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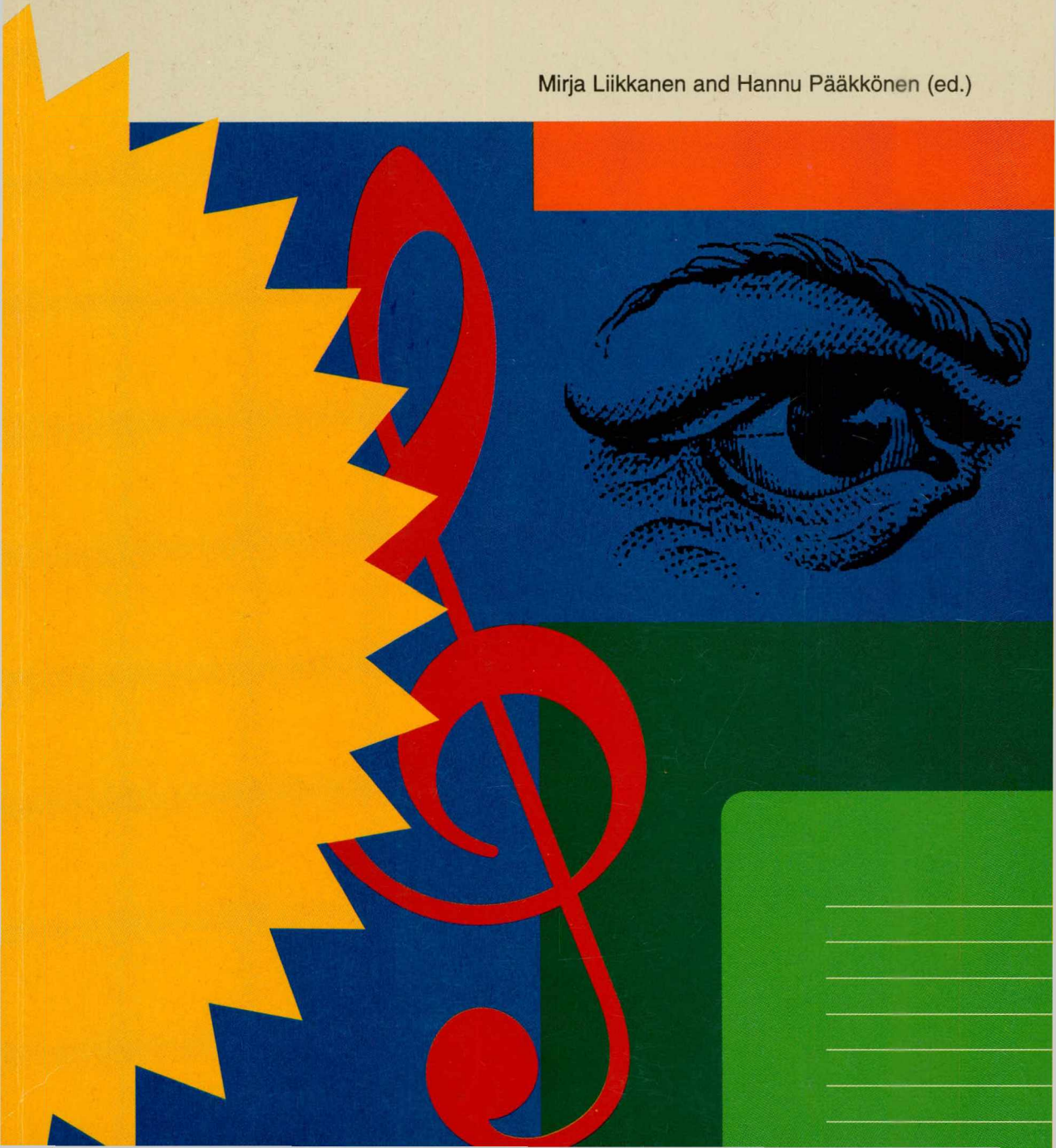
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Culture and the media 1994:3

Culture of the Everyday

Leisure and Cultural Participation in 1981 and
1991

Mirja Liikkanen and Hannu Pääkkönen (ed.)



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Preface

Based on face-to-face interviews with several thousand respondents, the 1991 leisure survey offers a broad overview of the leisure activities and cultural interests of Finnish people today. Among the particular concerns of this survey are the relationship between work and out-of-work time; the consumption of mass media; theatre-going and other cultural activities; reading; listening to music; creative hobbies; participation in organizations and societies; and sports and physical exercise. Discussions are also included on people's choices of cultural products as well on ways in which they experience leisure.

The survey provides an interesting point of comparison for the results of the corresponding studies carried out by Statistics Finland in 1981 and 1977.

A large number of people have been involved in this project. Mirja Liikkanen was responsible for project planning and in charge of the research team: Anja Ahola, Hannu Pääkkönen, Tuomo Sauri, Susanna Seppänen and Ari Toikka. Expert advice was received from Katarina Eskola from the Research Unit for Contemporary Culture at the University of Jyväskylä. Many useful comments were also received from a number of other scholars and experts representing a wide range of different disciplines.

The eight articles included in this report summarize the key results of the 1991 leisure survey and look at the development that has taken place in leisure activities over the past ten years. The interpretations suggested in the articles express the views of the authors.

The report was compiled and edited by Mirja Liikkanen and Hannu Pääkkönen. The figures were done by Veli Rajaniemi and Päivi Seppälä. The layout was by Seija Töyräänvuori, and the cover designed by Ilkka Kärkkäinen. The English translation was made by David Kivinen.

Some, but not all, of the tables in the study are available in English separately.

Helsinki, June 1994

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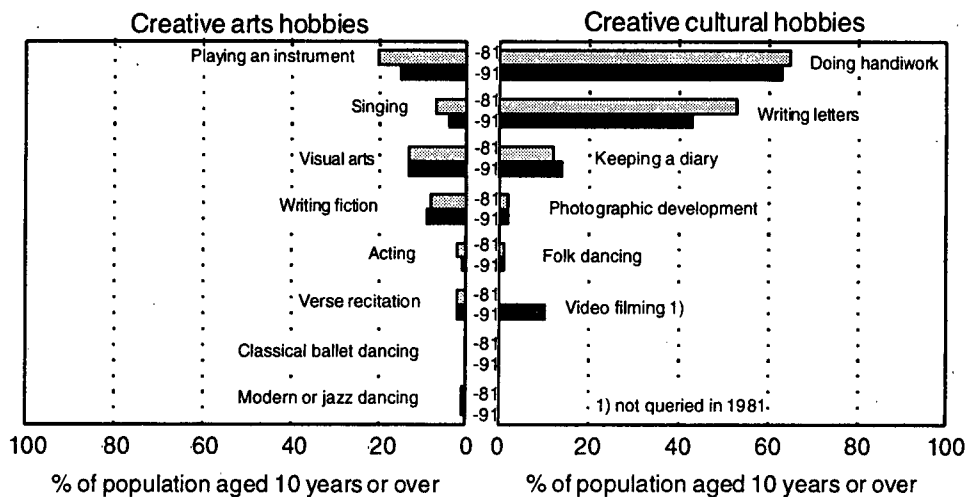
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Creative leisure activities

Susanna Seppänen.

This article is concerned with creative leisure activities; more specifically, with participation in creative cultural hobbies and (the somewhat less common) creative arts hobbies (Figure 1). In the realm of the everyday these two forms of leisure activities differ from each other not only in terms of their popularity; it is widely felt that arts hobbies are somehow more elitist, whereas creative cultural hobbies tend have a more commonplace, simple reputation. The elitist label is most readily attached to creative arts hobbies which require economic or cultural capital, such as classical ballet or playing an expensive instrument.

Figure 1.
Creative leisure activities in 1981 and 1991



This tendency to think in terms of certain things being more valuable and prestigious and others being less valuable and prestigious, is not at all uncommon in everyday thinking. In the case of leisure activities, high culture (which is here represented by creative arts hobbies) will typically be described as more valuable, as having an educational function, as being conducive to human improvement; whereas creative cultural activities come closer to the everyday, the practical, even the physical. Indeed if we relied on this sort of commonsensical chain of thought, we would have no difficulty whatsoever in deciding the relative cultural importance of writing letters vs. writing fiction; or of doing handiwork vs. painting and drawing.

The question that presents itself here is, Does this commonsensical notion of arts hobbies representing high culture really hold true? Is it true that people who take an interest in creative arts hobbies are highly educated, upper white-collar employees; and conversely, is it true that the less educated are more interested in creative cultural hobbies? The empirical evidence is contradictory. Katarina Eskola (1976) suggested in her studies in the mid-1970s that there is a link between artistic leisure pursuits and a high level of education; Anita Kangas (1977), on the other hand, found that education was a relevant factor only in one leisure activity, i.e. photography. In the late 1980s, a connection was discovered between father's socio-economic status and playing classical music (Siurala 1991).

In general the evidence available suggests that patterns of participation in creative leisure activities are clearly different in different social classes and population groups. In Finland creative arts hobbies have traditionally been favoured by women. In the 1981 leisure survey (Cultural statistics 1981) it was found that with the exception of playing a musical instrument, women are engaged in creative arts hobbies more frequently than men. In this article the category of creative arts hobbies is defined as including playing an instrument, singing, visual arts, writing fiction, acting, verse recitation, and classical ballet or modern dancing.

Women are also more active than men in the reception and consumption of culture. With the exception of cinemas and museums, around 60 per cent of admissions to cultural events are by women (see Pääkkönen in this volume, p. 114). Indeed the evidence we have would seem to suggest that women in Finland are more interested than men not only in gathering cultural capital but also in culture as a value in itself. In spite of this women occupy fewer professions in the arts sector than men (Liikkanen 1988). In 1985, 70 per cent of all arts professions in Finland were occupied by men.

In other categories of creative cultural hobbies, some are clearly favoured predominantly by men and others by women. Men have taken a more active interest than women in such technical hobbies as photographic development and video filming, and handiwork is also divided between distinct types favoured by

men and women. Similarly, the writing of letters and keeping a diary are traditionally women's pursuits.

According to the 1981 leisure survey (Cultural statistics 1981) young people (students and schoolchildren) are engaged in creative arts hobbies more frequently than people in other age groups. Creative cultural hobbies are often started in childhood, and the probability that they are continued into adulthood is greater than in the case of creative arts hobbies.

Serious concerns have recently been voiced about the leisure interests of young people and adolescents, about the way they spend their time in leisure: concerned citizens seem to be afraid that television, video and computer games are taking up too much time in the lives of adolescents and that therefore they can no longer be bothered with creative activities. The very same concerns have been voiced with regard to the population at large; in the battle that is now going on, it is feared that the mass media will reign supreme and leave everything else in a marginal position. And it is in fact true that television viewing, for instance, has increased in all industrial countries during the 1980s (e.g. Niemi & Pääkkönen 1990). Data on receptive arts hobbies indicate that the number of admissions to the cinema, theatre and concerts has declined in the early 1990s; on the other hand an increase has been reported for admissions to art exhibitions and art museums (Finnish mass media; see Pääkkönen in this volume p. 100).

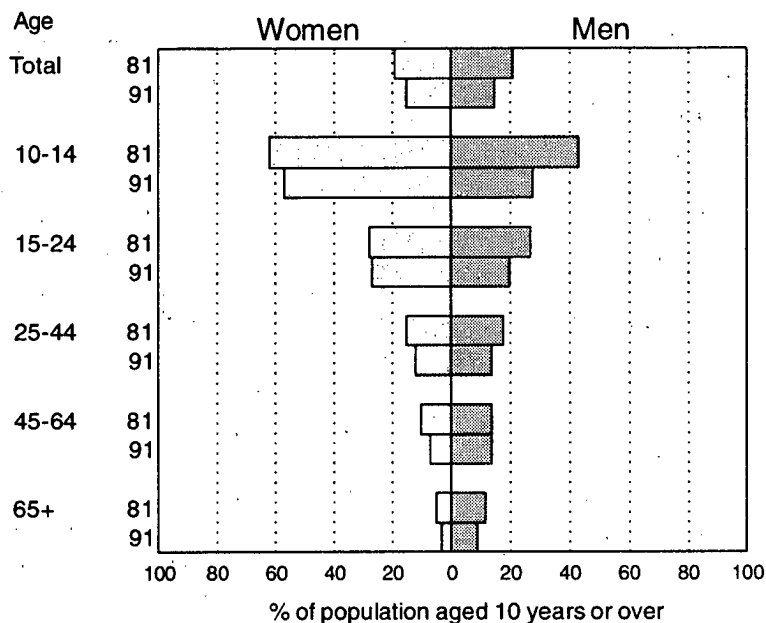
Not only the popularity of most types of cultural events but also personal involvement in creative cultural hobbies has declined during the past ten years (Figure 1). In 1981, 35 per cent of the population aged 10 or over had at least one creative arts hobby; ten years later the figure had dropped to 30 per cent. A decline is also reported in the number of people with several creative cultural hobbies.

Participation in creative music hobbies has declined

Playing an instrument remains the most common creative arts hobby in Finland, even though its popularity has declined most during the past 10 years (Figure 1). In men the popularity of playing an instrument has declined to such an extent that they no longer outnumber women in the group of those who play (Figure 2).

