, the narrators do not refuse to watch television, even if they consider it untruthful. This suggests that they have also other than instrumental motivations to use the media. Rubin (1984) defined *ritualized media use* to be a more or less habitual use of a medium, which aims to gratify diversionary needs or motives. These kinds of characteristics appear in the narrative, especially in the respondent H's case. He tells, for example, how he may watch DVD-films for more than six hours a day now that he is unemployed or how he used to spend his free time at a computer club playing computer games, even if he worked as an information specialist and spent all his working hours at computer and could use some time for his own interests (playing, listening to music) also at work. It seems that various media forms a repertoire in these narrators' lives, which they use for different functions. In other words, the various media compliment but not replace each other. For example in the following quote, H describes how internet serves different functions in his life:

> Internet is altogether like a diverse world. I would say that it's not only a carrier of information, yes, it's also a carrier of entertainment, means of hobby. In other words, it's for me like, well, perhaps, the most important constituent. I operate on the internet quite often, I conduct an online journal, first of all, my personal diary. Secondly, I communicate with friends through internet, with like-minded people, and at the same time I can read the information which doesn't get into pages of newspapers and on the TV-screen, yes, because it is filtered by the government. So, from this point of view it

seems to me that internet is the most prospective and the most interesting mass medium in Russia. (H, male, 1976)

The mode of narrative, which I named *societal orientation*, reflects strongly the societal and political circumstances of contemporary Russia. This shows especially in the attitudes towards television, because it is considered as a propaganda machine of the ruling power. The narrators represent themselves as capable to recognize the manipulative mechanisms, or lies, as they describe the television content. The narrative contains an idea of *enlightened self*, a person who knows where to find reliable information and uses it to take part in the social life. However, it seems that this tendency towards enlightened self or social participation appears as an individual choice. To my mind, the narrators do not position themselves in a superior position in relation to other people but all the critical statements are addressed to the official power.

Instrumental orientation and the unnecessary television

The characteristic which distinguishes this orientation from the previous one is that the societal critique is more hidden in the narrative. In stead, the narrators emphasize the usefulness of information for formation of personal world view, and therefore media use is represented as an *instrumental* activity. The narrators of this orientation evaluate the mass media based on their capacity to offer this kind of useful information. Also, the consequence of this evaluation is different form the previous orientation: These narrators give an impression that they need functional alternatives for television, as they consider it unnecessary for their informational needs.

In the following quotation, the narrator A describes his need for information:

> Probably every day, I have this feeling, a hunger for information, and I start the day listening to some informative-analytical program. Well, it may be now just a part of some kind of lifestyle or habit. I'm not sure, whether I had the feeling, if I, let's say, ended up to live in some village and changed totally my orientation to something else.
> **Q:** Where does this habit come from?
> **A:** The habit comes from, well, probably from…in a process of socialization, let's say. In my case on account of the choice of specialty at the university, probably, at some point I was expected to follow up…well, what happens in the surrounding world. Since I got into the faculty of political science, which was my first academic education, there they made us watch television, read newspapers. (A, male, 1979)

The narrator relates his hunger for information and the city life. Media use and the active following of news events are something that a civilized urban person needs to do, something that he has

learned at the university. This inner narrative, the *educated self*, differs from the previous orientation's *enlightened self* in the sense that it does not include an expectation to actively participate in the social life – for the educated person it is enough to be aware. To be aware, and to become the educated person, one needs the special kind of information, which helps to analyze the surrounding world and to construct one's own world view. In the following quote, the narrator A expresses that this kind of information cannot be received from television:

> Well, in the first place, news is very biased on television and they broadcast practically the same viewpoints on all the main channels. If…well, and this viewpoint is always oriented to some pro-governmental program or platform, and so on. If you want to hear something that would help you to evaluate the existent, yes, or not only hear and memorize, but something to help you to analyze and assess, for that you need alternative sources of information. And they are, correspondingly, either in the internet or on the radio. That's why I, when I'm at home, I choose radio, and in addition, when I'm at the university I read news in the internet, when I have time. (A, male, 1979)

The quote above can be interpreted in accordance with the uses and dependency model: the narrator turns to functional alternatives because he is not satisfied with the television's offerings. This is the factor in my analysis which distinguishes this orientation from the previous one. The emphasis on information and informational media use appears in the narrative in parallel with an idea of acceptable or "correct" media use pattern. In the following, there are two examples of this. In the first quote, the narrator describes how she finds the exactly right information in the internet very effectively. The information search is represented in a very straightforward manner; actually it resembles the transmission model of communication. Other kind of "unnecessary" information is something that the narrator needs to actively filter. In the latter quotation, the narrator permits himself to listen to the entertaining radio content only in the evening, after the daily portion of information is already completed. This is the moment of the day when the educated person is allowed to relax.

> Well, there are questions that interest me, and correspondingly I seek [information] through the searching system, I enter the topic, which I need, and receive the information. As well as…well, I listen to the radio sometimes, if I'm at my relatives', or television, sometimes, very seldom, I see it. In other words, to me flies some scraps of information, but as a matter of fact, very much of it is unnecessary in the sense that it doesn't change your life by any means, it just, lets say, is about what happened today. It's not obligatory to know that. Just some trivial details. And at some point your head forgets these things. So, there's, of course, very big stream of information in the city and you get an overload. So, you need to filter it. (B, female, 1978)

> If I mainly listened to music channels in school years and at the university, then now I switch to the music channels only in the evenings, when I am already tired, when I already, well, for example know the main…the main news of the day and I don't feel like reflecting the discussions or

analytical programs which are in the ether in the evenings. After supper I probably, or during the process of preparing the supper I, sometimes, listen to musical radio stations. (A, male, 1979)

In this narrative, the effectiveness and time use become important aspects of media use. On the other hand, this is understandable, because the orientation contains an implicit model of an acceptable way of using media, and this model is based on the emphasis on useful information. The narrator cannot afford to use time for "unnecessary" or "useless" media content. The following quotation is an example of how the narrator perceives television commercials as such useless information, which hinders the effectiveness of media use. Therefore, she needs to turn to functional alternatives, in this case DVD-films.

I'm not interested in what they show on television. Firstly, I…all the information is not reliable and there's very much commercials. It's impossible to watch television. In other words, if I want to watch a film, I watch it on DVD, because I can plan my schedule, and watch it then when I want to, and without commercials, right, but television, its like…well, there's some kind of mass attack going on, and it's somehow too much. In addition, I would say, I don't have enough time to watch television, in other words, there's so much to do and you hardly have enough time to do all that, and so I just sit down and watch some time and much time is lost for nothing, because of the commercials. To my mind, it's just foolish. (Laughing) (B, female, 1978)

The authenticity of information becomes a central criterion to evaluate the media content in this orientation. In my research material, this criterion results in two kinds of insights on the mass media mediated world. The first alternative is to judge which channels are able to mediate the authentic information, and choose them for regular use. The other alternative comes to a conclusion that actually no medium or channel is able to reach the authentic world and mediate information about it. Therefore, the narrator prefers relying on personal connections, worth-of-mouth information, and own observations about the world. The following quotations show how these alternatives appear in the research material. In the first one, narrator A tells how his interest in the television disappeared due to changing programming of his favourite television channel. He perceives the change so dramatic that he even uses the verb *close*, although the television channel continues its operation after the change.

Later, when I returned to St. Petersburg, I didn't have a television for a long time, and the habit of watching it gradually disappeared. And later, as a result of closing of my favorite channel NTV, or more precisely its owner changed and it became a state company, and that kind of television didn't interest me anymore. I think that any oppositional, alternative, and simply creative projects disappeared somewhere, yes? In these terms, yes, my attitude towards television changed. (A, male, 1979)

The second alternative appears in B's narrative:

> I can add that basically the information on surrounding world…the one that is valuable for me, which I remember, I get when I travel. I like traveling very much, for example, in trains, I have traveled in trains quite a lot all over our country and the most interesting thing is to communicate with living people, because what they show on TV, it doesn't correspond to the reality. But when you travel in a train and you talk to people from different cities, there is always some company gathering, everyone meets, and I get lot more information on what is going on. ---
> I have quite a big circle of friends, and basically all information I get through them, because everyone is a specialist on his or her field, and it's just interesting to socialize --- Because everyone works on his or her field, and everyone knows what happens in that field and often these things are not spoken about in the mass media, and it's therefore a more fruitful method to get it [the information], I would say. (B, female, 1978)

An interesting aspect in B's narrative is that it appears as a continuum from the Soviet society, where informal social contacts were important supplements to mass media (see Remington 1981). The narrative expresses a deep distrust on mass media's capacity to mediate information on the real life's social or political questions. In such conditions informal information sources become crucial as was the case in the Soviet Union.

Let us summarize this orientation before exploring the third and last orientation. The narrators of the *instrumental orientation* emphasize the usefulness of the information that they want to gain from the mass media. Useful information is, according to the narrators, something to remember, something that helps you to analyze the surrounding world and to construct your personal world view. The current Russian television cannot offer this kind of information, and therefore the narrators convey that they seek functional alternatives for television. In this study the alternatives were found in the internet, on radio and also in face-to-face communication.

Private orientation and the ambiguous television

The last one of the three orientations I named *private orientation*, because the narrative on media use is closely connected to the narrator's private life's context. The narrative does not contain direct references to the political or societal circumstances of the present-day Russia. Thereby, the television content is not evaluated on the basis of information truthfulness or usefulness, but the private life's conditions set the boundaries for television use. An example of this kind of narrative is in the following quotation, where the respondent outlines her history of watching television and

listening to the radio. The main explanation for using the medium seems to be its availability in the current state of life.

> When I was a student, in our country commercial radio stations started to appear, yes, in other words, radio, we started listening to radio. Very many, these musical radio stations, all kinds of, they were liked a lot. Later, we lived in a dormitory; we didn't have a television, that's why we basically listened to the radio. Then when I married, and we started living together with my husband, we had only one television at home. We watched television, when we were in the living room, and when we were in the kitchen, cooked or did something else there, we listened to the radio. Now, to us appeared little television in the kitchen. In other words, we have television in the living room, as well as in the kitchen, that's why we practically don't listen to the radio, we listen to it only in car, but I travel in a car infrequently, that's why I don't listen to the radio practically at all. (E, female, 1980)

The narrative contains also sections where the narrator describes his or her relation to a certain medium by portraying some specific moments of media use. For example in the following, the narrator tells about her favourite radio channel, which she have listened to ever since it was founded in the late 1990s. The narrator represents the radio channel almost like a friend that she meets every morning, and with its pleasant flow of talk and peaceful music it helps the narrator to forget the unpleasant duties of the day.

> I like very much the way how they [the favorite radio channel] provide information and music. In the morning they send news regularly every half an hour, deliver the weather, well, the changing temperature. To my mind, they deliver the weather every ten minutes. The music is so peaceful. --- You just start to be carried away by the music, you don't pay anymore attention to what you need to do. You switch it on, listen to it in the background, and get information at the same time, that's why I listen to it all the time. I have it even as an alarm clock, yes, they say to me right from the morning: 'Good morning, today the weather is like this and this'. So, you get up and it's somehow pleasant. (F, female, 1980)

The key elements of this orientation's narrative are the right time, place and mood for using media. These elements may be connected also to social relations as in the following where the company intensifies, to the narrator's mind, the experience of watching a comedy film.

> With friends…well, periodically yes, sometimes it may happen, if someone bought somewhere a DVD, then sometimes it's easier to get together at home, take there a bottle of good wine, sit together, watch a film and at the same time socialize, I repeat once more, everything depends on the mood and situation. --- if you watch a comedy, when there are some funny moments, it's much more fun in a company than if you watched it alone. I mean if there's some comedy, funny moments, then during the watching everyone reacts to them. Somehow together, it's funnier to watch than if I watched it alone. (C, male 1978)

The right place for using media tends to be an urban environment. The following quotation followed a section in the interview, where the respondent told how she every now and then travels

to summer cottage. The only medium, which reaches the place, is the nationwide radio channel "Mayak". In the narrator's words, it is a channel, which is loved by "all summer cottage residents and middle aged people". The narrator considers these periods at the summer cottage as pleasant and welcomed breaks from the city life.