The popularity of playing an instrument has decreased in all age and social groups. The decline has been sharpest among younger adolescents. Nonetheless playing an instrument remains characteristically a leisure pursuit of young people under 25. Young men are members of a band most often, whereas young women take lessons most frequently: among men aged under 25, membership of a band is three times more common than among those over 25; among women in the age group 10–14, taking music lessons is seven times more common than in other age groups. Changes in the relative position of social groups have also

Figure 2.
Playing an instrument by age and sex in 1981 and 1991

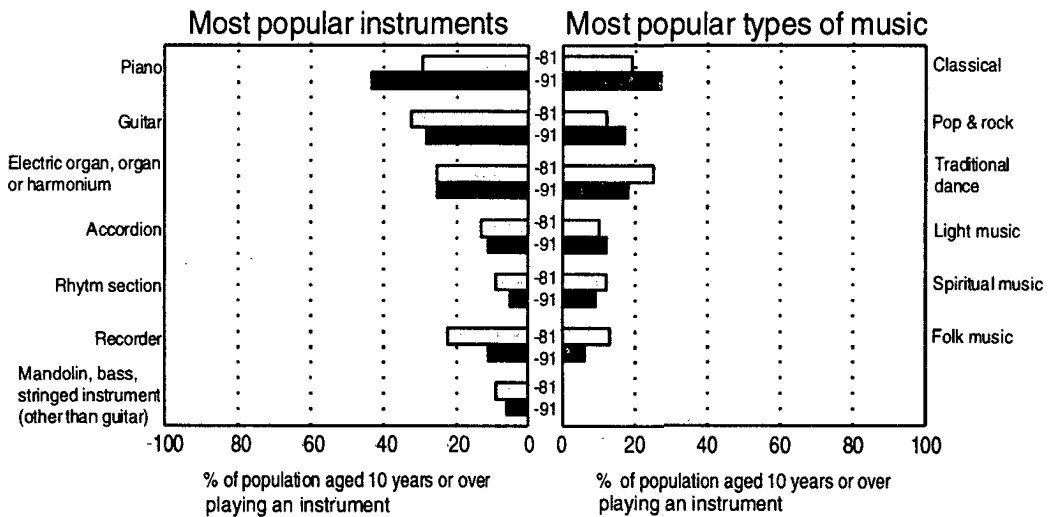


been rather minor: among people in upper white-collar positions, those with an academic degree and students and schoolchildren, there are larger numbers of those who play an instrument than is the case in other social groups.

During the past decade there have been no significant changes in the proportion of those playing different instruments in the whole population. However, there have been quite considerable changes in the popularity of different instruments and in the types of music that people like to play (Figure 3). The changes that have happened clearly indicate how different population groups are at once united and distinguished by playing different instruments as well as by their music tastes.

An increasing number of people who go in for music play one of the three most popular instruments: the piano, electric organ (including harmonium or organ), or guitar. Among women the only instrument that is played to a greater extent than before is the piano; this is particularly the case among women students and schoolchildren as well as lower white-collar women. In spite of this the piano is still the most popular instrument of women in upper white-collar positions.

Figure 3.
The most popular instruments and types of music in 1981 and 1991



By far the most popular instrument among men is the guitar. However, increasing numbers of men also play the electric organ and the piano to a greater extent than at the beginning of the 1980s.

Classical music is the most popular type of music that people like to play; during the past ten years it has gone ahead of traditional dance music. The playing of classical music has increased in virtually all social groups so that it is now more or less equally popular both among lower and upper white-collar employees and among farmers, for example. Nevertheless the playing of classical music is most popular of all among women students and schoolchildren. As it has been found that young people in Helsinki play not only pop & rock but also classical music (Siurala 1991, 9), it would seem that there is no real basis for concerns that young people are becoming alienated from classical music – at least in the case of girls.

The playing of light music, jazz and pop & rock has also increased. Men play these types of music more often than women. The playing of pop & rock music is characteristically a male activity: one in three men who say they play some

instrument go in for pop & rock, while among women the figure is only one in twenty. By contrast, the playing of spiritual music and folk music has declined from earlier years. Women are more keen than men.

One indication of what might be interpreted as a change in people's musical world-view is that the changes occurring in the popularity of different types of music are similar to the changes that have occurred in the popularity of the types of music that people like to play (see Seppänen in this volume, p. 92). In particular, women listen to classical music to a greater extent than before, and men listen to pop & rock more often than before. On the other hand, people spend less time listening to traditional dance music, spiritual music and folk music. However, the variation in the popularity of music that people play does not provide a straightforward indication of the change that has happened in their music taste. Players do not always necessarily play their favourite music, but that also depends on the nature of the instrument and on the instruction that is available.

The number of people who go in for singing has declined by almost one half during the past decade (Figure 1). Although the popularity of singing has declined among women, they are still slightly more active in this domain than men. Singing has decreased in all age groups, but it seems that the role of music is most important to the leisure of young people: as in the case of playing, singing is characteristically an activity of young people, students and schoolchildren. Singing is most common among girls aged under 20. The number of girls who go in for singing is four times higher than among men and among women aged 20 or over.

Young men have found new leisure interests

Visual arts come second on the list of most common creative arts hobbies after playing an instrument. Both in 1981 and in 1991, 13 per cent of the population aged 10 years or over went in for drawing or painting or some other form of visual arts.

Women took a more active part than men (Figure 4). The popularity of visual arts has increased in all age groups except women under 25. In particular, girls in the age group 10–14 take a less active interest than before. The popularity of visual arts has increased most among boys aged 10–14 years. It seems likely that during the past few years drawing – especially comics and graffiti – has enjoyed more esteem than playing an instrument in the youth culture of boys. On the other hand there is also evidence that young people have been showing increased interest in drawing and painting during the 1980s (Siurala 1991, 10).

Writing letters is the most common type of literary hobbies (Figure 5). However, letter writing is less common today than it was ten years previously:

Figure 4.
Participation in visual arts by sex and age in 1981 and 1991

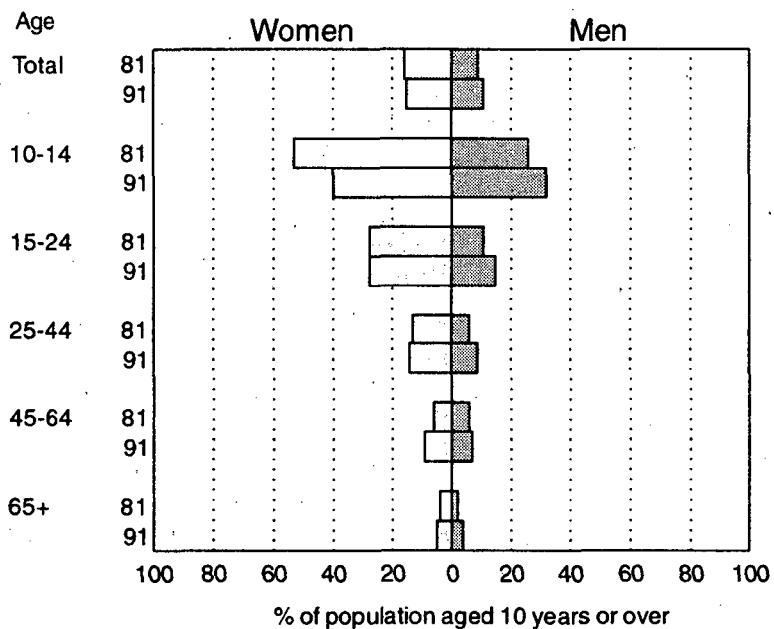


Figure 5.
Participation in literary hobbies by sex in 1981 and 1991



in 1981 every other Finn wrote letters during their leisure time, in 1991 two in five. In particular, people in the age group 35 or over write letters much less often than previously. On the other hand, the writing of diaries and literary texts has increased somewhat during the past ten years.

Writing remains very characteristically a leisure activity of young people. Diaries are kept and literary texts written most frequently by those in the age group under 20, and letters by those under 25.

In Finland literature has traditionally been more important as a leisure interest to women than it has to men. Women both read literature (see Eskola in this volume, p. 27) and write during their leisure more often than men. Creative writing is typically part of the leisure activities of women who occupy upper white-collar positions. It is also women who effectively uphold the culture of letter-writing: the number of women who write letters is twice as high as the figure for men. On the other hand, increasing numbers of men are now also writing fiction and keeping a diary during their leisure. The writing of literary texts has increased not only among women in upper white-collar positions but also among men aged under 20. Girls aged 10–14 years keep a diary much more frequently than before; the same tendency of growth is also seen among men in lower white-collar positions and male pensioners.

Acting and verse recitation: changing structures of participation

Acting and verse recitation are equally rare leisure activities today as they were in the early 1980s; the proportion of people who are interested is between one and two per cent.

However, acting and recitation are not pursued by the same groups of people. A large part of those who take an interest in acting are girls under 20, whereas verse recitation is typically an activity of women over 45. On the other hand, the predominance of women among those who go in for acting is less clear than before; men and women are nowadays more or less equally represented among those who act in their leisure time. Similarly, young adolescents go in for both verse recitation and acting to a lesser extent than before. The decline in the popularity of recitation among young adolescents has meant that this has become characteristically a leisure activity of the middle-aged and retired population. The study by Siurala (1991, 10) in Helsinki also found that interest in theatre had declined among young people since the early 1980s.

Jazz ballet, modern dance, folk dance and classical ballet are more or less exclusively leisure activities of girls and young women. During the past decade the popularity of classical ballet has increased significantly only amongst girls aged 10–14 years: in this age group 4 per cent do classical ballet. Jazz ballet

and modern dance are slightly more common leisure pursuits; in the age group under 25, participation is reported by one in twenty women. The numbers have been rising in the early 1990s. Folk dancing is an equally popular activity as jazz ballet and modern dance, and it is so among people in the same age group.

On the other hand, men engage in other types of dancing (such as ethnic dancing and competitive dancing) more often than previously. The evidence that men take a greater interest than before in dancing probably means that men go dancing (in discos etc.) more frequently (see also Pääkkönen in this volume, p. 113). This type of "other dancing" is equally common today among men and women.

Video filming more common than photographic development

Leisure interests which require some level of technical skill have traditionally been dominated by men. However, in photographic development this tradition has gradually been dissolving as women have been taking a greater interest; by now this is an equally common leisure activity among men and women. Another interesting change is that photographic development is no longer characteristically a leisure activity for people with a high level of education or for people occupying upper white-collar positions, but rather for students and schoolchildren. In particular, young people in the age group 15–24 are showing a greater interest: whereas in the whole population one in fifty develop photographs, the figure in the age group 15–24 years is one in ten.

Video filming is one of the latest creative cultural hobbies. Ownership of camcorders increased markedly (albeit less so than expected) during the 1980s, and by 1989 three per cent of the households in the country had a camcorder (Samola 1990, 64). In the early 1990s access has increased even further: according to the results of the leisure survey 14 per cent of the respondents in 1991 had access to a video camera. The figure was highest among upper white-collar employees.

Today, one in ten people in Finland have video filming as a leisure interest. Men are more active than women. Amongst those men who have access to a video camera, the most frequent users are found in the age group 45–54 years and among those occupying upper white-collar occupations. Among women, the interest in video filming is highest in the age group 25–34.

Video workshops have also become increasingly popular. In 1989 there were workshops in 12 municipalities and a couple of dozen more had plans to set up their own (Samola 1990, 64). In 1991 four per cent of those who had access to a camcorder had taken part in a video workshop. In men the activity was highest among students and schoolchildren, in women among upper white-collar employees and those with an academic degree.

Handiwork the most popular leisure activity

Handiwork remains the most popular creative leisure activity in Finland; every other respondent in the 1991 leisure survey said they did handiwork of one kind or another. By age and social groups, the popularity of handiwork is highest among those over 20 and in blue-collar occupations. In spite of its considerable popularity, the interest in handiwork in women has recently been on the decline (Figure 6). The time usage study in 1987 (Niemi & Pääkkönen 1990, 54–55) also found that the amount of time women spend with handiwork has decreased during the 1980s.

Forms of handiwork are clearly differentiated between those that are legitimate to women (needlework, knitting and weaving) and those that are legitimate to men (woodwork and mechanical or technical hobbies). These different leisure activities link up with different situations and different environments. It is said that women typically do several things at the same time. The types of handiwork that women go in for are usually such that they can do at home in connection with other activities: for instance, they may watch television at the same time as they do needlework. By contrast, the handiwork activities of men often take place outside the home and are therefore less often of a peripheral or secondary nature. Mechanical hobbies are a typical example of leisure activities that are done in groups, which means that they also involve the aspect of social interaction.

Figure 6.
Most popular types of handiwork among women and men in 1981 and 1991



Although women do less needlework and knitting today than they did ten years previously, both forms of handiwork are still very common. Needlework enjoys the same sort of popularity in all socio-economic groups. It has increased in popularity among 15–19 year-old girls. Both needlework and knitting are most common among women over 45, and less so among upper white-collar employees and women students and schoolchildren.

Men, for their part, engage in mechanical hobbies, i.e. building and repairing electronic equipment, cars and machines, far more often today than they did at the beginning of the 1980s. At the same time mechanical hobbies have gone ahead of woodwork in popularity. Participation in mechanical hobbies is highest among men aged 20–34 years; and in woodwork among men over 35. Younger men in the age group under 20 take a less active interest. Those who take part in mechanical hobbies are most likely to occupy a blue-collar occupation. Those who go in for woodwork have a higher level of education than those who prefer mechanical hobbies.