> **Q:** How does it feel to have a break like that?
> **A:** Well, I think that one need to have breaks because when we have every day all kinds of information, there's advertisement in the subway, news, well everywhere, it also burdens, one need to sometimes let the brain rest, to be in nature. But on the other hand then, if you are like that a week or two, then you just start to feel like hearing what is happening in the world --- And when you return usually to work, you need to be somehow familiar with the latest events, therefore, in order to know where happened and what, right, this is why you try little just sit, listen to, read something, so that nothing is missed. (E, female, 1980)

In the previous quotation the time at the summer cottage and the everyday life in the city are presented in oppositional positions to each others. The narrative represents a human being as some kind of psychophysical entity which needs sometimes take a rest from the urban world that is saturated with information (see table 5.2). The remote summer place with peaceful nature offers a space, where the mind gets to rest. In the city, the mind is distracted by all the commercial and mass media messages that one cannot avoid. However, information is an integral part of the city-life, and therefore on needs to go through a kind of transition ritual before going back to the city. In other words, returning back to the "world" requires that the narrator updates her knowledge on the latest news events.

Table 5.2. Places (of mind) in the respondent's (E) narrative.

AT THE COTTAGE (IN COUNTRYSIDE)	IN THE CITY
Nature	Urban surrounding
Rest for the brain	Informational burden
Out of "the world"	Need to be informed about "the world"

The previous quotation depicted the inner narrative in this orientation, which I call *psychophysical self*. With this name I try to illustrate the two central elements of the narrative. First, it contains emotional expression, especially in relation to the television content, but also to media use in general. On the other hand, the narrative on media use is connected to physical places and concrete situations more than to some clear functions as in the previous two orientations. In this orientation, the situations and contexts of the media use become central in narrative but these conditions are presented always from the private life's perspective. The emotional aspect of the narrative appears

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in the following two quotations, where the narrators describe how they experienced the media content emotionally unpleasant. The first narrator (D) describes the feeling that is caused by negative television news as an *internal protest*. The quotation also highlights how the different media are related to different use experiences; the *psychophysical* user experiences watching television differently from reading a newspaper regardless the content. In the latter quote, C describes how the television news affects people's minds and behaviour. He uses such a powerful expressions like *negative energy* or *living on a volcano*.

> For me all these political news are very painful, and if I, for example, watch the big news, and there is some unexpected event, about how, for example, Russia wants to maintain terrorists, yes, or something. I have simply an internal protest, I cannot watch this, just therefore. But still all this interests me. And therefore I, of course, prefer reading, but not watching. (D, female, 1981)

> In the past, there wasn't a big flow of information in the news about what is going on, that is, once everything was closed. But recently, on the contrary, they try to tell everything to people, although I think that the less they knew the better they would sleep, basically, because when they tell in the news only about, where someone was killed, where someone was drowned, where something burned down, in other words people get negative energy from the television, because they tell about these negative factors, which happen in Russia and very little about positive things. And people think that they live there, on a volcano, where something may explode in any moment, anyone may be killed. Gradually, this burdens and that's why people are not so sociable, everyone is reserved, because everybody expects something dangerous to happen anywhere, in any moment. (C, male 1978)

Above, C makes an interesting comparison of the present day situation to the old times. He deliberates the principles of news broadcasting in the Soviet times and in today's Russia. He does not take a strong position on, whether the former closed communication system was good or bad, but he is definitely not pleased with the present line of "openness". Also, another interviewee (F) below treats the question on negative and positive news content. The quotation is also an example of the non-critical attitude towards Russia's current politics, which is different from the narrative of the previous two orientations.

> I do watch news, sometimes I watch also news, when I have time, yes, I do watch, it's interesting. Yesterday they showed, for example, our dear president, how he visited some piggery, it was very funny to watch it (laughing). They showed there some pedigree pigs to him, which were about one and half meters long. Well, we have…I don't like to watch news, when they show all kinds of horrors, but it's very pleasant, even, to watch, when there is also something good in our country, something, something is developing in our country. (F, female, 1980)

The *psychophysical self* may appear also in a more spiritual form, as in the following example. C tells how he fasts before Easter executing an Orthodox Lent, and this includes also control over media use:

> Therefore, I tried at least, it was one and half months, when I practically didn't watch television, read more books, there were some newspapers, I listened less to music, but there were more reading. Then everything comes back to the beginning, in other words starts a new period. --- Of course, it feels different. Actually, television is such a thing, when you get used to it, let's say, every day it is switched on, you come home, the first thing you do is to switch on the television regardless you watch it or not, it's just on, you do your own things, but it is on so that you had something to listen to --- It's difficult for some time at the beginning, I would say. Well, a week, that's too much, but four days, or so, and you get used to it already, and after that it goes to some new habit, I mean, you have more time for something else, you can devote you time for something else, because television deprives of the time, if you switch it on constantly. --- (C, male, 1978)

In the previous quote, television is presented as a factor, which causes dependency. On the other hand, reading books is something that the person can do during Lent. The narrative represents reading as a more spiritual activity, which does not cause dependency, but is rather related to spiritual purification. Giving up the television and music requires some extra effort; it is almost like a spiritual struggle that the person needs to go through. C tells that he has fasted for couple of years, and giving up the use of electronic media has been a gradual process for him. He even compares this, in the following, to giving up smoking. This comparison represents the dependency on television to be a very strong psychophysical state.

> Everything happens gradually; no-one can just take everything and give it up at once, if there weren't any rules made. But if you do it gradually, it's not so difficult. People are afraid, let's say, don't know, giving up smoking…some give it up at once, and that's it, but some cannot do that. They have to do it gradually; start to smoke less, at the beginning they smoke half a box in a day, then ten cigarettes. So they give up smoking gradually. It's much easier, I think, than take it and give it up at once. (C, male, 1978)

In this orientation, it is characteristic to emphasise the situational aspects of media use. Thereby, media use is represented in the context of one's personal life. The everyday life constructs the frame for media use and in different situations and places there are different media that are used. The narrators do not emphasize instrumental functions of media, but rather describe concrete media use situations and use emotional terms to describe the use experience. In the narrative media use may also be connected to social situations, where the presence of other people is central in the use. On the other hand, narrative contains descriptions of ritualistic media use, which is not concentrated, but happens as a background for other activities. Another characteristic to this orientation is that the narrators express occasional need to withdraw from the everyday life that is saturated with media content. Usually, this is expressed through a concrete withdrawal from the urban life, and a remote location at the summer cottage or grandmother's place in the country side offers suitable scenery for this.

Summary

Table 5.3 summarizes the findings of the analysis. Attitudes towards television appeared to be a factor that helped me to reveal different orientations in the research material's narrative. I recognized three different orientations. The first two, the *Societal orientation* and *Instrumental orientation*, contained critical references towards the current Russian politics. The third one, the *Private orientation*, described the media use closely in the personal life's context. The orientations contained also expressions of different inner narratives, which are included in the table 5.3.

Table 5.3. Orientations in the research material.

ORIENTATION	INNER NARRATIVE	ATTITUDE TOWARDS TELEVISION	MEDIA USE
Societal	*Enlightened self:* Media use and information help in the enlightening process. The enlightened person takes actively part in the social life.	Television is a propagandist medium, which represents the views of official power. It is important to watch television, in order to be aware of the propagandist mechanisms.	Other media, especially internet and newspapers, complement television, because they represent the opposition and are free of control. Internet serves diverse functions in addition to informational ones (e.g. finding likeminded people, own expression, entertainment)
Instrumental	*Educated self:* The educated person needs to be aware of what is happening and has a capacity to recognize useful information.	Television does not provide useful information for the formation of own world view. Therefore, watching television is unnecessary.	Other media are functional alternatives for information retrieval, and they replace television. Another alternative is to rely strongly on word of mouth information.
Private	*Psychophysical self:* A human is a psychophysical entity, who experiences the world and media content emotionally.	Negative news and the high content of commercials may make television watching unpleasant. Watching happens in the frame of personal life, and is dependent on the personal interests and time available to be spent for it.	Other media complement television if they are more convenient to use. Media use is an integral part of city-life, but occasionally one needs a break from the overload of information.

Based on my analysis the narrative on media use had two dimensions which form a kind of coordinates for the orientations. The first dimension is the axis between society and private life, and it refers to the aspect how much the societal context was present in the narrative. The second dimension describes the mode of narrative, and it alters between emotional and informational modes. This means that some of the narrators used more emotional expression while the others emphasized information in their narrative on media use. These modes may also have a connection

to the media use orientations described by Rubin (1984), so that emotional mode expresses more the ritualistic use and informational mode the instrumental use. However, the research material used in this study is not sufficient to elaborate this connection in full detail. Figure 5.1 shows how I placed the three orientation in the frame described above.
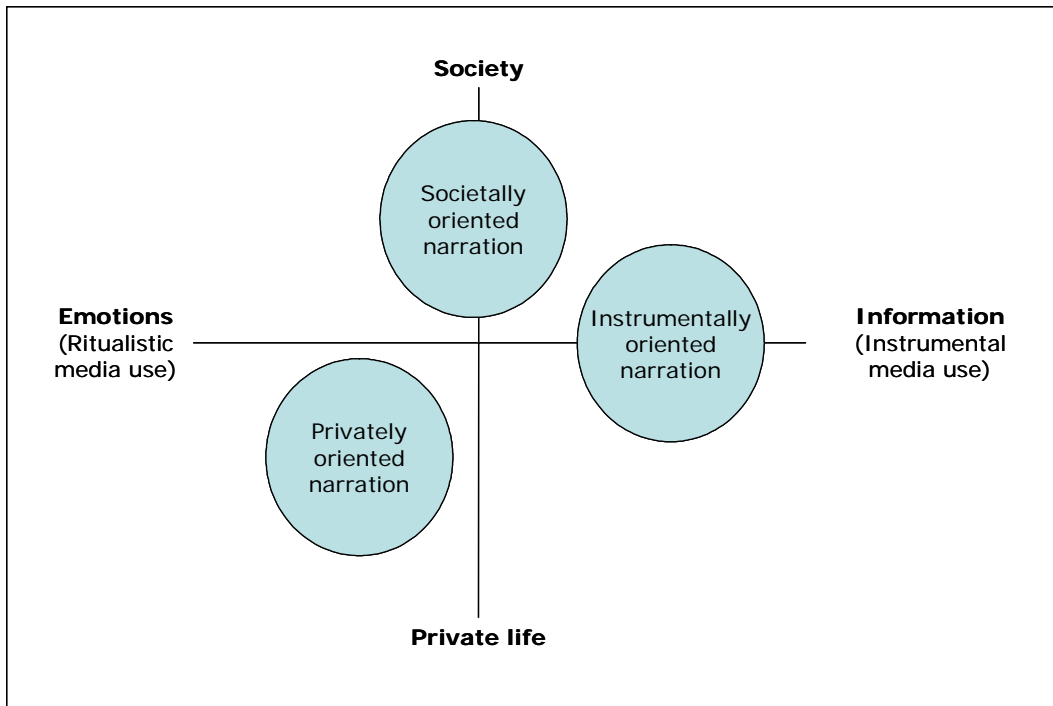
Figure 5.1. The four dimensions of media use and the media orientations in the research material.

5.2 Reading: food for the mind and diversionary functions

The traditionally strong position of literature in the Russian culture showed also in my research material. Almost all my interviewees told that reading was common in their childhood families and their parents or grandparents had collected big home libraries. In the following is an example of this kind of narrative, where the narrator remembers her school years, and how reading was an integral part of family life and schoolwork.

> Very often my parents, for a very long time, even if we with my brother already could read, but in any case, they read aloud for us some children's books. Later, father recommended some books for me to read. They bought us a very big home library, so, we were really a reading family. --- At school, we had lessons where we discussed some books and some children's programs or such things. That's why on the breaks we always discussed some children's serials, any books that someone had read. And there were organized days of the favorite books, when everyone told about one's books, and then we exchanged them. --- We discussed [books] also with parents. Because

basically parents, definitely, recommended what to read, bought books. Later we of course started to read what was on the school program. But our parents also read books that were on the school program. That's why we could always discuss something with parents, all the time. (E, female, 1981).

Some of the interviewees expressed very explicitly the cultural valuation of literature and reading; reading literature was seen essential for a human's life and intellectual growth. In the following quotation the narrator compares reading literature to nourishment, food. This comparison makes literature almost vital to humanity, and tells about a strong valuation. At the same time, the narrator represents herself as an enlightened person, who constantly seeks for intellectual growth.

> To my mind, well, especially books are one of the most important meanings of life, good literature. --- the most important thing for a human being is his reason, his brain, and that's why the reason need to be trained constantly, one need to constantly give it nourishment, food, that's why one need to read books. I'm an enthusiastic reader, and I don't like it at all, when I don't have a book. (G, female 1977)

The family background may in some extent explain the stronger expression about the valuation of reading. In the first quotation, by E, reading was presented as activity, which is a shared interest in the family. However, her narrative did not contain such a strong expression about the essentiality of reading. E has a professional-working class family background, as her mother is a doctor and father is an engineman (working on the railways). What unites the previous narrator, G, and the following one, C, is their family background, which could be characterized to belong to *intelligentsia* meaning the highly educated scientific and cultural social group in the Soviet society. G's father is a scientist, who worked in a secret institute on war technology, and her mother is a music teacher. C's father is an actor and mother is a painter, and this is how he speaks about reading:

> To my mind, a human being need to grow versatile, that's why one mustn't get caught only to television or internet, that is, to my mind reading is more interesting and effective than watching television, it helps a person more in the sense of growing, if he reads more, let's say, books, especially books. Because young people nowadays very little…or now it's probably coming back already, but there was a period, when everyone read very little, they didn't have anything to read, but now there is a big flow of different literature --- (C, male, 1978)

Despite the valuation of reading, C himself was not an active reader. In parallel to the high valuation of reading, there was a more deterministic or situational explanation for reading habits in his narrative. In the previous quote, he uses the poor availability of interesting literature as an explanation for minor readership. In principle, this is a "true" explanation in the sense that there was a depression in book publishing in Russia during the first years after the disintegration of the Soviet

Union, as was discussed in the chapter 3. On the other hand, he told that the quantity of other interesting media content affects the extent of his reading, for example in the time of the interviews there were the world championships of soccer that demanded his time and attention. These kinds of explanations are in accordance with the uses and dependency model, which suggests that the state of the media system and societal conditions affect people's media use. In general, the lack of time was used as a common explanation for not reading books in the interviews. This suggests that reading is considered as a time consuming activity, which requires a certain kind of situation or context, as in the following quote:

> Well, in general reading also…even sometimes when you travel, if you travel to the country side, then it may be even better to read a book in the silence than watch television. In other words, one need to take turns with reading and watching television. (C, male, 1978)

Not only in the above quote, but also in other interviews, reading is constructed as an activity which requires time and silence. Reading was often described to take place somewhere else than in the everyday life in the city. For example, weekend in the countryside, or the yearly visit to grandmother who lives in a distant location, were often described the situations when there was enough time to read books. Almost the only situation where reading could fit into the city-life was travelling in the public transportation; either it was seen the *only possibility* to find time for reading or reading was just a good way to pass time.

As was discussed above, books seem to be somehow *slow* media, which require time to be consumed. The "slowness" of books appears in the following quote also in relation to the other end of the communication process, the production:

> Yes, [I read] constantly. Well you see, books are probably; nevertheless, books as information sources are more or less distant from the reality, from the "here and now", yes, let's say so. In other words, because of the long time needed for writing them, there's more time spent on them, accordingly they can provide information, which is not momentary. Of course, they offer a huge benefit, but to my mind, living in the contemporary world, books are not enough, of course. Before, I devoted much more time to reading than nowadays. Today, books are for me more for amusement than for use. Well, with an exception of some textbooks on pre-elections, on PR, textbooks, yes, I read them quite often, and they are useful for me, [I read them] with interest and with pleasure. (H, male, 1976)

The previous quote implicitly combines the present-day lifestyle with speed and haste and books are implicitly comparable to the electronic media which are more capable to meet the expectations of momentary communication. Simultaneously, books appear hopelessly old-fashioned and

unnecessary as mediators of information in the contemporary world. The narrator refers to the earlier phases of his life when he used to read more. H explained in the interview how he, ever since he was introduced to a computer, has used it for versatile purposes, such as gaming, blogging, and participation in the online communities. The narrator represents himself as a contemporary person, who has expertise in the modern communication technologies, and uses books only for enjoyment, not for informational purposes. This is the predominant representation, even if he at the end of the quote remembers that books may have also their own and useful position as mediators of information.

There are also other meanings attached to reading, as the following quotations indicate. In the first one, the narrator tells how she sometimes read books to divert her thoughts from work-related issues. This suggests that books have a special function, reading them calms one's mind when it is overloaded and distracted. The second quote indicates how books may be used to signal to other people that the reader wants to be left alone. These both examples are linked to book's escapist function; one is able to move from the current time and place to somewhere else by reading a book.

> Sometimes, I try to, I have this need to read every day before going to sleep, because when there is a big flow of information, a work assignment or several, then to divert, one may take a book and read before going to sleep. In addition, I read in transportation. It's also very convenient. (B, female, 1978)

> -- If book is considered a mass medium, then I would like to take one, retire and read quietly, so that no one would disturb. (F, female, 1980)

Before, I move to examine the reading of newspapers, let us summarize the findings about reading and the functions of books. Table 5.4 shows a summary of the analysis presented above.

Table 5.4. Meanings and functions attached to reading and books in the research material.

Meanings attached to reading	• Intellectual growth • Slowness • Silence • Peacefulness
Functions of reading	*Escapist*: • Construction of own space • Direction of one's thoughts away from work related issues *Diversionary*: • Enjoyment • Passing time
Places for reading	• In the countryside • In the transportation
Books are not suitable for…	• Mediating topical information • Hectic city life

In the research material's narrative on newspaper reading appeared a clear generational change. All the interviewees told that newspapers were subscribed and read in their childhood families. According to the interviewees, their parents still read newspapers, even if they are not subscribing them anymore. In their own life's context, newspapers appeared almost only as free copies; only one of the interviewees said that she buys and reads newspapers regularly. The next quotation shows an example of the generational change that appeared in the material in relation to newspaper readership.

> --- Naturally, my parents buy newspapers, but those paper that they like, they buy, read that way, they don't subscribe anymore. We with my husband don't buy [newspapers], well, only if a television program…to watch, if on weekends some film…to see the television program.
> **Q:** Why don't you buy newspapers?
> **A:** Because nowadays, to us appeared the newspaper "Metro", I think it has been appearing for two years, and it's very pleasant, in the morning you go, if you want something, you take the newspaper into the subway and read it through there. There is also a television program, as a matter of fact, you just take the newspaper "Metro" sometimes, and sometimes you don't take. There is the television program, then something about films, and something else like that is also written, all sorts of different gossips. It's this tiny little newspaper, right, only if you have time to leaf it through. (F, female, 1980)

In the previous quote, the narrator emphasizes freedom of choice. It appears in two sections of the quotation. First, she describes how her parents buy only those newspapers they like to. The freedom of choice means that one does not need to bind oneself to a subscription of a certain newspaper. This is a clear distinction between the present situation and the Soviet times, when newspapers were an important part of the official communication and state propaganda system, and almost every household subscribed one or several newspapers. In her personal life, the freedom of choice appears on the level of action. The availability of free newspaper offers a setting for readership that is realized only when she is in the right mood, or the situation is otherwise right. Also, the following quotation deals with freedom of choice, but now it is related to the content of newspapers.

> Next change compared to earlier, even to the time when I was at the university, and now, is that I started to read less newspapers. Even if my attitude towards them as a source of information didn't…didn't change. I still believe that one may obtain something [by reading newspapers], read some analytic material. Only, probably, I don't have such…any single preference related to one specific newspaper. I can choose, can't I? Although, I know that some newspapers don't amaze me by criticism towards ongoing events, for example, therefore yes, these newspapers I won't choose. I can choose from the other newspapers, I don't have any preferences. (A, male, 1979)

Throughout the interview, A emphasized the importance of versatile content and analytical material in mass media to be able to formulate his own world view. This is the context for the previous

quote, where A represents himself as a person who makes conscious media choices. A implies that he knows the editorial policies of various newspapers, and is therefore able to judge, which newspapers may satisfy his needs for information. However, A tells that he reads and buys newspapers very seldom. Newspapers do not seem to fit into his everyday life, as the following quote demonstrates:

> Of course, I seldom buy newspapers. Maybe that's because I, well, I may… no, news, first of all, I receive every morning on the radio, I start my day with radio. After the breakfast I listen to the radio all the time, a news program from nine to eleven, therefore I don't have a need, I guess, to buy a newspaper and find some additional news, yes? And if I go to the university, it means that I read some news in the internet. It's not, again, an incentive to buy a printed product. But when I travel, for example, to visit my parents, then yes, I may buy a newspaper, or just for that, there in the railway station or somewhere else. (A, male, 1979)

The previous quote makes it interesting to discuss the functions in which the newspapers are associated in the narrative. The dominating association in the narrator's speech, as well as in the research material as a whole, is the acquisition of information. To serve this function, newspaper seems to meet almost insuperable competitors. The narrator does not consider newspaper necessary, because radio and internet are more suitable to fulfil the informational needs in his everyday life. When the associated function changes from informational to diversionary, as in the end of the quote, the narrator is willing to buy a newspaper. The printed product, as A calls newspaper, has certain characteristics, such as portability, which make it attractive when one needs an occupation for the train trip. This example shows how people position the different forms of media in comparison to each others in different use situations.

The ultimate competitor to newspaper's informational function in the participants' lives seems to be the internet. The strengths of the internet, according to the interviews, are the real time characteristics (as in the following quotation), and the search functionalities. The latter one implies, once again, the importance of freedom of choice. Many of the interviewees emphasized the possibility to search for information, when one really needs it.

> Nowadays, I don't read newspapers practically at all, I don't buy them, I prefer going to the internet in the morning. There are these internet-newspapers *"Vzgliad.ru", "Dni.ru"*, and so on, where are all the same recent news, in real time. If there is some news in the morning, in the evening they are already different. It's enough for me to watch television in the morning, listen to the news, what happens in the country and in the world. Then when I arrive to work, I check the e-mail and at the same time I look at the internet-newspaper, find out if there is something new. That is, basically internet, television. (E, female, 1980)

The previous quote is also a good example on how the everyday routines define media use; internet and television are integrated in the narrator's home and working life unlike newspaper, and as they are good functional alternatives to fulfil the informational need they do not leave any space for newspaper. Another important aspect that appears in the narrative on newspaper reading is the emphasis on the freedom of choice. Here again, the internet seems to meet the expectations better than newspaper. Based on the analysis, it seems justified to say that there is a generational change going on in the newspaper readership in Russia. The older generation may still read newspapers, but to my interviewees – urban and educated young adults – newspapers do not appear an attractive alternative for informational purposes. However, they may be a noteworthy alternative for entertaining purposes, or to be used as a pastime, especially if they are available for free.