Popularity of traditional arts hobbies on the decline

Participation in both creative arts hobbies and creative cultural hobbies has declined over the past ten years. The decline has been sharpest in playing an instrument, singing and writing letters. The popularity of acting and handiwork has also been decreasing. The only two interests where there is more activity today than at the beginning of the 1980s are keeping a diary and writing literary texts.

Women continue to have more creative leisure interests than men. On the other hand, men and women are now more or less equally represented in the groups of those who take an interest in acting and singing. Further, women have closed down the lead that men used to have in playing an instrument and in photographic development.

Young people, students and schoolchildren, are most active in creative arts hobbies. This is not surprising in view of the fact that young people are usually in the best position to pursue such interests thanks to the facilities offered by schools, institutions and clubs. In the category of creative arts interests, singing, acting, classical ballet, jazz and modern dancing as well as writing literary texts are most characteristically activities of people in the age group under 25. However, participation in creative arts hobbies has declined among young people to a greater extent than in any other age group in spite of the fact that young men write more literary texts and go in for visual arts more frequently than before. Among young girls, the writing of literary texts, ballet and jazz and modern dance are the only creative arts interests that have not declined during the past ten years.

It is hard to find any simple, straightforward explanation for the declining interest among young people in arts hobbies. To a certain extent traditional arts interests have been replaced by other, new leisure activities. Younger boys (especially in the age group 10–14 years) spend a lot of time with computers and computer games (see Liikkanen in this volume, p. 60; Niemi & Pääkkönen 1992). Increasing numbers are also using the computer for more creative purposes, such as writing music or for computer graphics. However, at the population level computer arts proper remains very rare indeed.

On the other hand, a survey study which addresses "average citizens" might be the wrong sort of tool to provide a comprehensive overview of the full range of leisure activities in which young people take part. In the interview situation it is quite likely that the young respondent will not regard his graffiti as "participation in drawing or painting", or his rap music as "singing and playing an instrument".

The only creative cultural hobbies that may be described as typical of young people are photographic development, writing letters and keeping a diary, and folk dancing. By contrast, handiwork is an activity for all age groups among both men and women. Indeed, handiwork is the only leisure interest apart from verse recitation and video filming in which students and schoolchildren do not spend more time than other socio-economic groups.

Differences in education and socio-economic status do not distinguish between participants in creative leisure hobbies to the same extent and sex and age differences. An academic education and an upper white-collar position increase the probability of playing an instrument most (and among women most particularly playing the piano). Similarly, women who occupy upper white-collar positions are very active writers. Men in upper white-collar positions, for their part, are the most active in video filming. In other words, social status does not distinguish participants in creative activity to the extent that is commonly assumed in everyday theories. However, socio-economic status and education may have some impact on the accumulation of hobbies. On the other hand, it is impossible to say within the confines of the present study whether the social status of parents has any impact on young people's participation in arts and cultural hobbies; that will have to be studied separately.

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Reading books

Katarina Eskola

Introduction

In spite of the audiovisual revolution which has been sweeping the world in recent years, there is still widespread faith in the printed media and in the book, particularly in Europe. During the past decade world book production increased from 715 500 (1980) to 842 000 titles (1990). Over half of the titles were published in Europe and in the former member states of the Soviet Union. (Statistical Yearbook, Unesco 1992.)

Within the European context Iceland, Finland, Denmark and Switzerland published more book titles relative to population than other countries on the continent. The three Nordic countries and Switzerland also retained their position among the top ten book publishers throughout the 1980s.

Finland has been number one on this list for a long time. In 1980, Finland published 14 book titles and in 1990 as many as 20 book titles per 10 000 population.

Over the past decades the share of non-fiction books has continued to increase in total book production. In Finland, non-fiction books have long represented the biggest single category. In the 1980s around one in six new titles were classified in the category of fiction. In 1990, total book production in Finland numbered 10 000 titles, of which 1 650 were fiction.

Most non-fiction books were by Finnish authors, whereas the majority of the titles in the fiction category were translations. As in most European countries, most translations originated from Anglo-American countries.

Although the number of women authors has been increasing, the majority of all authors in the world are still men. Accordingly the majority of books published are written by men.

The predominance of men on the literary scene is clearly in evidence in other respects as well: male authors occupy a very central place in literary studies, in training and education, as well as in book reviews (Eskola 1990).

Increase in book lending faster than increase in books bought

In many countries book distribution channels include both lending and purchasing. Finnish people are accustomed to buying their books in shops and through book clubs, while public libraries provide comprehensive lending services. Friends are also a good source for lending, and large numbers of books are bought for presents.

Following the trend established in earlier decades, book lending from public libraries in the 1980s increased at a faster rate than the number of books sold. Book sales showed a consistent pattern of growth in Finland after the war up until the 1980s, but since then the figures have remained more or less unchanged. During the 1990s the number of lendings from public libraries has continued to increase.

In 1981 members of the Finnish Book Publishers' Association (FBPA) sold a total of over 22 million books; the figure for 1991 was just over 23 million. At the same time the number of lendings from public libraries increased from 75 million to 89 million. In other words in 1981 there were three lendings per one purchased book; ten years later, the ratio was one purchase to four lendings. (Suomen Kustannusyhdistyksen...; Tilastotietoja... 1992.)

The FBPA statistics do not cover all sales through book clubs. During the 1980s the number of book clubs dropped from almost two dozen to just six. Nonetheless book clubs still account for an estimated one fifth of all sales in the category of general fiction (Sauri 1993).

What about book reading?

The data available on book production, sales and lending indicate that Finnish people are avid readers. As we head now towards the mid-1990s, there are no signs of change in this respect.

Below, we move on to look more closely at the environment in which Finnish people do their reading, using comparable interview data collected over the past decades. Another central concern is with the reading of different kinds of books (novels and non-fiction books, Finnish and foreign books, books written by women and men) in different population strata. Finally, we shall consider the meaning of written communication to Finnish people from the point of changes in society and culture.

The material consists primarily of the interview data collected in Statistics Finland's 1981 culture and leisure survey (see Cultural statistics 1981) as well as the interview data from the 1991 leisure survey. In some cases comparisons will be made with the situation in the 1970s by using the data from the 1973 reading survey (see Eskola 1979) and the data on leisure activities compiled in 1977 by

Statistics Finland (see Cultural statistics 1977) as well as data from time-usage studies (see Niemi & Pääkkönen 1990). Comparisons will also be made with other reading studies based on smaller data sets.

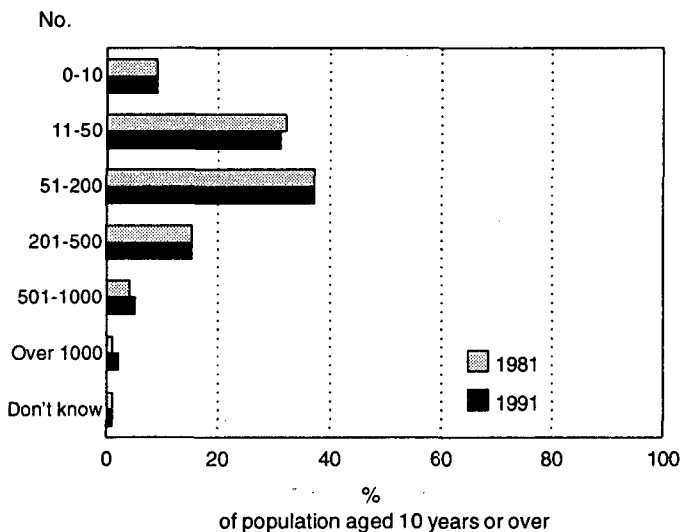
Finland has a good reading environment

Book reading is easy and encouraged in various ways in Finland. One of the key factors is that book publishing, both by private and public publishers, has continued up until the present day at a very high level. Similarly, book distribution is well-organized through a dense network of public libraries as well as book shops, book clubs and mail order services.

Books are appreciated as having lasting value in Finland; they are definitely not regarded as throwaway products. People who buy themselves a book or who get one as a present, usually keep it at home. Sometimes people will lend books to friends from their own *home libraries*.

The number of books people had in their home libraries remained unchanged throughout the 1980s (Figure 1): both in the early 1980s and early 1990s, 60 per cent of the Finnish population had more than 50 books at home. One in four people had more than 200 volumes in their home library. Larger collections consisting of over 500 or over 1 000 volumes were much rarer; most of the people with such libraries were people with a high level of education. In 1991, 28 per cent of the population with an academic degree had more than 500 books at home and 10 per cent had over 1 000 books.

Figure 1.
Books at home in 1981 and 1991



In 1981 and 1991, one in ten people in Finland had bought books for themselves or for friends through a *book club* (the figure for 1981 was 13% and for 1991 11%).

People also make frequent use of the book collections of *public libraries*. This is clearly indicated by the increasing number of book lendings from libraries.

During the 1980s the use of public library services increased in all age and sex groups (Figure 2). In 1991 over 60 per cent of all Finns aged 10 years or over and almost every person aged 10–14 years said they had been to the library during the past six months. Girls and women used library services to a greater extent than boys and men.

The use of library services was most common among people with the highest level of education. However, during the 1980s the increase in utilization rates was highest among people with an intermediate education.

By contrast, active use of library services decreased among people with an academic degree. Both in 1981 and in 1991, eight out of ten people with an academic degree had been to the library during the past six months, but the proportion of those who had been to the library at least 10 times during the past six months dropped from 44 per cent to 35 per cent.

Figure 2
Use of library services by sex and age in 1981 and 1991



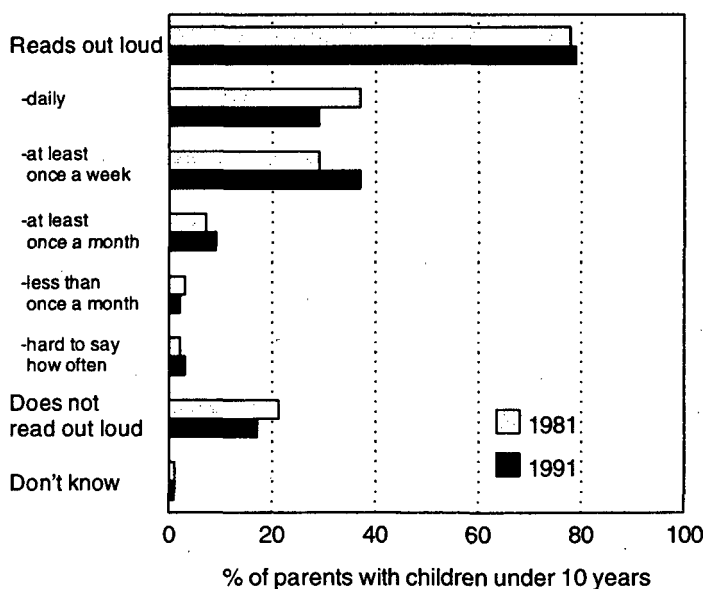
With the exception of the southernmost and northernmost parts of Finland, the use of library services increased quite evenly across the country. In the province of Uusimaa on the south coast and in the Helsinki area, the number of library-goers remained unchanged, and in the northernmost province of Lapland numbers actually declined by a few percentage points.

Another factor that is conducive to a favourable reading environment is that children get used to books from a very young age. Apart from the fact that parents are interested in books and buy books and lend them from the library, they also *read to their children*.

Reading to children is very common indeed in Finland. Both in 1981 and in 1991 almost 80 per cent of adults with children aged under 10 said that they had read books to their children (Figure 3). Almost one third (29%) had read to their children on a daily basis, and almost two in five (37%) had read to their children at least once a week.

Women are somewhat more active than men in reading to their children. In 1991, 84 per cent of mothers and 75 per of fathers of children under 10 had read to their children. Every third mother and every fifth father had read books out loud every day. The number of mothers and father who had read to their children at least once a week was roughly the same at approximately one third of the parents of small children.

Figure 3.
Reading books to children in 1981 and 1991



The favourable reading environment in Finland is no doubt one of the reasons why according to various international comparisons there is an exceptionally high level of literacy among children and young people in the country. The finding was confirmed by an evaluation study carried out in 1989–92, which involved 31 countries from different parts of the world (for more details, see Linnakylä 1992).

In the age group 9 years, Finnish children scored the best points in every test: in the interpretation of narrative texts, in understanding straight informative accounts and in the use of documentary material, i.e. graphs, maps, instructions and tables. Finnish children also came out with the best scores in the age group 14 years, even though their level of literacy was not as high as among the 9-year-olds.

Written communication considered important

Overall it seems that Finnish people take a positive attitude towards written communication, whether that is in the form of reading newspapers, reading books and following the literary scene, or writing.

The following observations attest to the importance that is attached to the printed word, in spite of what is described as an emphatically audiovisual culture: The respondents in the 1991 leisure survey were presented with a list of leisure activities and hobbies which in addition to physical exercise, sports, outdoor recreation, and art exhibitions included television viewing, listening to the radio, reading newspapers and reading books. They were asked to say which of these activities were important to them and which did not really matter.

Nine out of ten (91%) said that reading newspapers was very or rather important to them. The only other item reaching the same sort of score was outdoor recreation. Two thirds regarded television viewing (66%) and listening to the radio (66%) as very or rather important, while 45 per cent said that literature was important to them.

If we look at the numbers regarding different forms of communication as *very important*, the key role of newspapers is further accentuated. Four in ten (41%) of the respondents said that reading newspapers was very important to them. The figures were markedly lower for television viewing (14%), listening to the radio (14%) and literature (11%).

Although newspapers were a more integral part of people's everyday life than were books, both were regarded as very important in all population strata and in all age groups. All groups of respondents considered reading newspapers as important. Literature was described as important most particularly by women and people with a high level of education.

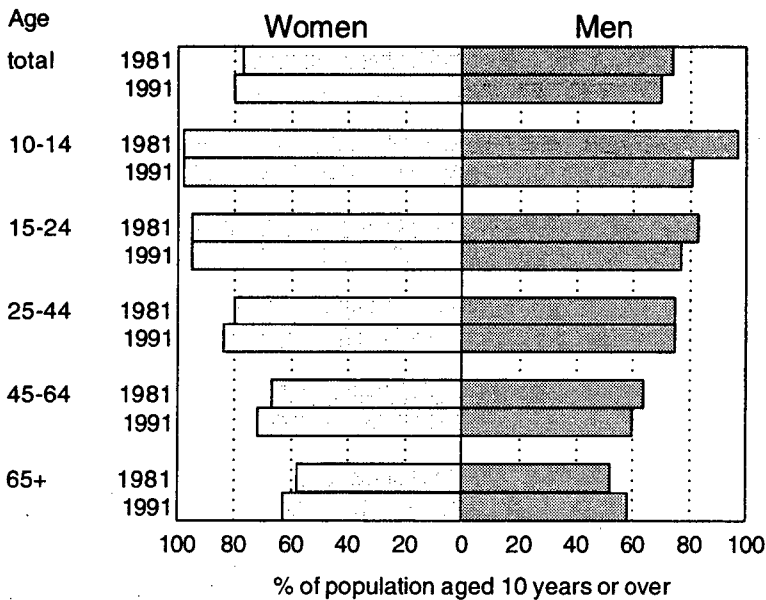
Another aspect of the printed word is writing letters, keeping diaries and writing literary texts, all of which remain quite common in Finland in spite of the audiovisual revolution. In fact in 1991 there were more people who kept a diary than ten years previously! On the other hand letter-writing had declined to some extent (for more details, see Seppänen in this volume, pp. 12–14).

Number of titles read has dropped but reading is still common

The positive attitude of Finns towards written communication and literature is also reflected in their reading habits. Reading books has long been one of the favourite leisure activities in Finland, and it remained so during the 1980s – even though there was some speculation in public debate that we might be seeing important changes in this regard.

Both in 1981 and in 1991, three quarters (76% and 75%, respectively) of the population aged 10 or over had read at least one book during the *six months* preceding the interview (Figure 4). Four in five (82%) had read at least one book during the previous *12 months*.

Figure 4.
Reading books during previous 6 months by sex and age in 1981 and 1991



Has read at least one book during previous six months.

The figures for book reading remain highest among children and young people. The results of longitudinal comparisons do not lend support to the persistent argument that illiteracy is gaining increasing ground among children and young people.

Almost every girl in the age group 10–14 years in the early 1980s (98%) and in the early 1990s (98%) as well as in the age group 15–24 years (95% at both points of measurement) had read at least one book during the previous six months.

The figures were somewhat lower for boys and young men, and they had actually declined to a certain extent during the past ten years. Nonetheless four out of five of the boys (81%) and young men (77%) interviewed in 1991 had read at least one book during the past six months.

However, the proportion of those who read a lot was slightly lower than ten years earlier; the number of active readers had declined most notably among young people.

In 1981 every third (34%) and in 1991 every fourth (26%) Finn aged 10 years or over had read at least ten books during the past six months. In the early 1980s almost two in three children in the age group 10–14 years (62%) had read at least ten books during the past six months; by the early 1990s the figures had dropped to 38 per cent.

Among boys and young men the decline in the proportion of active readers was even sharper than in the case of girls and young women, for whom the figure was higher to start with.

In 1981 almost every other (46%) boy aged 10–14 years had read at least ten books during the past six months, compared with just 20 per cent in 1991. In the age group 15–24 years, the proportion of active readers dropped accordingly from 41 to 21 per cent.

Amongst girls, 75 per cent had read at least ten books during the past six months; in 1991 the proportion was still over half (54%). Among young women the proportion of active readers remained almost unchanged (54% in 1981 and 51% in 1991).

The results on the lowered level of interest among boys and young men in reading books are consistent with the time-usage studies conducted over the past decades by Statistics Finland. These surveys found that in 1987, young people spent less time reading books and newspapers than they did in 1979. The decline was sharpest among young men aged 20–24 years, but the same trend was clearly in evidence in all other age groups as well (Niemi & Pääkkönen 1990; Liikkanen 1990). However, it is important to bear in mind that in spite of the shortening of reading times young people still spend about 40 minutes reading every day.

One possible explanation for the lowered interest in book reading among boys and young men is provided by the rapid growth of audiovisual communication and new information technology (computers and computer games; for more details, see Liikkanen in this volume, pp. 60–61).

Does the same explanation apply to the decline during the past ten years in the number of avid readers among people with a high level of education? In 1981, almost two in three (63%) and in 1991 less than half (45%) of the academic population had read at least ten books during the past six months. The decline in book reading has been sharper among academic men than among academic women.

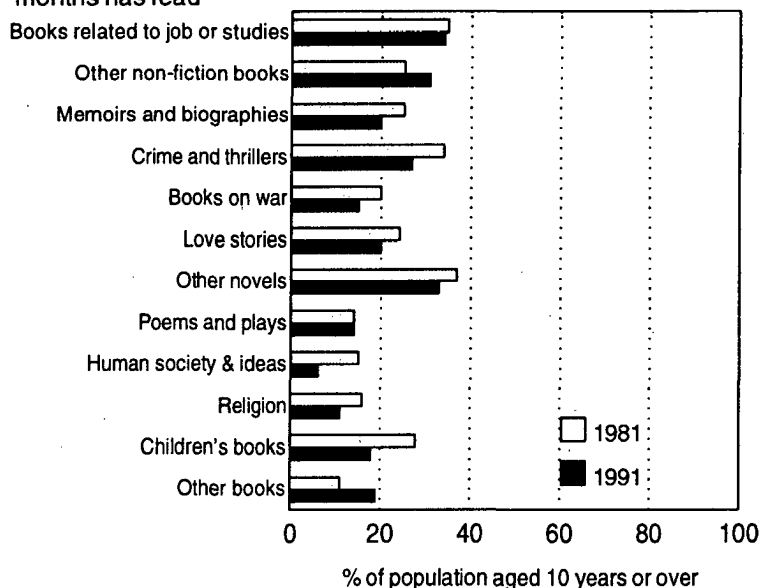
Non-fiction and fiction equally popular

There have been no dramatic changes during the 1980s in the type of books that people read in Finland. However, it may be argued (with some reservations) that the growth of computer technology and the increase in the production of non-fiction titles has been reflected in slight changes in the popularity of different genres of literature.

In the non-fiction category the popularity of certain types of books remained unchanged or even increased, but at the same time certain others saw their popularity decline. In the fiction category no genre increased in popularity. There was no change in the number of poetry titles read, but in many other classes the figures declined slightly or somewhat.

Figure 5.
Reading different types of books in 1981 and 1991

During the past six months has read



The bar graphs in Figure 5 show that the reading of books related to one's job or studies was at more or less the same level in 1991 as it was ten years earlier, while the reading of other non-fiction titles as well as miscellaneous other books increased. As a result of the increased share of readers of non-fiction books, the reading of this type of literature in 1991 was more or less equally common as the reading of novels, which had been read by one in three (33%) Finns aged 10 or over during the past six months.

In a closer analysis of the non-fiction category, it turned out that what may be described as ideological titles were less significant than they had been ten years previously; this was true most particularly of titles on human society and ideas. The figures were also down for religious books.

The only class to retain its position during the 1980s was lyric poetry. At both points of measurement 14 per cent of the population aged 10 or over said they read poetry and plays.

Overall it seems that the 1991 interview data do not lend support to the view that culture is becoming less serious and more entertainment-oriented. For instance, the reading of serials in 1991 (not shown in Figure 5) was at the same level as the reading of poetry and plays. What is more, the popularity of light series declined in all population groups during the 1980s.

Likewise, the popularity of other types of light reading, such as crime and thrillers, books on war and love stories, dropped by a few percentage points. The proportion of readers of children's books dropped more, i.e. from 28 to 18 per cent.

Reading histories complement cross-section data

In the comparisons above we had poetry and plays in the same class; that is because they were treated as a single category in the 1981 interview schedule. However, the 1991 interview also had a separate question for reading poetry books. Another important difference was that the 1991 survey took a longer-term perspective on reading, seeking to trace changes in reading habits.

The 1991 data throw light not only on the number of Finnish people who had read books during the past six months, but also on the reading of different types of books during the past 12 months. In addition, those who said they had read nothing during the past six or twelve months were asked whether they had possibly read books at some earlier time. In this analysis only those people were classified as "non-readers" who had never read books at any stage of their life.

Descriptions of the popularity of different types of literature at different stages of reading history indicate that many of the respondents who had not read poetry, for example, during the past 12 months, might have done so at some earlier stage. One in five (20%) of those interviewed in 1991 had read verse during the past 12 months. The figure was slightly higher (23%) for those who had read poems at some earlier stage in their life.

All in all then, 43 per cent of the Finnish people in the early 1990s had read poetry, even though their experiences were not always very recent.

The same finding is repeated in other genres as well: reading histories indicate that there are many people who have in fact been active readers even though they are classified as "non-readers" on the basis of their responses for the past six or twelve months (Figure 6).

The picture that is formed of the changes in reading preferences on the basis of the reading histories of the 1991 interviewees is roughly the same as the picture that was obtained when the changes in the frequency of reading different types of literature were examined by comparing the cross-section data for 1981 and 1991 (cf. Figure 5).

Figure 6.
Reading histories in different types of books in 1991



Groups distinguished by their attitudes towards foreign fiction

In recent decades the number of fiction titles published in Finland by foreign authors has consistently exceeded the number of books by Finnish authors. It also seems that Finnish readers are beginning to find new favourites amongst foreign authors.

The majority of the favourite fiction titles listed by the interviewees in 1991 were of foreign origin. In this regard the situation has clearly changed since 1973, when less than half of the favourite titles mentioned by the adult population were of foreign origin; and since 1984, when just under half of the favourite books of politicians, cultural elites and library users came from abroad (Eskola & Linko 1986; Eskola 1990).

In a global perspective the books that were read in Finland in the early 1990s still came from a rather small cultural and linguistic area. As was the case in the 1980s (cf. Eskola 1992; 1993), the favourite translations in Finland came primarily from the Anglo-American area. Titles from Asia, Africa or South America were far less common, nor did very many people mention favourite authors from continental Europe. With the exception of Russian classics and Swedish crime writers, people read very little books from Finland's neighbouring countries; fiction from the Baltic countries was virtually unknown (cf. also Table 1 below).

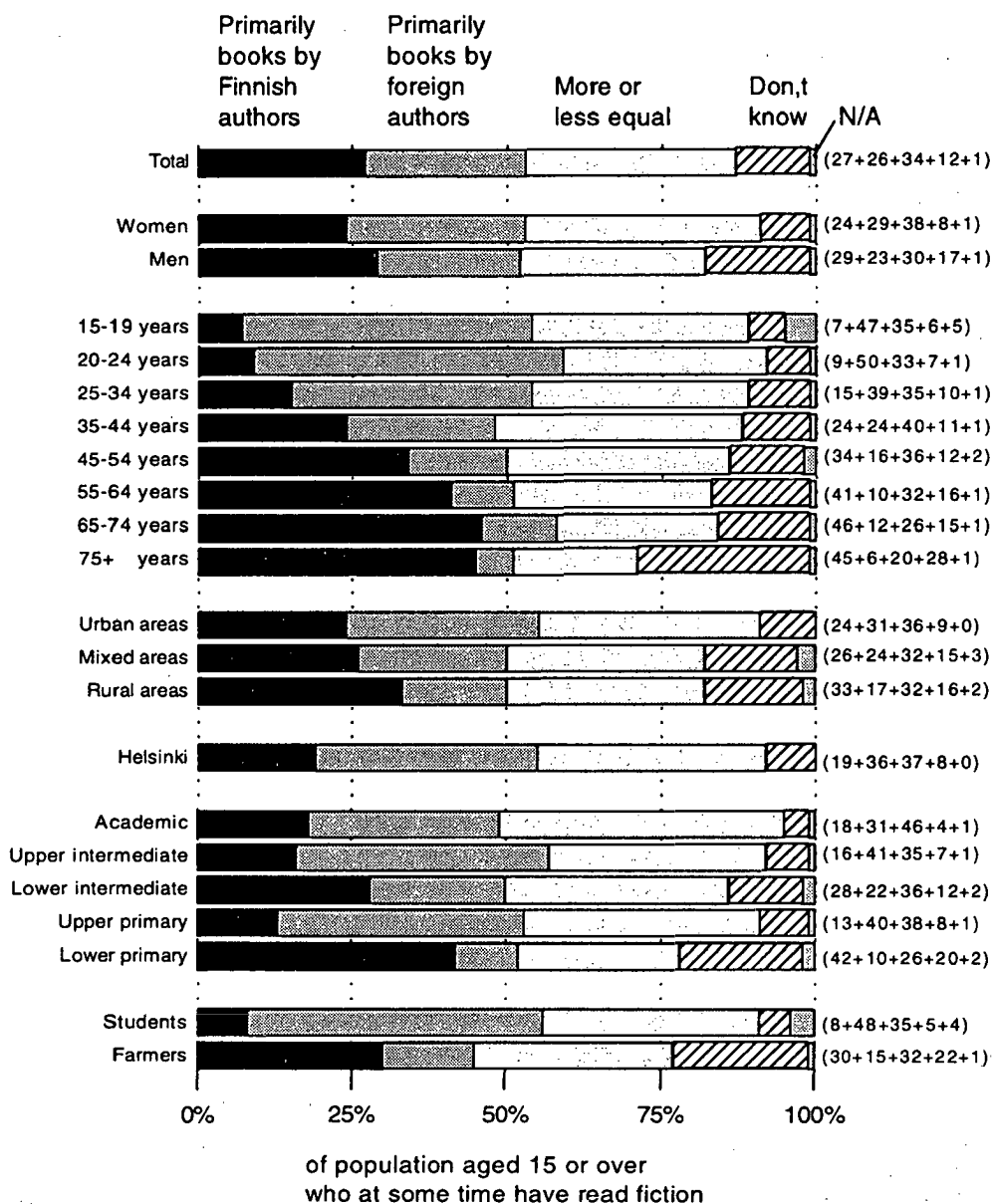
Attitudes towards Finnish and foreign literature seemed to divide people into different groups on the basis of their social status.