5.4   Mobile phones and social change

As was discussed in the chapter 3, the Soviet system favoured centralized communication, and therefore telephones were rare in individual use. This issue appears also in my research material. Some of the interviewees did not have a telephone connection at home when they were children, or they remember the opening of a telephone connection as a very joyful event in the childhood family. The material contains also descriptions on the communication that took place in a public phone. In general the conversation was short and straightforward, any personal issues were avoided, because there might be other people queuing and hearing the conversation. On the other hand, the public phones were unreachable for children because of their high location. Some of the interviewee's had domestic phone already in childhood, and telephone conversations have been part of their childhood experiences, at least in some extent. In the present situation, a common feature to all the interviewees was that they all have a mobile phone. In this section, I analyze three extractions from the research material. These short stories about getting a mobile phone represent the variations that could be found in the material.

The first story is by a young woman (F), who was born in 1980. She works as an instructor and lives with her husband. Characteristic of F's narrative on media use was that she emphasized work related media use. She claimed that she does not have enough time to use media for recreation. She

also told that mobile phone is necessary for her, because her students call her often about various issues.

> Short story 1: F got her first mobile phone from her parents, when she was a fifth-year student at the university. Before that there were very little mobile phones in Russia, and therefore, there was basically no-one to call. If you had something to discuss, it was easier to take couple of rubbles and call from the public telephone, have a couple of minute's conversation, and that was it. After that, more and more people got mobile phones, and in the country appeared more telephone operators. At the same time, the telephone rates become cheaper and people bought more and more phones. Nowadays, even small children and "grannies" have mobile phones. To F's mind, it's interesting sometimes to observe an older woman, to whom someone bought a telephone and showed one button, which she then pushes. Actually, F bought to her mother a mobile phone some time ago. Before she [mother] didn't need one, but now it's cheaper to call to the mobile, and that's why it was easier to buy her a phone. Likewise, it's easier for mother to call by the mobile phone than a stationary one, when she wants to reach F. Originally, F got the mobile phone only to discuss with her boyfriend and parents, like calling and telling that she will be late. Only later, when she started to work, there appeared also other people with whom she needs to speak on the phone.

In this story, the narrator represents her own history of getting a mobile phone in a frame of a general societal development, where the frequency of mobile phone users and therefore also better availability of mobile communication (cheaper prices due to operator competition) constitute a situation when it is reasonable to acquire a mobile phone. In this frame, people are rational actors who buy a phone when it is "easier" or cheaper to have one compared to the traditional ways of communication. This rationality appears also in the aspect of the story that one should actually have a phone only if one needs it. To the narrator's mind, there are people, such as old women, who should not necessarily have a mobile phone – or at least, it is somehow funny because they are not fully competent to use a phone on their own. On the other hand, this story represents the mobile phone as *a means to maintain social ties*. The narrator got her first phone from her parents, when she was finishing her studies and orientated herself more to life outside home, and formed close connections to other people than her parents. At the end of the story, after the description of the general societal development, the narrator reveals that, at the first place, the phone was needed for communicating with parents while visiting at boyfriend's place. Only later, the mobile phone became a mediator in more distant relations.

In relation to having a mobile phone, the aspect of maintaining social ties was more common in the narrative of the female interviewees. Many of them told that they had got the first mobile phone as a present from a close person, such as brother, parents or husband. The mobile phone was also important to be able to stay in contact with parents who lived in other part of Russia:

"I use very often the mobile phone, without it, it's like without hands because I live in another city, I have relatives, parents, they live in Karelia, therefore we are always in contact. Something may happen suddenly, or one just wants to know, how they are." (E, Female, 1980)

In the previous quote the connection to parents realized through the actual function of the mobile phone as a communication medium. This function attaches a certain meaning to the phone as a means to maintain close personal ties. The same meaning may, however, be attached to a phone as a technological object, as in the following quotation.

Well, mobile phone appeared to me, let's say, very long time ago, approximately eight years ago. It was one of the first mobile phones and it given me by my parents, so that they could find me (laughing), where I am. Because they were always so worried about me, when I came back from some place, they needed to be able to reach me, and that's why I used it [the phone] only to communicate with parents. --- I had for a very long time the very same, had the same telephone device. Because I didn't…I wasn't so interested in all that, I don't like to change it, don't want to modernize it, so it is and is. And then when I had already moved to St. Petersburg, parents stayed in another city, then I started to communicate with them, only with them by the mobile phone, and with brother, with those friends that were left behind. But then the social circle widened here, I started to communicate with other people. So, to me appeared another phone, well another device, because it [the old phone] was totally old, it was terribly uncomfortable (laughing). (D, female, 1981)

The narrator above attached the personal close ties to parents, brother and friends to the old telephone device. This narrative presents the mobile phone as a mediating object between the previous life among close people and the new independent life in a new city, where the narrator did not have established social circles yet. The old phone becomes old-fashioned and uncomfortable only when the narrator has established new social connections and starts to feel more comfortable in the new circumstances – there is no need anymore for the mediating object, the old phone device.

Another example of meanings attached to the mobile phone is its status value. This alternative did not appear at all in the female participants' narrative, in which the aspect of social ties was dominant. The status value of mobile phone appears in the second story by a young man, called C. He was born in 1978. C told in the interview that mobile phone is an essential part of his communication life.

Short story 2: C doesn't remember when he used Internet for the first time, but he remembers that the first mobile phone appeared to him six years ago. He didn't use it that mach for calling, but still he had a phone, because it was so cool. And already before that, there were pagers, which appeared in Russia before mobile phones. Everyone had pagers at that time. C didn't have a pager at first, when he was still at school, and didn't need it. But then when he got into the college, he wanted to have a pager because he wanted to stand out. At that time, pagers made a difference, and it was the same with mobile phones. When everyone didn't have a phone yet, a person with a phone attracted attention. But now almost every second, if not more, have a mobile phone.

In this story, the reason to acquire a mobile phone is not related to the actual function of a telephone as a means to communicate with other people. In stead, the mobile phone has some symbolic significance as such. In other words, the phone as a technological object becomes significant; it is something that makes you different from other people. Therefore, this significance is related to the rareness of the technology – when everyone has a phone it is not anymore possible to stand out by owning one. The idea of status value, however, includes also an implicit notion that *everyone* would like to have the object in question, but *cannot* afford to have it. This shows in the previous story in the point that the acquisition of a pager becomes topical only when the narrator starts his studies in college. The fellow students are the crowd, the everyone, who are needed to admire or envy the owner of the pager. In this context, we need a wider understanding of technology. It is not only a question about technological artefact or objects as such but also about technological properties or features that the objects may have. In the following quotation, the interviewee analyzes the novelties of a mobile phone and one's relation to them. This is an example of the third degree of the media which was discussed in the second chapter. The original function of a mobile phone – communication with other people – is not anymore the most important one, but the device is evaluated on the basis of other functionalities.

> Mobile phone, it's again a matter of amusement, yes, because it allows playing some simple games, listening to music, well in small amount, of course. Basically, I'm a great supporter of mobile "content", I buy tunes, when the device allows it, figures I don't buy, that's true. I dream about buying a phone with a camera, to be able to shoot interesting moments of my life. (H, male, 1976)

Next story describes the social change caused by mobile phones. The narrator, called B, is a female architect, who was born in 1978. She lives alone and works at home. Due to the distant work she communicates often with the employer via e-mail and phone. She explained that she uses the stationary phone mainly for work-related issues and communicates with friends by the mobile phone. B considers her friends important information sources in her life, because she uses practically no mass media.

> Short story 3: (B tells about the time when she studied in the academy of arts, and she worked a lot at the school's studio.) At the studio, radio was practically always on, and there were music and some news. At that time, 5-6 years ago, there were not yet mobile phones. Basically, B spoke with her friends at the studio, and information she got from the radio. B bought her first mobile phone two and half years ago. She bought the phone, because the appearance of mobile phones has changed communication habits. Earlier, when there weren't mobile phones, it was possible to make

agreements on the stationary phone, and they were more binding. Now, due to mobile phones, there are fewer obligations. If you are late, you think that you can always call and tell that you are late. Actually, B thinks that this is not a positive thing, because people communicated just fine before, and now there is so much unnecessary information, someone may for example call from a minibus and tell 'I'm in the minibus now', which is totally unnecessary. All B's friends have mobile phones and practically nobody can be reached anymore by the stationary phone, one starts to become a drop-out. If you want to associate in this circle, you need to adopt the rules of the game, says B.

In this story, the acquisition of mobile phone is linked to social change that is taking place in the society. What differs with this story from the first one is that here the person who buys a mobile phone is not presented as a rational actor who acquires a phone when it is *reasonable*. In stead, the narrator is concerned about the possibility to be left out from the social circle. The acquisition of a mobile phone is presented here almost as an unavoidable action, something that one needs to do to maintain the sense of belonging to a social group. At the same time, the mobile phone is experienced to cause negative consequences to the social relations and the ways to communicate. We can interpret this ambivalence, if we examine it in the frame of the uses and dependency model and the narrator's general attitude towards the mass media. As I mentioned above, B relays more on social relations than mass media as an information source. As she feels that mass media are not *a functional alternative* for her need to be informed, she feels *dependency* on the social relations with her friends. Therefore, she is also obligated to 'follow the social rules', in this case to buy a mobile phone.

In the previous story, the narrator described the ambivalent consequences of mobile phones to the social relations. She experienced that mobile phones had made the agreements less bounding. This kind of aspects appeared also in other interviews. For example in the following quote, an interviewee proposes that mobile phones have made people more impatient:

> As a matter of fact, if people were formerly late, they were somehow more patient. No one called anyone, no one hurried anywhere – we sat at home and waited, or stood somewhere and waited. Nowadays, everyone would already pick the phone, and when you would arrive, you'd hear…why you don't answer your phone, bla-bla. It used to be somehow calmer before, or maybe because we were younger, we took it easier. (F, female, 1980)

Another source of ambivalent feelings, which appears in the participants' narrative, is the requirement to be constantly reachable. Some of the interviewees described how travelling outside the city on weekends provided a change to be out of reach and the telephone was often also switched of in such occasions. The following quotation indicates how the technology on one hand

produces the condition where one needs to be reachable all the time, but on the other hand, provides also possibility to control the moments and places of communication.

> **Q:** Do you have a mobile phone?
> **A:** I do have a mobile phone, but I don't like it very much (laughing).
> **Q:** Why is that?
> **A:** Well, because, I don't know, because I like very much to escape, I mean, simply go away from contacts, yes and, because I communicate very much with people during the day, and that's why, when I arrive home and someone calls me concerning work, it's of course just (laughing) too much. Well, and generally, for example, on the weekends I switch off everything and travel also somewhere. I just don't like, when someone interrupts me. In other words, I prefer sending a "SMS" or calling back by myself to take the contact, but not answer when it's, for example, not convenient for me. (D, female, 1981)

The analysis shows that there seem to be two alternative ways to signify the mobile phones in the participants' narratives. On one hand, the mobile phones are considered important for maintaining social ties. This alternative appeared especially in the females' narrative on mobile phones. On the other hand, mobile phones are signified as technological objects. In this sense, they are desired for their status value or due to their technological novelties. This alternative appeared only in males' narrative. The analysis reflects the dual characteristic of media as technology, on one hand, and as a means to circulate social meanings, on the other. The technological aspect of media did not appear in the research material only in relation to mobile phones. Another example, in the following, is an answer to a question, whether there was a television in the interviewee's childhood family. The interviewee gives a detailed report on the television sets that the family had, containing even technological characteristics and the producer information.