Those respondents who said they had at some time read fiction were asked in the 1991 interviews whether they primarily read novels by Finnish authors, whether they primarily read novels by foreign authors, or whether they read more or less the same number of books by both.

The responses were quite evenly divided. The proportion of those who said they chiefly read Finnish authors (27%) was roughly the same as the proportion of those who said they mainly read foreign authors (26%). Every third respondent (34%) read about the same number of titles by both. The remaining 12 per cent were unable to say how the books they read were divided between foreign and Finnish authors. (Figure 7)

The reading of titles by foreign authors was most common in the younger age groups, in urban areas and among those with a higher level of education. In terms of occupational groups the two opposite poles in this comparison were represented by students who showed a heavy orientation towards foreign authors, and on the other hand farmers who favoured Finnish writers.

Figure 7.
Reading titles of Finnish and foreign authors by age, place of residence and education in 1991



Women liked to read foreign authors somewhat more often than men. These results are consistent with earlier findings based on smaller samples (see Eskola 1990).

It seems that the reading of foreign fiction has to do with the level of modernity in society: the reading of foreign authors increased in direct proportion to the level of modernity of the reader category.

Author's gender a significant factor for men

On the basis of the authorship of book titles available in Finland, the expectation was that people in Finland read more books written by men than by women.

However, men and women readers take a different attitude towards the works by authors of their own and the opposite sex. According to the results of earlier studies (see Eskola 1990), it is more common for women to read books by both men and women.

In the early 1990s, men were still more insistent and unanimous than women in reading texts by authors of their own sex.

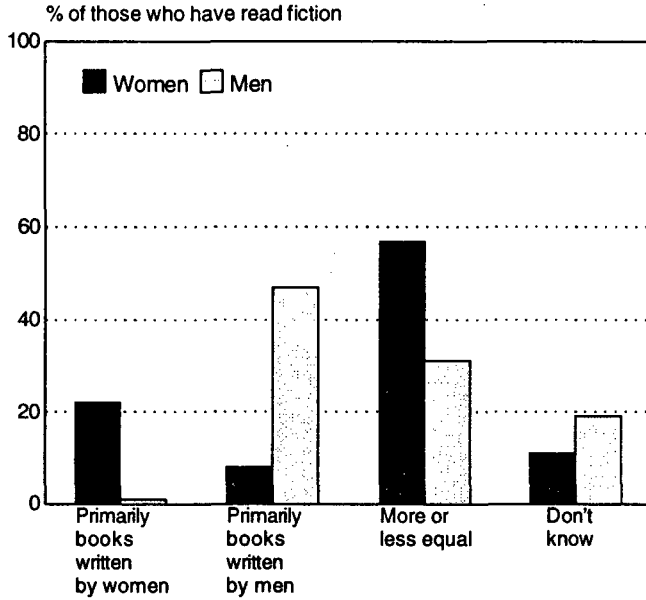
In the 1991 interviews, fiction readers were asked whether they primarily read books written by women, whether they primarily read books written by men, or whether they read both to the same extent.

Among women there was a markedly larger proportion of readers who said they were equally interested in books written by men and women. Over half of the women (57%) and less than one third of the men (31%) said that they read more or less the same number of book titles by men and women authors.

Accordingly, it was more common for men primarily to read books written by authors of the same sex than was the case among women. Almost every other (47%) man said he primarily read books written by men. Among women, one in five (22%) said they primarily read books written by women. (Figure 8)

The greater openness of women with regard to the author's gender was evident in all age groups. However, there were also certain groups amongst women who were clearly more "masculine" in their choices and preferences than others: these included women with a higher level of education, upper white-collar employees, and women living in the metropolitan Helsinki region. In these mainstream groups it was slightly more common for women primarily to read books written by men.

Figure 8.
Reading books by male and female authors by sex in 1981



No changes in favourite authors

The gendered preferences of men and women in their literature choices are most clearly seen in whom they mention as their favourite authors.

In the 1991 interviews, women mentioned both men and women amongst their favourite writers. Men, on the other hand, opted without exception for men.

The scarcity of women on the list of men's top ten favourite authors clearly distinguishes this list from that compiled by women (see Table 1).

Table 1.
Favourite authors of men and women in 1991

Women's favourite authors	Times mentioned	Men's favourite authors	Times mentioned
Laila Hietamies (F)	231	Kalle Päätalo (M)	274
Agatha Christie (F)	179	Väinö Linna (M)	225
Kaari Utrio (F)	139	Alistair MacLean (M)	172
Mika Waltari (M)	127	Arto Paasilinna (M)	150
Sidney Sheldon (M)	114	Mika Waltari (M)	120
Kalle Päätalo (M)	113	Veikko Huovinen (M)	91
Eeva Joenpelto (F)	91	Stephen King (M)	68
Anni Polva (F)	88	Agatha Christie (F)	56
Stephen King (M)	64	Ernest Hemingway (M)	39
Arto Paasilinna (M)	59	Enid Blyton (F)	33
Women	2 278	Men	2 100

On women's list of most favourite authors there are both women and men: Laila Hietamies and Eeva Joenpelto, Mika Waltari and Stephen King. By contrast, the top ten favourites of men include just two women, Agatha Christie and Enid Blyton, and not a single Finnish woman writer!

The lists of favourite authors drawn up on the basis of the 1991 interviews were familiar in other respects as well: the names have remained very much the same from decade to decade, in smaller and in more extensive surveys (see Eskola & Linko 1986; Eskola 1990). The "popular canon" seems particularly constant in the case of domestic literature.

Over the years there have been very few changes in the top ten list of favourite Finnish authors: year after year the list is headed by Kalle Päätalo, Väinö Linna and Mika Waltari. In recent years these have been joined by two new names Laila Hietamies and Arto Paasilinna, who for some time now have ranked among the ten most popular novelists.

The only names who have dropped from the list of favourite Finnish authors in the early 1990s are Juhani Aho and F.E. Sillanpää, both of whom were still mentioned in previous decades. All these observations lend further support to the argument that reading culture in Finland changes very slowly indeed.

Culture changes slowly

Judging by the figures presented above, it seems that there have been only very minor changes during the 1980s in book reading in Finland as well as in the popularity of different types of books in general and in different population groups.

In the early 1990s Finnish people still believed in the printed word, in newspapers and books. Even in multimedia society, book reading remains quite common: people buy books, keep them in their bookshelves, lend books from the library, and read books to their children. Reading newspapers and literature were widely regarded as important. Large numbers also wrote texts themselves.

Book reading was just as common as ten years previously. Books remained important means of communication most particularly for people with a high level of education. Accordingly reading was more common among young people than in older generations. Girls and women stood apart more clearly than before from boys and men as active and avid readers.

In the early 1990s Finnish people read non-fiction books to the same extent as novels. However, the popularity of ideological non-fiction titles was clearly on the decline. The reading of light entertainment had slightly decreased from the level ten years previously, but no change was seen in the number of people reading poetry. Interest in foreign literature increased in direct proportion to the "modernity" of the reader category.

Reader groups were also distinguished from one another by their interest in women and men writers. The author's gender was a more important factor to male than to female readers. As in earlier years, women were less selective than men in respect to the author's gender. Men confined themselves exclusively to reading books written by men more often than women confined themselves to book titles written by women. Almost without exception the favourite authors of men were men, while women's favourites included equally men and women.

Favourite authors and favourite books were largely the same as in the 1980s; this was true most particularly of Finnish literature. In 1991, the top favourites in wide circles of readership were novels by domestic writers about the everyday life of ordinary Finnish people.

The historical novel also has a large following. Key elements that had to be included in any good Finnish novel were romance and humour.

Foreign favourites were often in the category of crime, adventure and thrillers.

In spite of the changes that swept across the Finnish media scene in the 1980s, books managed to retain their position. The technical changes taking place mainly affected the organization of electronic media in Finland. (For more on this, see the articles by Liikkanen in this volume.)

The innovations in communication technology have primarily affected the everyday life of young people. According to the results of the 1991 leisure survey, daily television viewing in the age group 20–24 years increased to a greater extent than in any other age group. Boys and young men took a greater interest than any other group in audiovisual technology and in the new avenues for participation it offered, such as computers and computer games. (See Liikkanen in this volume, pp. 60–61.)

Indeed, it is reasonable to assume that at least part of the decline in reading among boys and young men was due to the diversification of the "electronic image".

However, it is possible that the situation will be completely different in the decades to come. Therefore, in our studies of reading, it is important to look at the *entire* media environment and at the changes taking place in that environment.

Further, the data we have on reading, its prevalence and its general orientation indicate that books and book culture represent an important form of "cultural capital" in Finland. What is more, it is an asset that does not strictly separate user groups from each other. It seems that the class boundaries in reading have to some extent been dissolved.

Up until the present day Finland has been a good place to write, translate, publish, sell and lend books. As a Nordic welfare state, Finland also has various mechanisms for supporting literature. The underlying value premise in Finland has been that the cultural environment is produced *jointly*.

Publishers have brought out books that sell very well, but also titles they know will not reach large numbers of readers. Publishers have recognized and remembered their readers who have different interests.

Literature has also received support from the government and local municipalities. Our children learn to read at school, there is an excellent network of public and scientific libraries in the country, authors and translators can obtain grants, publishers can apply for subsidies. Universities do research on literature.

In the future it is important that *both* publishers *and* the public sector continue to show a positive and constructive attitude towards the further development of literature. There is no room for compromise. Literature forms part of the cultural environment that must be produced together, on a joint basis.

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Reading newspapers and magazines

Tuomo Sauri

Changing patterns in reading habits

This article is concerned with the reading of newspapers and magazines in Finland and with the changes that have happened in newspaper reading over the past ten years. The comparisons over time are based on data from the leisure surveys carried out in 1981 and in 1991 by Statistics Finland. First, however, we shall look briefly at the broader patterns of change that emerge from other sources.

Data sources on newspapers and magazines are so detailed and comprehensive that trends in change can be monitored on an annual basis. Data on circulation are compiled by the Finnish Audit Bureau of Circulations. Measurements on the readership of individual papers are carried out by the National Media Project (NMP) by order of the Audit Bureau's media committee, which represents advertising media, advertisers as well as advertising agencies.

Other, less frequent measurements of newspaper reading include those commissioned by the Finnish Newspaper Publishers' Association. These surveys look separately at the reading habits of adults and young people. Further, the time use studies by Statistics Finland also contain data on reading habits (see e.g. Niemi & Pääkkönen 1990). One key aspect of the so-called intermedia project by NMP is the measurement of the numbers reading newspapers as well as the amount of time they spend reading newspapers.

Circulation audits are mainly ordered by papers and magazines which rely heavily on advertising revenue. Combined with readership analyses, this is one important way in which the media can demonstrate their power and utility in the advertising markets.

At the same time, it is important to note that there are limitations in the data provided by circulation audits as well as readership measurements by the NMP: both focus in their measurements on a limited sample of specific papers, the data produced concern individual papers, analyses extending over several years must always decide whether titles should be controlled for or whether annual variation in the number of titles should be ignored, etc.

Circulation data are available on virtually all newspapers published in Finland, but only a small section of them participate in the annual readership measurements by NMP (the number in 1991 was 28 out of the total of 241 newspapers). The same applies to the magazine business where in 1991 only some 70 out of the total of 2 500 magazines appearing at least four times a year took part in readership measurements – although it has to be added that these magazines represent quite a substantial part of the business in terms of circulation and readership.

As a general rule the circulation of newspapers and magazines is considerably lower than their number of readers; sometimes the readership is several times greater than the circulation. This is quite understandable in view of the fact that there are normally several people in the household who read the newspapers or magazines they have subscribed to.

At least to a certain extent it seems that circulation statistics and readership measurements have a separate life and existence all of their own: increased circulation figures do not necessarily result in increased numbers of readers, and an increase in readership is not always preceded by an increase in circulation. For example, it may be assumed that if the average size of households decreases at the same time as the total number of households increases (which is what has happened in Finland over the past years), that should serve to push up circulation figures while readership numbers should remain unchanged or possibly even decline.