> In my entire childhood, in so far as I remember, we had a television; black-and-white monochrome. And later, must be somewhere in nineteen hundred, perhaps, eighty…eight, or eighty seven, to us appeared color TV, also Soviet-made. The first imported TV by a firm "DEU" appeared, perhaps, well it must have been in ninety five. (G, female, 1977)

Besides the technological dimension, also the context of media use becomes significant in some cases. The next quotation is an example on the interconnection of certain technologies and their context of use. It also shows how the narrator separates working time and free time from each other.

> **Q:** Do you watch films on DVD or on video?
> **A:** Seldom. We do, but seldom. We prefer going to movie theatres.
> **Q:** Why?
> **A:** Well, I don't know, we just like to watch on a big screen. Sometimes the quality of DVDs is bad. And then the times are separate…It's not fun to watch at home, it's just more fun to go out, and go somewhere else afterwards. That's why we watch films so seldom at home, at home we watch TV

basically. Because we sit a lot by the computer at work, and if we should then watch the computer also at home, somehow we switch the computer on very seldom at home. We try not to switch it on. (E, female, 1980)

In the previous quotation, there are clear spaces and contexts for various media and their use. The narrator combines the computer with work; the computer is something that one need to use on duty, and therefore she does not want to use it in her free time at home. Technology, the device itself, is a key aspect in this division, because the narrator does not want to use the computer even to other purpose (for watching DVD films) than she would use it at work (to work on some work-related issue). On the other hand, the narrator makes another division in relation to watching films. She connects films with socializing, and therefore home is not the right place for watching them, or at least not others than those which can be seen on TV. This suggests that the use experience of a medium also affects the media choices. Media use is not a separate action related to fulfilment of some needs, but it is situated activity which is connected to other dimensions of life. From this point of view, it also matters what kind of technology or which device you use for consuming the content. It seems to be different experience to watch a film on TV, on DVD or on the wide screen of a cinema theatre.

6 Discussion: What the narratives tell about media use in Russia?

My main research question in this study was how the participants, eight 25–30-year-old inhabitants of St. Petersburg, construct their relationship with the media environment. Earlier media use research has been criticized about its individualistic approaches and indifference on the macro context of media use. In this study I asked, whether the macro context appears somehow in the participants' narrative on media use. To find some theoretical models on the relation between media use and its societal macro context, I went back to research carried out in the 1980s. Rubin and Windahl (1986) presented in their Uses and dependence model of mass communication that the interrelationship of societal system, media system and audience characteristics affect media use, and these factors should therefore be included in media use research.

Following the guidelines of the uses and dependency model, I included in my study a review of the trends that occurred in the Russian media system in the 1990s. The changes in the Russian media system after the disintegration of the Soviet Union can be summarized into three main trends. Firstly, the publicity through television was a central prerequisite for access to political power in the new Russia. Therefore, the ownership of the television channels was also a political question throughout the 1990s and in the beginning of the 21st century. At the same time, the content of television channels changed from critical based programming during the *perestroika* period to more entertaining and monophonic directions of today's television. Also, the amount of commercials has increased on television. Another trend in the Russian media system has been that the printed press has lost its significance in public communication. During the 1990s the Russian press localized which can be seen in the increase of newspaper titles and in the decreasing share of national newspapers. Behind this development there are economic factors. On one hand, the state support to newspapers ended and the production and delivery costs increased. On the other hand, the local advertising markets recovered in different times and preferred local audiences. The third trend is the diffusion of the new information and communication technologies and mobile communication in Russia starting from the beginning of the new millennium. The current state of the Russian media system could be characterized so that online communication and the un-political commercial entertainment media form an opposite pool for the state-controlled and biased television. However,

it is important to note that television is the only real mass medium in today's Russia, as the biggest television channels are the only media which are able to reach more than 90 percent of the Russian citizens.

In my research material, the eight qualitative interviews that I carried out in St. Petersburg, television appeared to be a crucial factor which helped me to find dividing lines in the narrative on media use. Concentrating on the narrative on television, I recognized three different orientations. These orientations represent a combination of different relations to the media environment and media use and inner narratives that are embedded in the narrative. In other words, also the macro contexts of media use appear differently in the orientations. In the following, I give brief descriptions of the three variations that I found in the research material. The three orientations are *Societal*, *Instrumental* and *Private*.

Societal orientation

Societal orientation reflects strongly the societal and political circumstances of contemporary Russia which shows especially in the attitudes towards television. The narrators of this orientation consider television as a propaganda machine of the ruling power. Therefore, the watching of television requires special abilities to recognize the manipulative mechanisms, which the narrators represent to have themselves. However, watching television is important for these narrators because it is the only way to "know the enemy", that is the ruling power. A characteristic to this orientation is a clear division of the media environment into the organs of the ruling power and its opposition. Television represents the first one. The oppositional voices can be found primarily in Internet, but also in some newspapers. Internet is an important medium also because it offers an arena for societal activities and access to like-minded people in the online world. This orientation presents an inner narrative which I have named *enlightened self*. The enlightened person searches for information from various sources, knows where to find reliable information and uses it to take actively part in the social life. However, it seems that this tendency towards enlightened self or social participation appears as an individual choice because the narrative does not contain disapproving statements on other people who do not strive for the enlightened self or are not capable to recognize the propagandist mechanism of mass communication.

Instrumental orientation

The narrators representing *instrumental orientation* emphasize the usefulness of the information that they want to gain from the mass media. Useful information is, according to the narrators, something to remember, something that helps you to analyze the surrounding world and to construct your personal world view. Therefore, media use is also directed by the question which channel is able to mediate the authentic or "right" picture of the world. The narrators of this orientation represent themselves as active selectors, who choose only the useful media for their purposes. In the current Russian media environment television cannot offer this kind of useful or authentic information and therefore the narrators convey that they seek functional alternatives for television. In this study, the alternatives were found in Internet, on radio and also in face-to-face communication. The instrumental orientation contains also critical attitudes to the power but it is more hidden in the narrative than in the societal orientation. The difference appears in the inner narrative. The instrumental orientation relates to *educated self*, a person who is aware of what happens in the surrounding world, but chooses only the meaningful information for the personal purposes. Compared to the enlightened self there is also no implicit requirement of active participation in the societal life.

Private orientation

Characteristic of the *private orientation* is the emphasis on the situational aspects of media use. Thereby, the narrators represent media use in the context of their personal life. The everyday life constructs the frame for media use, and in different situations and places there are different media that are used. The narrators do not emphasize instrumental functions of media use but rather describe concrete media use situations and use emotional terms to describe the experience of the use. On the other hand, narrative does not contain any critical attitudes towards the ruling power in Russia. The previous aspects appear in connection to television use. The narrators do not evaluate the television content based on its informative value but on its emotional effects on people. They report also about television use, which is not concentrated, but happens in the everyday's frames as a background for other activities. Another characteristic to this orientation is that the narrators express occasional need for withdraw from the everyday life that is saturated with media content. Usually, this is expressed through a concrete withdrawal from the urban life to some remote location, where media offerings are limited. I interpreted the inner narrative of this orientation as a

psychophysical self, a person who senses, feels and experiences the world from her/his personal standpoint.

In addition to the more general research questions on the participants' relations to the media environment and the modes of narrative found in the interview talk, I had two other research questions with more specific focus. Firstly, I was interested in the participants' relation to reading and the print media and secondly to media technologies. An initiator for the examination of the question about reading was Vartanova's statement (2002, 24–25) that Russia has changed from reading nation to viewing nation. This statement was based on statistical argument. However, from the non-statistical part of this study this statement does not seem to reflect the whole dynamic. Even if the time used for reading might have diminished among the young adults that were the participant group in this study, the cultural valuation of reading could still be recognized in the interview talk. On the other hand, the attitudes towards television were mostly negative, and many of the interviewees reported that they do not watch very much television. However, the informative function of the print media, primarily newspapers, seems to be nonessential in the lives of the interviewed young adults. This does not mean that reading would not have a role in the participants' information retrieval activities. Most of the participants told that online publications in Internet are an important source of news information for them, and this was a matter, which appeared regardless the orientations described above. Thereby, reading as an activity has not disappeared from the young adults' lives, but it has taken a new form. What is noteworthy, though, is that the mediating channel for reading has changed. The traditional printed platform seems to have its place in remote or moving locations, as in countryside or in transportation. The online medium has replaced printed media, at least in some extent, in the everyday life in the city.

The technological aspect of the media I analyzed mainly in relation to narratives on how the participants got their first mobile phones. Three different variations in these stories emerged. In the first variation, the mobile phone appeared useful due to its actual function as a device which enables communication with other people. In these stories mobile phone was received as a present from a family member or close friend or the acquisition of a phone was presented as a reasonable thing to do to maintain social relations. Alternatively, mobile phone might be represented as a technological object desired because of its status value. In the research material of this study, the latter alternative appeared only in the narrative by male participants. In the third alternative, mobile phone was also

connected to the communication function but the acquisition of a phone was presented as an obligatory requirement to hold one's social position as a member of the society or a social group. These stories show how the media may be significant not only as mediators of the content but also as technological objects. In this sense the media have certain technological features and they are also developed so that a new model has more novelties than the old one. Another example of such technological object, in addition to mobile phone, is the television set. An interviewee might list all the television sets that his/her family had had, including their technological characteristics and time of acquiring them. Another context where the technological aspect seemed to become significant in the research material was the situational characteristic of media use. In the narrator's mind some technologies may be attached to certain spaces and moments of use so firmly that he/she might find it inconvenient to use them in some other situations. An example of this is a computer and its connection to working life. Some of the interviewees expressed that using of computer in their free time was something they tried to avoid, even if it were used to some other purpose than work, for example for watching DVD-films.

I utilized in my analysis two theoretical models. In addition to the uses and dependency model, which I mentioned already above, I used the model of narrative circulation by Vilma Hänninen (2004). The uses and dependency model was useful in the analysis of the relations between media use and its societal macro context. The latter model, again, gave me some grounds to consider the relations between the spoken interview talk and the lived and experienced lives of the interviewees. In the following I discuss these models and evaluate them in the light of the experiences that I gained in this study.

Figure 6.1 shows an example how the findings of my analysis on television use can be examined using the frame of the uses and dependency model. In the case of the Post-Soviet Russian television the interconnection of societal system and the media system is clear. The periods of the two presidents, Yeltsin and Putting, meant also different circumstances for the television: a weaker power centre in Yeltsin's era resulted in a media-political system (I. Zassoursky 2002) where the visibility in television was an access to politics and a stronger state and personified power in Putin's era made a critical television impossible. This kind of examination, and the uses and dependency model, makes it possible to recognize society-dependent characteristics in the narrative on media use. In the analysis, I recognized three different orientations that describe participants' different

relations to the media environment. In my opinion, the uses and dependency model and the examination of the developments in the Russian media environment that I carried out, helped me to define and separate the orientations from each others. For example, the most critical orientation of the three, which I named *societal orientation*, may be suggested to be a result of the societal condition in today's Russia. This means that it is society-dependent, and cannot necessarily be found in other societies.

SOCIETAL SYSTEM

• Yeltsin's era: Weak president, Unstable political system, Financial crises

•Putin's era: Strong leader, Weak opposition, State monopoly on information, Income from natural resources

MEDIA SYSTEM

• Yeltsin's era: Emergence of media holdings, Media-political system

• Putin's era: Takeover of the TV-companies back to state control

AUDIENCE

Orientations:

a) Societal

b) Instrumental

c) Private

FUNCTIONAL ALTERNATIVE USE

• Non-media channels: word-of-mouth communication

• Media channels (information): Internet, radio; (entertainment): DVD, radio, cinema

EFFECTS OR CONSEQUENCES

Behavioral: watching less television and using more alternative sources for information and entertainment

Affective: unwillingness to see negative news content

MEDIA USE

a) Watching in order to know "the enemy", other media complement TV

b) Unwillingness to watch TV, functional alternatives for informational purposes

c) Watching in the space and time setting of everyday life

Figure 6.1. Findings of the analysis on television use in the frame of the uses and dependency model.

The uses and dependency model also offers concepts that are useful in the analysis. One of such is the concept of *functional alternatives*. The narratives of my research material contained sections where different media were compared to each others, either explicitly or implicitly. These comparisons are examples of the everyday thinking on functional alternatives. To get the aspect of functional alternatives visible in the analysis it is useful to include all media forms in the same study, as was done in this study. The uses and dependency model offers also a frame for analysing the consequences of media use and this aspect also appeared in my material. The figure 6.1 shows

some examples of consequences that appeared in the narrative on television use. First of all, the most obvious consequence presented in the participants' narrative was through their statements on their reductions in watching television due to changes in the television content. Also, some affective effects of negative news content were expressed, especially in relation to the *private orientation*. On the other hand, the analysis made in this study did not reveal any aspects that could be interpreted as feedback effects back to the societal or media system which would probably require a completely different approach in the data collection and planning of a study. However, such feedback effects were expressed in narrative on mobile phones. The participants explained, for example, how mobile phones had changed the social rules so that being late is not anymore as tolerated as it used to be.

In addition to the usefulness of the separate elements of the Uses and dependence model in the analysis the structure of the model as a whole appeared in some sections of the narrative. For example in sections where an interviewee described how her/his relation to some medium had changed during years, she/he might explain the changes with changes in the media systems. This aspect was not analyzed extensively in this study, but to illustrate it, I show a following quotation from the research material. In the quote, an interviewee tells how her attitude towards Internet had changed.

> **Q:** Do you remember when you used Internet for the first time?
> **A:** Yes I do, well it was…No, it wasn't even at the university. At the University to me appeared my first computer and access to the Internet, but it was already a personal one. But before that I used, I had Internet at my friend's place, and I learned already there to use it. It was, probably, at the end of school.
> **Q:** What did you think about Internet?
> **A:** Back then?
> **Q:** Yes, back then.
> **A:** Well, it seemed that Internet is interesting, but absolutely not important. In other words, it was just some instrument for entertainment. Since, I didn't see any possibilities how it could be used, yes and in general, the Russian Internet was not grown yet, so correspondingly I couldn't, for example, get any information there, let's say an essay, book, or something like that. Well, it wasn't just possible. In English – yes, but not yet in Russian. That's why there was just some amusement, which is interesting just for 5–10 minutes, and after that not anymore interesting, and then you don't understand, why a computer would be worth it, a pile of all shorts of wires. For the sake of what (laughing)? You can occupy yourself with something else. Only after the possibilities in the Internet grew, appeared new sites, yes, new portals and so on. Only then, and well of course my English improved, and all that become necessary for me. And now, nothing goes without it. (Female 1981)

The narrator had her first experiences in using Internet at her friend's home. This illustrates how the socioeconomic factors are not necessarily crucial for access to some media technology but social resources may be as important. However, the narrator did not find Internet interesting at first. Her

reasons for this were that the Russian Internet content (characteristics of the media system), did not meet her interests. In accordance of the uses and dependency model, also the individual characteristics of the media user, as well as his/her needs and motives, affect the media use. Above, the narrator refers to her lack of language skills that prevented her from using the Internet content that might have been available. She obviously expresses informational motives for using the Internet, as she was not interested in the entertaining content. At this point, the narrator also refers to a functional alternative, as she states that she would rather do something else to amuse herself than use Internet. Finally, she explains how the increasing content in Internet, as well as her improved language skills, made the net more interesting and useful for her. At the end she even expresses a degree of dependency, as she states that it is almost impossible to live without Internet.

Rubin and Windahl (1986) discussed widely the concept of dependency, its origin and effects on media use in their article, but in the illustration of the uses and dependency model it was not apparent. As dependency is a complicated concept and it has a central meaning in the Used and dependency model, I want to suggest a new illustration for the model (see figure 6.2). In my opinion, this illustration better emphasizes the importance and complexity of dependency. The dependency that a media user might feel – or express in media use studies – is affected by the social and media systems, as well as the personal life situation, motives, needs or other characteristics. On the other hand, dependency affects the media choices, either in favour of certain medium or content or functional alternatives.
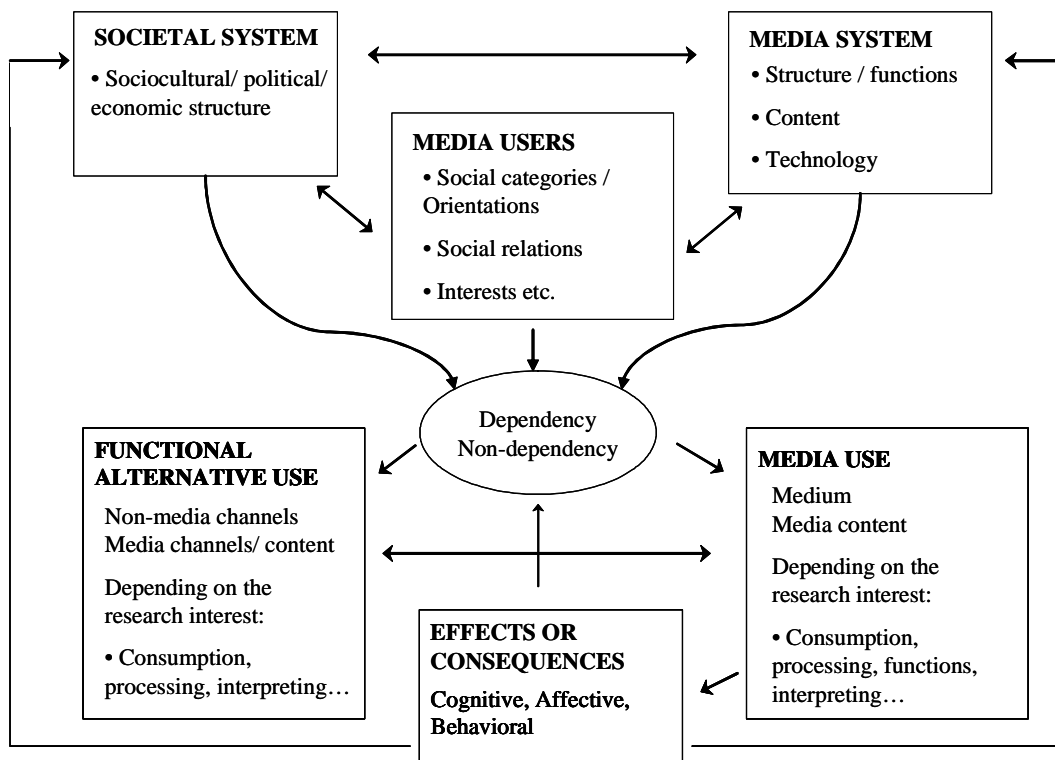
Figure 6.2. Revised Uses and dependence model structure.

It is possible to evaluate qualitative research based on two different epistemological approaches: realistic and relativistic (Eskola&Suoranta 2003, 212–222). The realistic view is based on a presumption that it is possible to study reality objectively, such as it is. In other words, research is seen as "a window to reality" and reliable research shows the view opening from the window as truthful and clear as possible. Relativistic view, on the other hand, does not accept that research could reflect or describe some separate reality. Instead, relativists consider research itself to be a part of the reality, meaning that research texts construct the reality as well as other texts. Therefore, research should also be evaluated from its own standpoints, or based on its capability to offer fruitful new ideas and recognize new problems. If we consider the uses and dependency model in the frame of the realistic and relativistic standpoints, it is fair to say that its basis lays on realistic views; the model tries to explain media use as a realistic phenomenon that exists in the reality. However, my own analysis was based on narrative methodology, which has its epistemological basis in the relativistic thinking. Does my analysis contain an internal conflict between the chosen methodology and relativistic-oriented theoretical model that I utilized in the analysis?

In my opinion, the model of narrative circulation by Vilma Hänninen (2004) bridges, at least in some extent, the realistic and relativistic views. According to the model, the told narrative, lived narrative and the experienced inner narrative are related to each others. Even if the narratives that we tell to other people are evidently relativistic – changing in different situations and contexts – we still live in a real world. For example the subject of my research, media use, takes place in the context of everyday life which sets certain boundaries to it. Thereby, the narratives on media use are also narratives on real events and experiences that the narrator has lived through. Therefore, I do not see so strong conflict between the narrative methodology and the utilization of the realistic-oriented uses and dependency model in the analysis. The model works as a mental structure, which helps to identify certain aspects in the research data.

What was then the advantage that I gained from the selection of qualitative research approach? The most evident advantage is the possibility to attain the participants' own understanding on their media use. For example based on my material, it seems that it is not so meaningful to separate the ritualistic and instrumental media use to distinct categories (see Rubin 1984). The participants' narrative contained often descriptions of the both types of media use. One requirement to consider is that the told narrative is not *equal to* behaviour, but on the other hand, the same pertains to quantitative surveys: the alternative that a respondent chooses in a survey is not necessarily equal to his/her behaviour. The categorical distinction of the two media use orientations is probably a cause of the quantitative methodology more than a real state of affairs. This does not mean that I would like to deny the two different media use orientations as possible existing phenomena, but they should not be seen as personal characteristics profiling media users.

This study might have been more fruitful in the integration of the realistic and relativistic aspects, if the collection of media diary data had been successful. This research would have needed more resources for data collection to accumulate material diverse enough. To motivate the participants to keep the media diaries for several days might succeed better, if they could be provided with some kind of reward for their efforts. Also, the number of participants could be increased with better resources. The adequacy of data is an often discussed topic in qualitative research textbooks. One concept that appears in this context is the *saturation of data*, which means that new participants or cases do not bring any new information for the study (see e.g. Eskola & Suoranta 2003, 62–64). Eskola and Suoranta suggest that one possibility to evaluate the adequacy of data is to analyse a

smaller portion of the whole material in more detail, and then test the findings with the rest of the collected material (op.cit., 215). In this study, I had a relatively small data consisting of eight interviews. The lesser amount of research material made it possible to analyse it fully but this analysis should be considered, following the suggestion by Eskola and Suoranta, as an initial analysis. A collection of wider material, or testing the generality of the findings, will remain to other projects to tackle.

Qualitative analysis does not strive for quantitative evidence. Thereby, one cannot say anything about the possible generality of the orientations constructed in this study. For example, it might be tempting to state that critical attitudes to power are relatively common among urban Russian young adults, as the material in this study divided into two almost equally sized groups based on this factor. However, this may be a result of some kind of bias in the material. As I used snowball sampling method in my study the participants may be therefore equally minded. Figure 6.3 shows the social connections among the participants. The societal and instrumental orientations, as they appeared in this study, contained at least in some extent critical attitudes to power. As one can see in the figure 6.3, three of four participants representing these orientations are from the same strand of the social net.
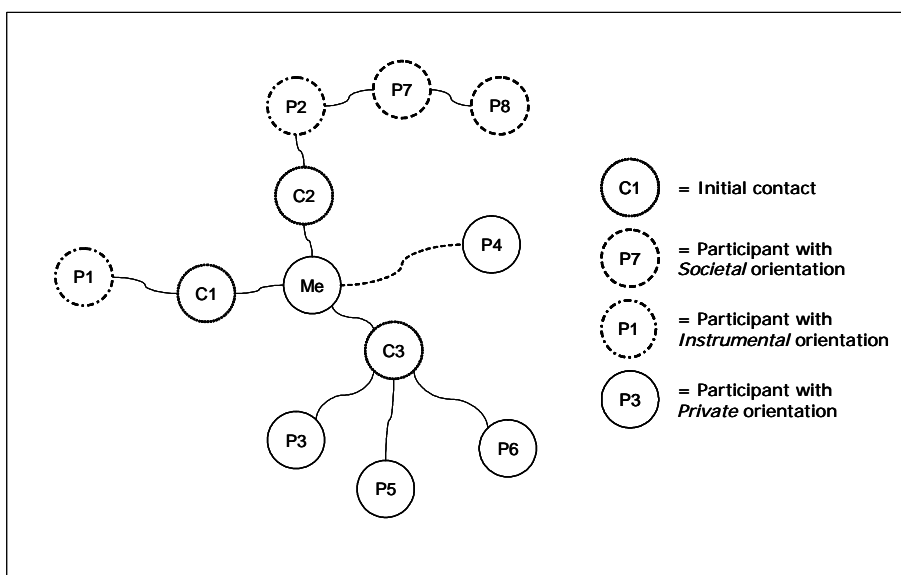
Figure 6.3. Snow ball sampling in the study.