Data on newspapers show that their total circulation has steadily increased throughout the 1980s. In the early 1990s the figures have come down somewhat; this is apparently due at least in part to the ongoing economic recession. (For details on trends in circulation, see e.g. Sauri 1993.) The readership statistics compiled by the NMP, for their part, indicate that the numbers for newspapers have been slowly increasing during the period under review. However, the changes are by no means very dramatic, and there have been no essential changes in readership numbers per circulation copy. (Erämetsä 1992.)

In the magazine sector, circulation data indicate that special interest and hobby magazines as well as trade and business magazines have shown increased circulation numbers. Further, the total circulation of general interest and family magazines tends to fluctuate according to the number of titles on the market. The general trend for women's magazines indicates a decline in total circulation. (Finnish Mass Media 1994; Sauri 1993) Data on readerships for 1985–91 indicate that the trend for general-interest and family magazines, women's magazines and (perhaps somewhat surprisingly) for special-interest magazines have been declining. On the other hand readership numbers for customer magazines and trade journals remained relatively stable during the period under review, tending more towards growth than decline. Readership numbers per circulation copy declined clearly in almost all magazine groups. (Erämetsä 1992.)

Changes in reading habits according to leisure surveys

In order that we can form a clearer picture of the changing patterns of newspaper and magazine reading, it is necessary to refer to cross-section data that are based on sufficiently large samples. Based on data from the leisure studies carried out by Statistics Finland, the description below is not confined to certain newspaper or magazine titles or to certain segments of the print press, but it covers in principle all Finnish as well as foreign newspapers and magazines of all types, provided that they have readers in Finland.

The picture provided by the 1981 and 1991 leisure surveys of the general trends in newspaper and magazine reading is, in rough outline, rather similar to the picture obtained on the basis of circulation and readership analyses. However, these surveys fill in the picture in many important respects.

One of the items in the 1991 survey was to measure the number of papers that people read on a regular basis ("reads one, two, three, four or more newspapers or magazines") and the frequency of reading (daily, several times a week, about once a week, at least once a month, less frequently, never"). For the most part the data are comparable with the results of the previous leisure study in 1981 (see Cultural statistics 1981).

In the magazine category, frequency of reading was queried by types of magazines. The respondents were also asked to identify the names of the magazines they read. The discussion that follows is restricted to regular readers, i.e. people who read magazines at least once a week ("weekly readers") or at least once a month ("monthly readers").

Magazine reading was examined by type of magazine, which were classified as follows: general-interest and family magazines, women's magazines, men's magazines, children's and juvenile magazines, special-interest and hobby magazines, culture magazines, comic strips, trade journals/business magazines and scientific journals and customer magazines. The data presented for different types of magazine are comparable with the results of the 1981 leisure survey, with just two exceptions: in 1981 customer magazines (which are published and paid by large business enterprises and delivered to customers or the general public free of charge) were still classified under general-interest and family magazines, while culture journals were under hobby magazines.

Most analyses of newspaper and magazine reading concern the population aged 15 or over; the age group 10–14 years is included only where separately mentioned.

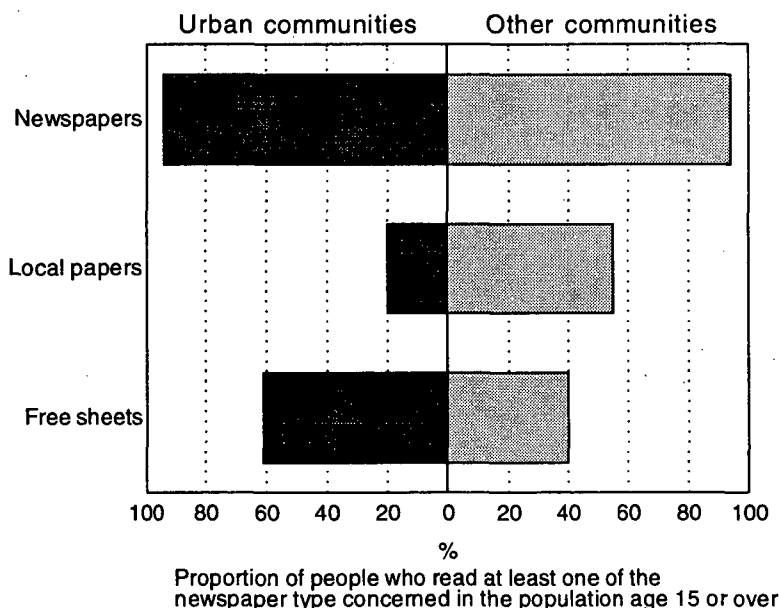
Newspapers

People read their newspapers very regularly in Finland, so much so that there is hardly much point in trying to identify any differences between population groups. With the exception of the youngest age group in the leisure survey (10–14 years), almost all people read newspapers regularly regardless of age and population group. This has been the case for quite some while in Finland. (For newspaper reading in Finland during the 1960s and 1970s, see e.g. Littunen & Sinkko 1975.) The changes that have happened during the past ten years (from 1981 to 1991) have also been quite minor.

Newspapers were here divided into two groups; those appearing 7–3 times a week (*dailies*) and those appearing 2–1 times a week (*non-dailies*). The latter group consists typically of local newspapers appearing in smaller rural areas. The survey also measured the frequency of reading *free sheets*.

The vast majority or 94 per cent of the population aged 15 or over were regular readers of at least one *daily newspaper* appearing 7–3 times a week. In addition, exactly half of the population read two or more daily newspapers regularly. The proportion of regular readers is roughly the same in different population groups as well as in urban and rural areas (Figure 1). Overall the differences between different population groups are quite insignificant.

Figure 1.
Reading newspapers, local papers and free sheets by type of municipality in 1991



The number of regular readers is at the same level as ten years previously: 96 per cent of the respondents in 1981 as compared to 94 per cent in 1991 said they read newspapers appearing 7–3 times a week on a regular basis.

Most newspapers that appear 2–1 times a week are *local newspapers* that typically operate in small rural districts – even though they do have some readers outside their coverage areas as well as in larger towns (for more on local newspaper readers who do not live within its coverage area, see the research report on Paikallislehti 2000). The frequency of reading local newspapers is inversely related to age; that is, average frequencies tend to increase in older age groups. Almost without exception readers of local newspapers read just one local paper.

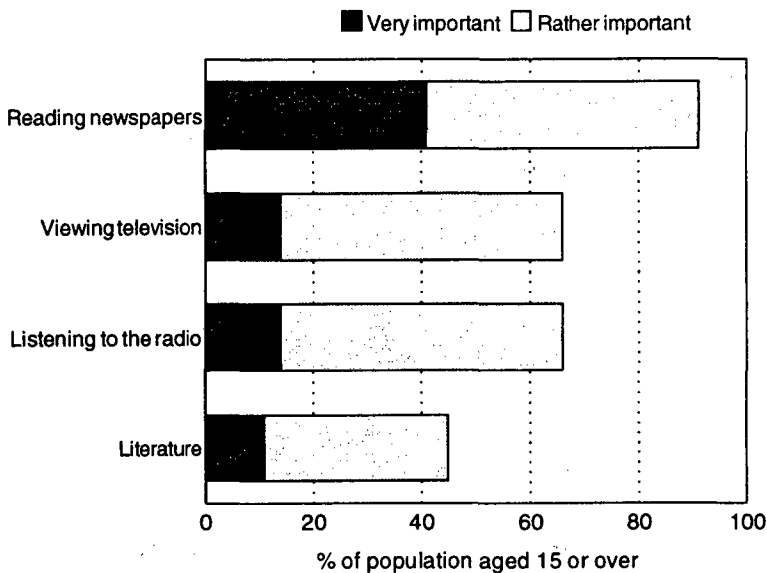
By contrast, the reading of *free sheets* is far more common in urban areas than it is in rural areas. On the other hand, regular reading of free sheets is considerably less common in the Helsinki metropolitan area (49%) than in urban areas on average (61%),

Regular newspaper reading usually means reading on a daily basis. 94 per cent of the population aged 15 or over read their newspaper or newspapers on a daily basis or several times a week (daily 85%, several times a week 9%). In the age group 10–14 years 65 per cent read the newspaper daily or several times a week; the figure for those aged 15–19 years is considerably higher at 86 per cent.

In recent years there has been much public concern about the lack of interest on the part of young people in newspapers; some studies have been published which indicate such a trend. However, the results of our leisure surveys give a somewhat different picture. For example, the proportion of young readers of dailies has remained unchanged at the same level as in the early 1980s. Around three fourths of the population aged 10–14 in the early 1990s were regular readers, the same figure as recorded ten years previously. In the age group 15–19 years, regular readers number about nine in ten (91% in 1981, 88% in 1991).

There is also a broad consensus of opinion that newspaper reading is important. The respondents in the 1991 survey were asked to assess the importance of different aspects of their leisure. The list included, among other things, reading newspapers, literature, television viewing, and listening to the radio (but, alas, not magazine reading). – It is important to note here that the respondents were not asked to evaluate the significance of these items in relation to each other, or to compare their role in the transmission of information, as is often the case. Rather, the question was designed to measure the importance of the items concerned in general, in "your own life". Compared with the other mass media listed, the newspaper fared very well: 91 per cent of the respondents

Figure 2.
The importance of selected media



considered the reading of newspapers very or rather important, while the figures for television viewing, listening to the radio and reading literature were 66, 66 and 45 per cent, respectively. (Figure 2.)

Among young people, too, newspapers rank as more important than other media: in the age group 15–19 years, 82 per cent said that reading newspapers was very or rather important; the figure for television was 73 per cent, for radio 56 per cent and for literature 44 per cent.

All in all, 98 per cent of the Finnish population aged 15 or over read at least one newspaper, local paper or free sheet on a regular basis. The figure is exactly the same as ten years earlier. The majority of the people (86%) read at least two papers. This figure, too, has remained unchanged, even though the proportion of those reading several (at least four) papers has declined somewhat. This is due primarily to the decline in reading local papers and free sheets, as no decrease is observed in the proportion of those who read dailies.

Magazines

In the magazine sector, too, we find that virtually everyone reads magazines. However, there is greater differentiation here than in the case of newspapers. The following discussion concentrates on regular reading of magazines and on the changes that have taken place in magazine reading by referring to figures describing "monthly readers" and "weekly readers" ("reads a magazine/magazines once a month/once a week").

Measured in terms of the proportion of monthly readers, the total coverage of magazines has slightly increased since the early 1980s. In 1981 monthly readers numbered 93 per cent of the population aged 15 or over, while the figure for 1991 was 97 per cent; those reading less frequently than once a month but at least once a year only add one percent to the figure. (Figure 3.)

On the other hand, the average frequency of reading magazines has declined over the past ten years. In 1991 the proportion of those who read magazines at least once a week was ten percentage points lower than in the early 1980s: the exact figures were 79 per cent in 1981 and 70 per cent in 1991. (Figure 4.) The numbers of weekly readers have systematically dropped in all age groups and social classes. The most dramatic change has occurred among young people aged under 20: in the age group 15–19 years the decrease amounts to around 15 percentage points and in the age group 10–14 years to around 20 percentage points.

The decrease in the proportion of weekly readers is probably due at least in part to the clear shift that has taken place from general-interest and family magazines and from women's magazines (most of which appear once a week) to magazines that typically come out once a month or less frequently (mainly special-interest and hobby magazines).

In the category of *general-interest and family magazines* (including the so-called customer magazines), the proportion of monthly readers in 1991 stood at 91 per cent, somewhat higher than the figure recorded in 1981 (86%). By contrast, the numbers describing weekly readers has dropped in ten years by an average 15 percentage points (from 64% in 1981 to 49% in 1991). Among upper white-collar employees and students, the decrease has been over 20 percentage points. The most faithful weekly readers of general-interest magazines are farmers, blue-collar workers and pensioners.

The 1991 survey also measured the reading of general-interest and family magazines separately, without customer magazines. The results indicated that three in four people (77%) read general-interest and family magazines at least once a month and just under half (45%) at least once a week. One in ten said they never read these magazines. The proportion of weekly readers is lowest among upper white-collar employees, whereas the number of weekly readers is above average among blue-collar workers and farmers.

There were accordingly separate questions for the reading of customer magazines; these are published and paid by large business enterprises and delivered to customers or the general public free of charge. Three in four of the respondents (74%) said they read customer magazines at least once a month, but only one in ten (9%) read them weekly. The number of regular readers of customer magazines is above average among lower white-collar employees, service workers and farmers. More than one in ten Finns never read customer magazines.

According to the survey results both the monthly and the weekly reading of *women's magazines* has decreased; the figures have dropped most dramatically for the numbers of weekly readers. In the population aged 15 or over, only 26 per cent say they read women's magazines at least once a week, while the figure ten years earlier was 40 per cent. Among women only 38% read their "own" magazines every week; in the early 1980s the figure was markedly higher at 57 per cent. The proportion of weekly readers is slightly above average among female lower white-collar employees and among self-employed women. The proportion of monthly readers has actually increased among farmers.

In the early 1980s almost one quarter of the male population in Finland (23%) were weekly readers of women's magazines; the figure has now dropped by half to 12 per cent.