A single research project cannot cover a very large area. Therefore, I end my research considering topics for further research. In this study, the life context of the participants was touched upon only implicitly. It might be interesting to deepen this aspect further by including more questions on **lifestyles and valuations** in the interviews. This would make a deeper analysis of motives and needs connected to media use possible. It might also be beneficial to interview the same participants couple of times to deepen the approach. Another interesting aspect for further studies in the Russian context would be to widen the research to **older generations** or **other geographical areas**. It may be assumed that younger generations are more open to new things, such as new technology. It might be interesting to study whether the online publications, for example, are as integral part of older generation's daily life as they were for the young urban participants of this study. Also, the older generations lived longer time under the Soviet system, which might have some effect on their valuations, as well as, media use patterns. On the other hand, Russia is a vast country, where life in different parts is completely different. It is difficult to anticipate, how the geographical focus might affect the findings. For example, Internet is less penetrated to the Russian peripheries and therefore people might be more dependent on the mass media. But on the other hand, the mental atmosphere in the two "capitals" of Russia, Moscow and St. Petersburg, may be more introspective, and maybe the inhabitants of the peripheries would use the virtual access to outer world and other countries provided by online connections more eager than people living in the big centres. Another direction for further research might be concentration on **theoretical or methodological** questions. I found the uses and dependency model a useful frame of reference in this study, but how it would suit for media use studies in more stabilized or stagnant societies. It might be more difficult to utilize the model, when changes have been slower and less dramatic than in the Post-Soviet Russia.

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SOFIST, New Russia: Ten Years of the Reforms by Eyes of Russians (2001), a survey by The Centre for social prognosis and marketing. Data available at
http://sofist.socpol.ru/oprview.shtml?en=1

TNS-global, Television ratings available at http://www.tns-global.ru/rus/data/ratings/tv/index.wbp

Appendixes

Appendix 1. Instructions for the participants (in Russian)

Средства массовой информации и связи в жизни петербургской молодежи

Я – финская студентка факультета журналистики и массовой коммуникатции. Меня интересует жизнь обычных людей в России, о которой мы, финны, знаем очень мало. Поэтому темой своей дипломной работы я выбрала предпочтения петербургской молодежи в области средств массовой информации и связи. Меня интересуют ответы на следующие вопросы:

> Какие средства массовой информации и связи используют жители Санкт-Петербурга? Является ли Интернет для них знакомым и необходимым источником получения информации? Пользуются ли они для разговоров сотовыми телефонами или другими видами телефонной связи? Увлекаются ли петербуржцы чтением книг или просмотром фильмов в кинотеатре?

Кроме того, меня интересует, насколько меняются привычки к тем или иным средствам информации и связи с годами. Как именно детство, учеба, работа и семейная жизнь могут повлиять на использование средств информации и связи?

Чтобы прояснить эти вопросы, мне нужны добровольные помощники. Прошу вас в течение недели заполнять «дневник», делая в нем записи каждый раз, когда вы пользуетесь средствами информации и связи. Для ведения дневника я предоставлю вам готовый бланк. Кроме того, пожалуйста, напишите короткий рассказ-воспоминание о средствах информации и связи в вашей жизни.

Собранный материал я включу в свое исследование, которое провожу в Университете города Тампере, Финляндия. Цитаты из ваши ответов я помещу в дипломе и, возможно, в более поздние статьи по теме. Я хотела бы подчеркнуть, что источники сведений нигде опубликованы не будут.

Хотели ли бы вы помочь мне в исследовании? Вы можете принять участие, если
- вам 25–32 лет, вы живете и работаете в Санкт-Петербурге
- у вас есть высшее образование
- вы готовы заполнять медиа-дневник в течение недели
- вы можете составить небольшой рассказ о том, как вы используете средства информации и связи.

В этой папке вы найдете материалы для оформления ваших ответов:
1. Инструкции по заполнению медиа-дневника
2. Инструкции по написанию рассказа
3. Бланк медиа-дневника

Благодарю за помощь!

Инструкции по заполнению медиа-дневника

Заполняйте медиа-дневник в течение одной недели. Делайте отметку в таблице каждый раз, когда воспользуетесь средством массовой информации или средством связи из списка, представленного ниже. Запишите в графы таблицы следующее:

Время: Отметьте время по часам, когда вы воспользовались средством информации или связи.

Средства информации и связи: отметьте, какими именно средствами из списка вы воспользовались.
1. Газета
2. Журнал
3. Книга
4. Радио
5. Телевидение
6. Просмотр фильма в кинотеатре
7. Видео
8. Фильм на DVD
9. Музыкальные записи (кассета, CD и т.д. Укажите также вид записи.)
10. Интернет (поиск информации, публикации онлайн, собственная страничка и пр.)
11. Электронная игра (на компьютере или другом устройстве, укажите устройство)
12. Электронная почта
13. Чат или форум в Интернете
14. Письмо
15. Телефон (городской в квартире или телефон-автомат - укажите)
16. Сотовый телефон
17. Текстовое сообщение (сотовым телефоном)

Ситуация: опишите обстоятельства, при которых вы воспользовались средством информации или связи. Наводящие вопросы:
- Где именно вы воспользовались именно этими средствами связи и информации (дома, на работе, в метро…)? Были ли с вами другие люди или вы были одни? Сопровождали ли вы этот процесс какими-нибудь еще действиями? (Что делали одновременно?)

Причина использования: подумайте о том, почему вы воспользовались именно этими средствами связи и информации. Наводящие вопросы:
- Была ли у вас необходимость выяснить какой-нибудь вопрос или вы хотели только провести время и/или развлечься? Или вы просто привыкли пользоваться именно этим средством информации или связи? Возникало ли у вас желание изменить свой выбор?

Результат использования: подумайте о том, насколько использование средств информации соответствовало вашим потребностям и ожиданиям.

Имя:				
(Дата) и Время	Средства информации и связи	Ситуация	Причина использования	Результат использования

Инструкции по написанию рассказа

В различных жизненных ситуациях у человека возникает интерес к разным вещам. Привычки к различным средствам информации тоже меняются со временем и условиями жизни. Я прошу вас вспомнить, какую роль играли средства массовой информации и средства общения в вашей жизни. Пишите о том, что вспомните, в свободной форме и сколько хотите. Ниже я привела список вопросов, которые могут помочь вам при написании рассказа. Можете выбрать одну, две или все указанные ниже темы, либо написать рассказ на свою тему, имеющую отношение к опросу.

Воспоминания детства

Расскажите, пользовались ли вы в детстве средствами информации и связи. Смотрели ли вы дома телевизор или слушали радио? Делали ли это всей семьей? Читали ли у вас книги или газеты? Кто именно читал? Вели ли ваши родители беседы о том, что прочли в газетах, услышали по радио или увидели по телевизору? Обсуждали ли вы со своими друзьями и родителями телевизионные программы или фильмы или прочитанные книги? Вспомните, когда вы в первый раз ходили в кино или говорили по телефону? Или, возможно, вам приходит на ум какой-то особенный случай, связанный со средствами массовой информации, походом в кино или разговором по телефону?

Изменения в течение жизни

Как именно изменилось ваше отношение к источникам информации со временем? Какими из них вы пользовались еще в детстве, а к каким приобщились сейчас? Как изменилось ваше отношение к информации с началом учебы и позже, когда вы начали работать? Случался ли в вашей жизни период, когда вы пользовались максимальным количеством средств информации и связи? Или наоборот, было ли такое время, когда вы вообще ими не интересовались? Как, по-вашему, какие факторы повлияли на интерес или отсутствие интереса в этих обстоятельствах? Вспомните, когда вы в первый раз видели сотовый телефон у других или покупали для себя? Какие чувства возникали у вас при этом? Вы пользуетесь Интернетом? И что вы о нем думаете?

Информация - часть нашей жизни

Как вы думаете, почему средства массовой информации важны для людей? И важны ли вообще? Можете ли вы себе представить жизнь без телевизора, радио или книг? Какой она могла бы быть? Нужен ли вам телефон или вы вполне обошлись бы и без него? Или если у вас дома нет телевизора, и вы не читаете газет - доставляет ли это вам дискомфорт? Хотели ли бы вы что-то изменить в своей жизни и начать пользоваться различными средствами информации и связи?

Appendix 2. Structure of the interviews

1 Media use patterns today

- Tell me please what kind of role does the mass media and communication media play in your life? Which media do you use?
- Do you watch TV? Do you listen to radio? Do you read newspapers, magazines or books?
- Do you use Internet/ e-mail? Do you have Internet connection at home?
- Do you have mobile phone? Do you use it a lot?
- Which media are most important to you and why?
- Which media provide you the most important content?
- How your media use patterns differ at work and at home?

2 Changes in the past years

- If you look back in your life, how did your media use patterns change?
- Did you ever have a period in your life when you used very much various media or a specific medium? Tell about that.
- Or on the contrary, did you have a period when you didn't want to use media at all?
  - Which factors do you think affected your willingness or unwillingness to use media?
- Do you remember when you used Internet for the first time? When was that? What did you think about Internet at that time?
- When did you get your first mobile phone? What did you think about that?
- Do you remember any news event when you wanted to know what happened and read or watched news constantly? What was that?

3 Childhood memories

- What kind of family did you have in your childhood? Where did you live? What did you parents do for living when you were a child?
- Did you have a TV? Did you watch it together with you family? Did you listen to radio?
- Did you read newspapers or books in your childhood? Did your parents read?
- Did you talk with your parents or friends about anything you had seen on TV or read in a book?
- Did you parents talk with each others about anything they had seen on TV or read in a newspaper?
- Did you have a telephone at home in your childhood?
- Did you go to cinema in your childhood? Did you go there with your parents? Do you remember when you were in cinema for the first time?

Appendix 3. Analysis of the media diaries

The participants were asked to keep a media diary during one week. The structure of the media diary is at the end of this appendix. Media diaries did not appear a successful means to collect research material in this study. Some of the problems are listed in the following.

- It was difficult to motivate the participants to keep the diary. Two of the eight respondents did not return the diary.
- The diaries were incompletely filled. Especially, the use of mobile phone was left out in many cases. Also, the column titled "Result of the use" was left empty in most of the many diaries. This suggests that the diary design did not meet the experiences of the respondents.
- Some of the participants had filled the whole diary in retrospect for the whole week. This must make the content more unreliable than if the diary were filled daily. One week might have been too long time for keeping the diary from the participant's point of view.

Because the media diary material was incomplete, the analysis is not included in the study, but the results are presented in the appendix.

The analysis procedure

The communication technologies were left out in the analysis because they were not included in every media diary. Table 1 shows the analysis procedure.

Table 1. The analysis procedure.

Phase of the analysis	Actions
1. Familiarization with the material	- Numerical coding
2. Organization of the material	- Shorting the data - Counting the occurrence of various media
3. Reduction of the material	- Computing the indicator values: - relative use of various media to indicate the position of a single medium compared to others - daily average of media use occasions to indicate the overall media use
4. Visualization	- Drawing of the charts

Based on the analysis, there seems to be three different patterns in the media use of the participants. They are:
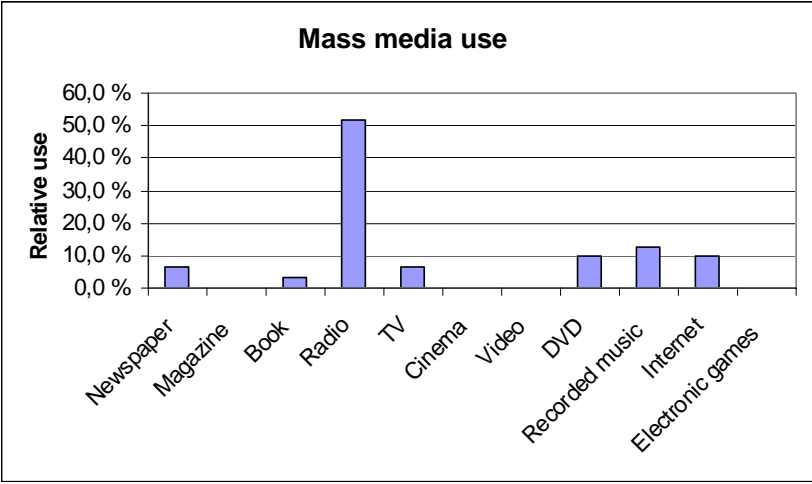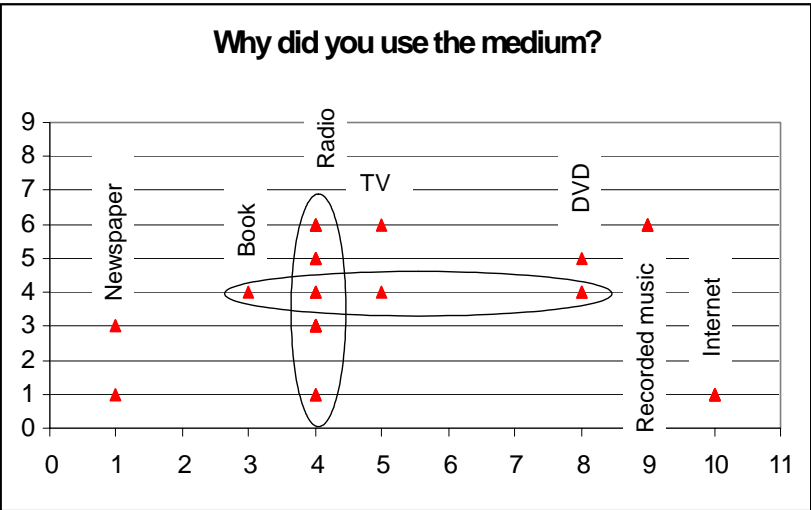
1. **Exclusive use** – This pattern is based on one important medium, which is used intentionally. Other media are either used occasionally or excluded totally. Critical attitude especially towards TV.
2. **Diverse use** – This pattern is based on a broad variety of media. There can be recognized one reason or "motivation" that characterizes the use of various media.
3. **Selective use** – This pattern consists of three important media, which are books, TV and Internet. There is a situational and spatial aspect in the media use, meaning that certain media are uses only at work and others at home.

The following pages show the charts describing the content of the respondents' media diaries. The relative use of various mass media and the expressed reasons for the use are included in the analysis. The classification of the reasons to use a medium was based on two media diaries, which were carefully filled and described relatively diverse media use.

It is important to note that the frequency of media use is not necessarily related to time consumed for media use. This means that for example checking the TV-programs in a newspaper, which takes couple of minutes, and watching TV for two hours are both recorded only once in this analysis.

Exclusive use

- Respondents A and B

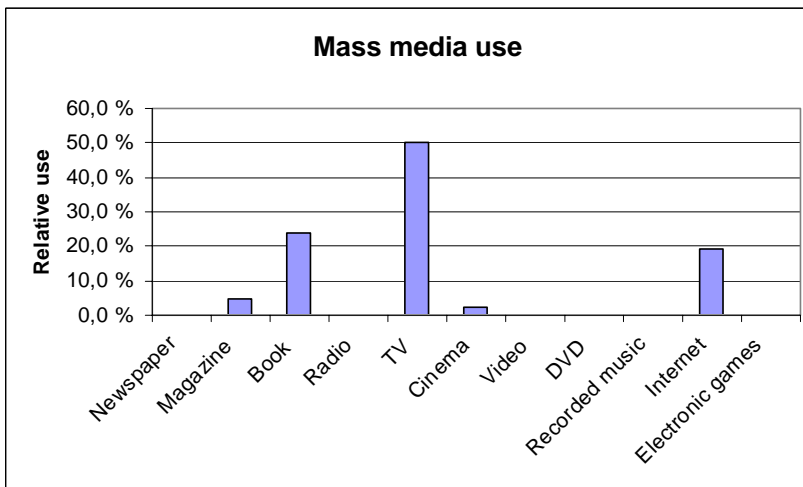| **Respondent** (A)	• Male • Year of birth: 1979 • (Media use occasions in the diary) N = 31 (4.4/day)
9 Spending time **8** Other **7** Social action **6** Background for other activities **5** Routine, habit **4** Relaxation, entertainment **3** Content **2** Working, "fixing affairs" **1** Information retrieval	
Characteristics	• Radio is the most important medium for the respondent, other media are used randomly. • The respondent uses radio for various purposes, which indicates the importance of radio in his life. • The respondent uses the widest selection of various media for *relaxation* and *entertaining* purposes.

Mass media use

Why did you use the medium?

Respondent (B)	• Female
	• Year of birth: 1978
	• N= 5 (0.7/day)

Mass media use

9 Spending time
8 Other
7 Social action
6 Background for other activities
5 Routine, habit
4 Relaxation, entertainment
3 Content
2 Working, "fixing affairs"
1 Information retrieval

Why did you use the medium?
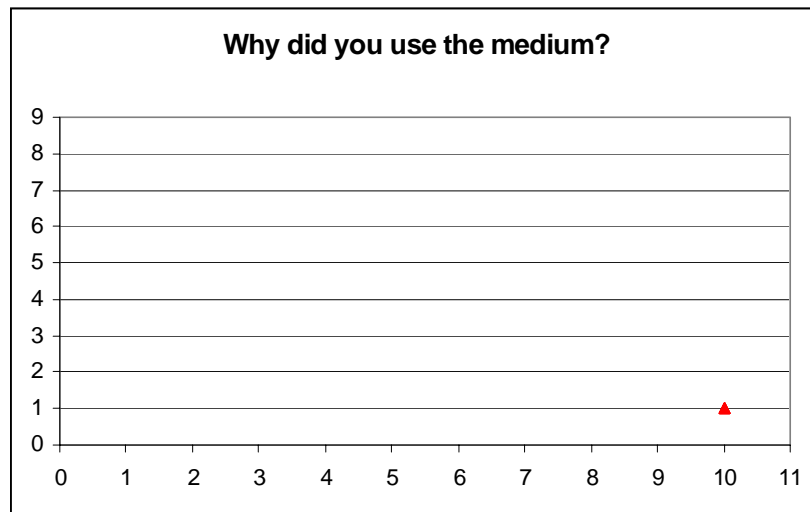
Characteristics	• This respondent does not use practically any mass media. Internet is the main information source for her.

Diverse use
- Respondents C and F

Respondent (C)	• Male • Year of birth: 1978 • N=29 (4.1/day)
	Mass media use
9 Spending time **8** Other **7** Social action **6** Background for other activities **5** Routine, habit **4** Relaxation, entertainment **3** Content **2** Working, "fixing affairs" **1** Information retrieval	**Why did you use the medium?**
Characteristics	• Television and radio are the most used media in the respondent's everyday life. However, there is a wide range of other media that he has used during the week. • The respondent uses the widest selection of media for *relaxation* and *entertainment* purposes.

Respondent (F)	• Female • Year of birth: 1980 • N=20 (2.8/day)
	Mass media use *Chart: Relative use (%) by medium* Newspaper ~5%, Magazine 0%, Book 20%, Radio 35%, TV 20%, Cinema 10%, Video 0%, DVD 0%, Recorded music 5%, Internet 5%, Electronic games 0%
9 Spending time **8** Other **7** Social action **6** Background for other activities **5** Routine, habit **4** Relaxation, entertainment **3** Content **2** Working, "fixing affairs" **1** Information retrieval	**Why did you use the medium?** *Chart: Cinema highlighted* Newspaper 6; Book 6, 4; Radio 6, 8; TV 9, 6, 4; Cinema 9; Recorded music 6; Internet 1
Characteristics	• Relatively low frequency in media use. This indicates that media use is not a central part of the respondent's everyday life. Parallel to this interpretation is that the mostly used reason for media use is *background for other activities*. This suggests that the media use is not intent. • The respondent has used radio most frequently, but books and television are also relatively frequently used.

Selective use
- Respondents D andE

Respondent (D)	• Female • Year of birth: 1981 • N=17 (2.4/day)
	Mass media use _(bar chart: Relative use (%) vs. Newspaper, Magazine, Book, Radio, TV, Cinema, Video, DVD, Recorded music, Internet, Electronic games; y-axis 0,0 % to 50,0 %)_
9 Spending time **8** Other **7** Social action **6** Background for other activities **5** Routine, habit **4** Relaxation, entertainment **3** Content **2** Working, "fixing affairs" **1** Information retrieval	**Why did you use the medium?** _(scatter plot: Magazine, Book, TV, DVD, Internet; y-axis 0–9, x-axis 0–11)_
Characteristics	• Relatively low frequency in media use. • Television is the most frequently used medium, also books and internet are relatively frequently used.

Respondent (E)	• Female
	• Year of birth: 1980
	• N=42 (6/day)

Mass media use

9 Spending time **8** Other **7** Social action **6** Background for other activities **5** Routine, habit **4** Relaxation, entertainment **3** Content **2** Working, "fixing affairs" **1** Information retrieval	**Why did you use the medium?**
Characteristics	• High frequency in media use, but narrow selection in the various media. • (A local TV-channel in St. Petersburg broadcasts the outdoor temperature. This may partly explain the high frequency of television use.) • The respondent uses the widest selection of media for *relaxation* and *entertainment* purposes.

The media diaries

The respondents got a table for the media diary. A model of the media diary is in table 1. The respondents were also given an instruction on how to fill the table. A translation of these instructions is below.

Table 1. A model of the media diary.

Name:				
Date and time	Medium	Situation	Reason for the use	Result of the use

Instructions

Fill in the media diary during one week. Keep a record of every instant when you use a medium listed below. Write the following information in the columns of the table:

Time: Write down the time, when you used the medium.

The media: Write down, which media you used.
18. Newspaper
19. Magazine
20. Book
21. Radio
22. Television
23. Cinema (in a theatre)
24. Video
25. A film on DVD
26. Recorded music (a cassette, CD etc. state which one)
27. Internet (information search, online publications, own homepages etc.)
28. Electronic games (on computer or other device, state which one)
29. Electronic mail
30. Chat or communication forum in Internet
31. Letter
32. Telephone (stationary line at home or public phone, state which one)
33. Mobile phone
34. SMS

Situation: Describe the situation where you used the medium. The following questions may help you:
- Where did you use the medium (at home, at work, in the underground…)? Where there other people around of were you alone? Did you do something else while using the medium? (What did you do?)

Reason for the media use: Consider why you used this peculiar medium. The following questions may help you:

    – Was it necessary for you to clarify some question or did you just want to spend some time and/or relax? Or are you just used to use this medium? Could you have chosen some other medium than this one?

Result of the use: Consider how the use of this medium met your needs and expectation