The proportion of monthly readers of *men's magazines* has dropped by one half during the past ten years, and the decline is sharper still for weekly readers. In the early 1980s about one in four Finnish men were monthly readers, in the early 1990s only one in eight. The figures have dropped most sharply among white-collar employees and students, but they have come down considerably in all groups. The proportion of weekly readers is down to one per cent of the male population. Among women regular reading of men's magazines has been very rare indeed, and it now seems to be even more so. The main reason for the decline of this magazine sector is no doubt the growth of the sex video markets.

The reading of *juvenile magazines* is of course most common in the age group 10–19 years. The number of monthly readers has remained unchanged since the early 1980s: around two thirds of the young people in this age group (68%) count as monthly readers. This figure would seem to be slightly up on the figure for the early 1980s. Likewise, it seems that the number of weekly reader has slightly increased. About one in four in the age group 10–19 are weekly readers. In the next age group (20–24 years) only one quarter are monthly readers of juvenile magazines and about five per cent weekly readers.

According to the results of the leisure survey it seems that *hobby and leisure magazines* have emerged as the "champions" from the competition in the magazine sector during the past decade. Their number of weekly readers has remained unchanged at just over 10 per cent, but the number of monthly readers has increased from 42 to 56 per cent. The proportion of regular readers has

Figure 3.
Reading magazines by type of magazine in 1991 and 1981: monthly readers
 (= reads at least once a month)

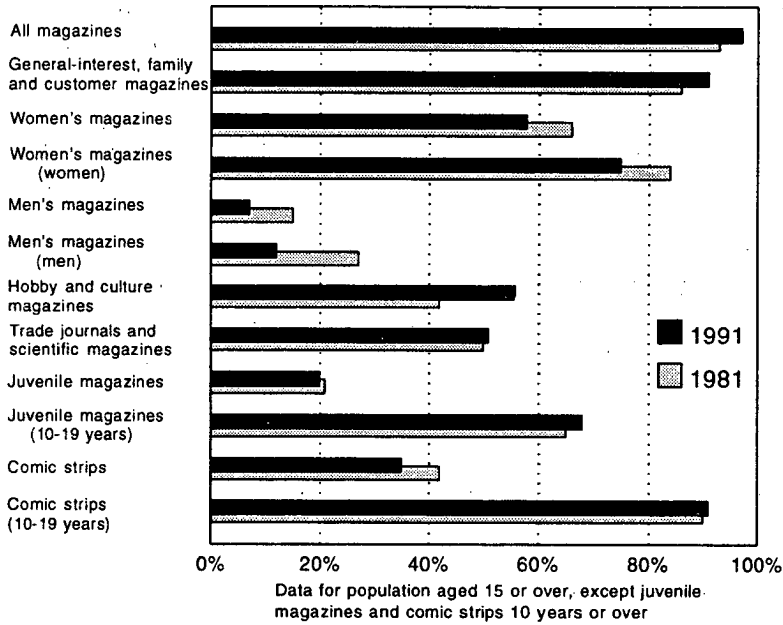
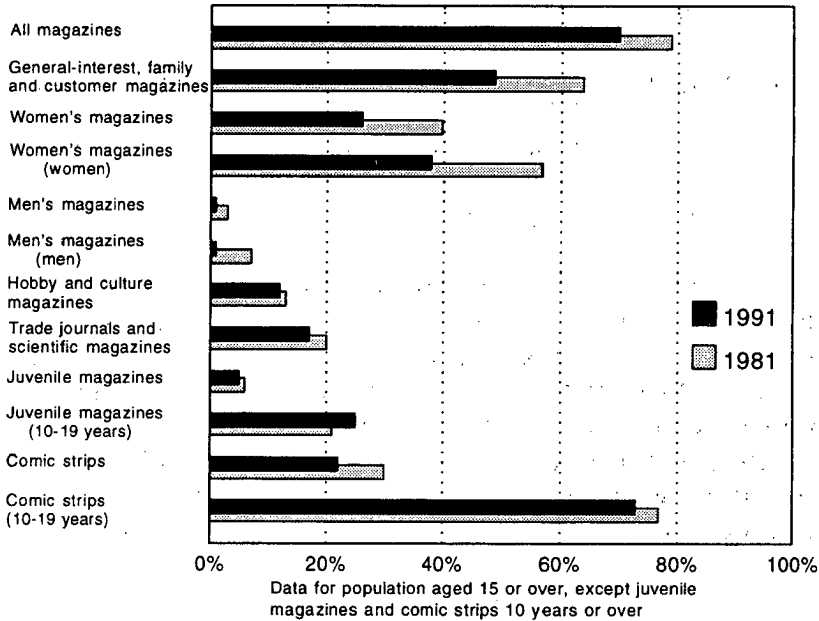


Figure 4.
Reading magazines by type of magazine in 1991 and 1981: weekly readers
 (= reads at least once a week)



increased in the most traditional reader groups, i.e. among white-collar employees and students, but even more so among entrepreneurs and blue-collar workers. Amongst production workers the proportion of monthly readers has increased by as much as 25 percentage points. The reading of these magazines and the growth in readership rates are concentrated in the younger age groups: among those aged 15–44 years, over 70 per cent read hobby and culture magazines at least once a month.

The lumping together of *culture and arts magazines* in the same category with hobby magazines is a somewhat artificial solution in that there are not very many people who are interested in the former: in the population aged 15 or over, the proportion of monthly readers is less than ten per cent; the proportion of weekly readers is just one per cent. However, it is perhaps surprising to find that there are no differences in this category between the number of regular male and female readers. The typical monthly reader of culture magazines is an upper white-collar employee (17%), but as a general rule it may be said that there is no clear differentiation here between different social groups. With the exception of farmers and pensioners, arts and culture enthusiasts are more or less evenly divided across all social groups, accounting for around 10 per cent in each group.

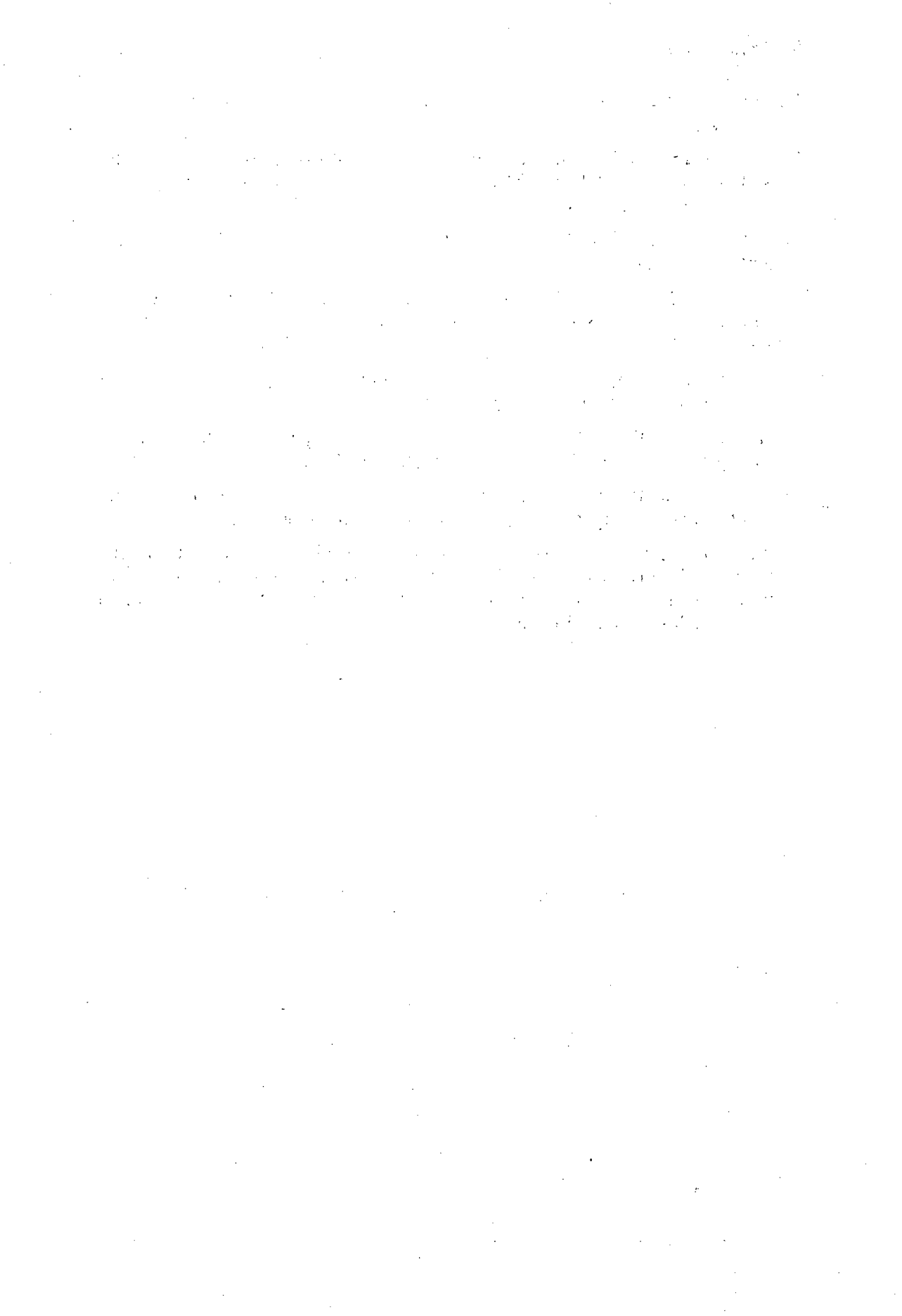
The reading of *trade and business magazines* is roughly at the same level as it was ten years previously. The number of monthly readers is also unchanged (in 1991 at 51%). The proportion of weekly readers has slightly decreased and stands now at 17%. This seems to be due to the fact that men read trade magazines less frequently than before. In 1991 the number of weekly readers among men was down to 20 per cent (from 27% in 1981). Among women there have been no changes in the reading of trade and business magazines. Approximately one in ten women are weekly readers of trade journals.

Children are obviously the biggest single category of *comic magazines* readers. In the age group 10–14 years 85 per cent and in the age group 15–19 years 60 per cent are weekly readers. However, the reading of comic magazines is relatively common in older age groups as well. For instance, among those aged 35–44 years almost one third still read them at least once a month.

Walt Disney is by far the most popular name in all age groups. By contrast, the results of the leisure survey indicate that the popularity of other children's comic books as well as adventure and action comics has collapsed. For instance, in the age group 10–14 years the proportion of children reading other comics has dropped from over half (57%) to just over one quarter (28%), and the figure for adventure/action from two thirds (65%) to less than one fifth (18%) in ten years. Videos and computer games are no doubt the main explanation here. Readers of so-called quality comics are typically students or upper white-collar employees.

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Television, video, radio and home computers: recent trends and breakthroughs

Mirja Liikkanen

Electronic media as domestic technologies

This article is concerned with the reception and use of electronic media – television, video, radio and home computers – in the private domain: we are interested in the household use of these media. As a form domestic technologies, television, video, radio and home computers have one important distinctive characteristic: "they provide actively, interactively or passively links between households and individual members of households with the world beyond their front door" (Silverstone et al. 1992, 15). In this sense these media form part of both private and public culture. The relationship between the public and private is mediated by technology. Falling as it does within the private domain, the use of media technology is also an integral part of family structures, family dynamics and the exercise of power within the family.

Silverstone argues that the relationship between communication technology and family life and the household must be understood as a relationship between two social and cultural systems, neither of which determines the other (Silverstone 1993, 285). The use of media technology at home provides a ritual structure to the everyday and causes public time to flow into private time. Media contents are important topics of everyday conversation; people adopt those contents, their priorities and interpretations, but also argue against them and present their own counter-interpretations. The media provide entertainment, they mediate family quarrels, differentiate world-views.

There is another important reason why the media discussed here may be described as home electronics: as more and more people have gained access and as the technology itself has continued to develop, people have been spending more and more of their out-of-work time and leisure within the four walls of their home. Social researchers have described this development as a tendency towards privatization. At the same time, leisure activities outside the home have been steadily declining during the past few decades, not just in Finland but throughout the Western world. (See e.g. Morley 1992.)

Changes in the television landscape

During the 1980s the field of electronic mass communication saw some very important changes in Finland. Amongst the key indicators of the changes that have happened in television culture, reference has been made to the fact that people now have much more freedom of choice. At the same time, the role of public-service broadcasting has tended to decrease.

Given the increasing number of households in the country with more than one television set, it is assumed that families have accordingly gained greater freedom of choice. Another common assumption is that with remote control, people have gained more freedom and independence; it is much easier today than it used to be to flick from one channel and programme to another. Advances in television technology have no doubt also served to make television a more attractive medium.

Ownership of television sets continued to increase in the population throughout the 1980s. By 1991, almost all people in the country (97%) had a television set in their household, while the figure ten years earlier was 93 per cent. The proportion of those who did not have a television was highest in the population 75 or over, but even here the figure was no more than 10 per cent.

During the years of relative prosperity in the 1980s, the number of second television sets in Finnish households increased quite considerably, as did the number of remote controls. According to the results of the leisure survey over 40 per cent of the population have more than one television set; 70 per cent have a remote control; and over 90 per cent have colour television. All in all the wave of modern home electronics has swept across the country with considerable rapidity: during the 1980s large numbers have bought not only the latest television models but also VCRs, home computers, better sound reproduction systems, etc.

Earlier evidence from time usage studies indicates that television viewing increased in Finland during the 1980s (Liikkanen 1990, 9). These results are consistent with the findings of the 1991 leisure survey where the focus of analysis was on the frequency of viewing and on the family's viewing habits.

The increase in television viewing is explained in part by the slight increase in leisure time and by the sharp increase in programming volumes and the number of television channels in the 1980s. The country's third television channel (Channel Three) was launched in 1987, and at the same time the number of viewers with access to cable television and satellite channels has considerably increased. In 1991 around 35 per cent of Finland's households were wired up to the cable network. In this situation of stiffening competition, the Finnish Broadcasting Company YLE also began to increase its programming output. (Liikkanen 1990; Sauri 1993.)

The audience, however, remained faithful to the two nationwide channels, and the only newcomer that managed to carve out a relatively firm position for itself was Channel Three. In January 1993, satellite and cable television accounted for around seven per cent of total viewing times (see Sauri 1993, 35). According to the leisure survey 80 per cent of the population had access in 1991 to Channel Three; almost all of them said they watched Channel Three programmes at least occasionally, while over 40 per cent said they were frequent viewers. The situation has changed since the beginning of 1993 with the reorganization that concentrated all commercial operations on Channel Three (see Sauri 1993, 35), which by now has gained more or less full coverage of the whole country.

During the 1980s the chances of people in Finland to view television programmes broadcast in neighbouring countries were greatly improved. On the southern and southwestern coast, viewers now have access to Swedish television through TV4, which broadcasts a special package of Swedish Television's Channel 1 and Channel 2 programming. People living on the western coast and in Lapland have long had direct access to Swedish TV1 and TV2. The results of the leisure study indicated that about one third of the population have access to TV4 and one fifth to Swedish TV1 and TV2. However, the audience can hardly be described as very active: about 45 per cent of the potential audience said they watched the programming occasionally, whereas only six per cent said they watched TV4 often. Around 10 per cent said they watched TV1 and TV2 often. About one in four respondents said they got programmes from other neighbouring countries. The situation has now changed as cable operators have been moving many of these programmes to pay-tv channels.

The debates on media policy during the 1980s frequently mentioned videos and sky channels as the greatest threats to national culture in Finland and to the morals of young people. According to the leisure study less than 30 per cent of the population in 1991 had access to satellite channels carrying other programmes apart from regular broadcasts from neighbouring countries. Satellite channels reached a larger share of their potential audience than broadcasts from neighbouring countries: about 70 per cent of these people said they watched satellite broadcasts at least occasionally; about 20 per cent watched them often. The reach of satellite programmes was highest in the age group under 20 years. In the age group 10–14 years one third and in the age group 15–19 years two in five said they watch satellite programmes often. By contrast, subscriptions to pay-tv channels have remained at the fairly low level of around three per cent of the population. Earlier research indicates that sports and music programmes are the most popular programme categories on satellite channels.

Just over one fifth of the population have access to local cable broadcasts; ten per cent of these people watch these programmes often and over 60 per cent occasionally.

Television viewing has become more commonplace

Finland is traditionally a country where book reading and other literary pursuits are held in high regard; attitudes towards television viewing have perhaps been more reserved than in many other countries. These negative moral codes have been upheld most particularly by women, or at least they have carried the main burden of responsibility for controlling viewing habits within the family (e.g. Roos 1989, 89; Alasuutari 1991, 272).

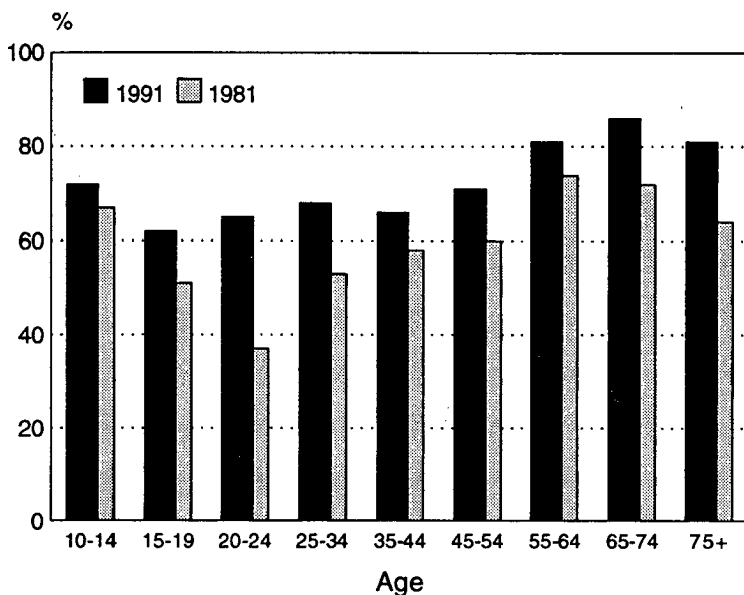
The results of the 1991 leisure survey lend support to the earlier observation (see Liikkanen 1990, 18) that the 1980s saw a major breakthrough of the electronic image: during the past decade television and the electronic image have become an increasingly integral and accordingly a more accepted part of everyday life in Finland.

Television viewing is by now very much an everyday activity. Over 90 per cent of the respondents said that their family watches television every day; in families with children under 15, the figure approximates 100 per cent. The television is kept switched on all evening more and more often, although the majority still switch it off in-between the programmes they are watching. In particular, upper and lower white-collar employees, distribution and service workers, as well as students and schoolchildren said more often than before that they keep the television switched on all evening. At the same time, the figures have declined somewhat in certain other occupational groups (such as farmers and other self-employed groups), narrowing down the differences between different social groups in television viewing habits.

"All evening" obviously means different things in different families. According to the qualitative pilot studies conducted for the leisure survey, some families switch on in the afternoon; for others the evening begins at eight-thirty and the main news. For some people the evening begins when they have finished all their household chores; for others when they come home from work. In other words the definitions tend to vary depending on the family's rhythm of life and their employment situation. However, in terms of viewing habits the change that has happened is an indication that people are now making less conscious television choices. Instead the television is moving into the background, or as some scholars have described it, flowing into the wallpaper; people pay more or less attention to television during the evening, depending on what's happening on the "moving wallpaper" (see Kytömäki & Savinen 1993, 81).

The increase in the frequency of television viewing is very clear. While in 1981 less than 60 per cent of the population watched the television on a daily basis, the figure ten years later in 1991 was over 70 per cent. Daily viewing is still somewhat less common among women than men. On the other hand, the increase over the past ten years has been sharper among women. The increase in the proportion of daily viewers is seen in all age groups (Figure 1).

Figure 1.
Daily television viewing by age groups in 1981 and 1991



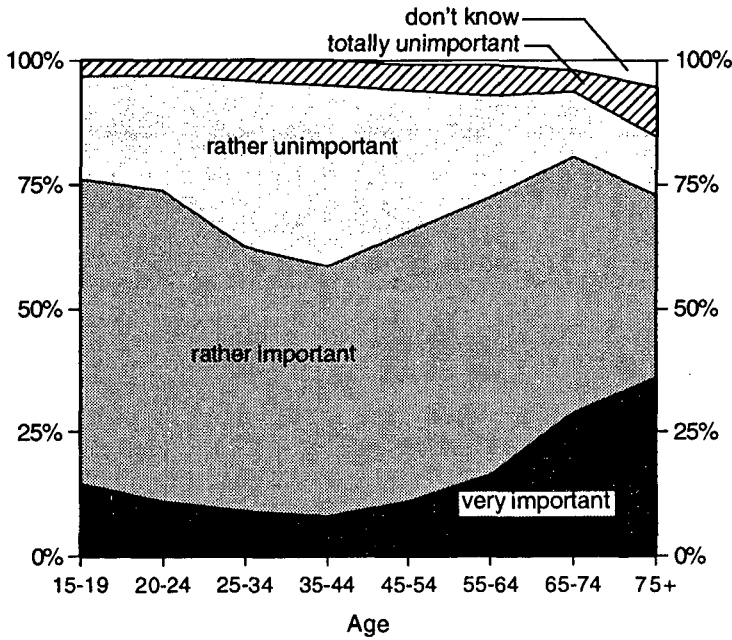
However, by far the most dramatic increase has occurred in the age group 20–24 years, where the proportion of daily viewers has increased by almost 30 percentage points. In earlier years young people in this age group showed the lowest television viewing rates. This points at a very profound change in youth culture. There is also reason to suspect that the sharp increase in youth unemployment levels is a factor in this development.

So during the past ten years, the differences between age groups as well as between women and men in the frequency of television viewing have clearly narrowed down. The differences between social groups are also rather small, although the proportion of daily viewers is somewhat higher among the unemployed and pensioners.

All in all it seems that television viewing forms an integral part of almost everyone's daily life; only four per cent of the entire population watch television less than once a week or never. Television viewing is also considered quite important. Two thirds of the respondents described television viewing at least as rather important; only five per cent said it was totally unimportant.

Frequencies of television viewing are highest in the oldest age groups, starting from age 55. These people also consider television viewing as more important

Figure 2.
Attitudes towards television viewing in 1991



than others (Figure 2). In younger age groups, too, relatively large numbers describe television viewing as very important. Although women now watch more television than ten years earlier, there are fewer women than men in all age groups who consider television very important.

Television has had an important role to play in the changes of modern society. Through that role, television has become an integral part of both traditional culture and the culture of younger generations. However, attitudes towards television and the meaning of defining television as important or unimportant, are probably completely different at these two extreme poles.

Video has become part of television viewing

Video made a very impressive breakthrough during the 1980s. In 1981, it was still virtually non-existent in Finnish households; ten years later in 1991, over 60 per cent of the population aged 10 or over had their own VCR. The rate of growth exceeded all expectations. VCR ownership increases towards younger age groups; in the households of people aged 65 or over, it is comparatively rare.

From the very outset the principal use of the VCR has been for timeshift purposes, i.e. recording television programmes for viewing at a later, more suitable time. This is clearly reflected in the way that people talk about television. In the pilot studies for the leisure survey it became clear that the viewing of videos is increasingly regarded as part of television viewing. In the survey proper, television viewing was accordingly defined in line with this understanding.

Studies on VCR use in the 1980s (Samola 1990; Joukkoviestintätötilasto 1991) showed a consistent increase in the use of video for timeshift purposes. Now, as households have become more accustomed to using VCRs and as television is showing more feature films than before, programmes are increasingly recorded for more permanent use. This is reported as the primary use by around 10 per cent of VCR owners. The use of VCR for timeshift purposes has accordingly decreased somewhat.

The viewing of rental videos is clearly on the decline. Today, some 10 per cent of all VCR owners report this is as the most important use, even though the viewing of sell-through videos was included. Recent reports indicate that the market share of sell-through videos has been increasing (Nyman 1992; Sauri 1993). Although neither sell-through nor rental videos are very popular, the majority or 60 per cent of VCR owners have at least sometimes rented video programmes.

The proportion of viewers who have sometimes rented video programmes is highest in the age group 20–24 years (90%); that is, in the same age group where the frequency of television viewing has increased more than in any other age group. Overall, video rentals are more common in the age groups under 35.

People are less familiar with other methods of acquiring video programmes. Less than one third of the respondents had ever bought a recorded video cassette, and just over one in ten had borrowed a video from the library. Lending is commonest among the youngest age groups, while the heaviest concentration of buyers is found in the age groups 15–44 years – on the one hand among unmarried people and on the other hand among families with children. People with small children have bought and rented videos more often than others.

In the whole population less than one fifth watch videos at least a few times a week, and over one third at least once a week (it is important to bear in mind here that 40 per cent of the population do not have a VCR). Clearly then we may conclude that the viewing of videos is rather common, and that the use of VCR has become an integral part of everyday television viewing in Finland. Not surprisingly, the youngest viewers in the age group under 15 are most accustomed to using the VCR; about half of the respondents in this age group said they watched videos at least a few times a week. In general the frequency of watching videos increases in younger age groups.

Home computers: new electronic images at home

A relative newcomer to domestic technologies is the personal or home computer, which like the VCR has been spreading very quickly in Finnish households. One in four respondents said they had a computer at home. Computer ownership increases very sharply towards younger age groups: in the age group 10–14 years 60 per cent said they had a computer at home; in the age group 15–19 years the figure was under 50 per cent; but in the age group over 60 only one per cent.

The majority of families have only one computer, but in the youngest age groups there were more often those who reported at least two computers. By social groups, upper white-collar employees and students had home computers more often than others, while pensioners, blue-collar workers and the unemployed had computers least often.

Active computer use most common among young people and men

However, not all people actually use their computer. Among women one in three never use the computer they have at home, while among men the figure is 16 per cent. In the age group under 24 (both men and women), there are comparatively few people who never use their home computer. In older age groups the number of computer users tends to decrease, and men and women differ from each other in their behaviour: among women there is a markedly larger proportion of those who never use the computer at home.

Young people are by far the most frequent computer users. In the age group 10–14 years only three per cent say that they do not use the computer at all. Around 30 per cent use their computer on a daily basis and almost half at least a few times a week.

There are, however, some sex differences in younger generations in that the use of computers by boys is far more intensive than in the case of girls. Among boys in the youngest age group, for example, two in five say that they use the computer on a daily basis, and almost 60 per cent use the computer several times a week; the figures for girls are 17 and 30 per cent, respectively.

By social group, the frequency of computer use is highest in the same groups where computer ownership is highest, i.e. among students and upper white-collar employees. In both these categories almost 40 per cent use their computer several times a week.

Links with other culture

Home computers are primarily used for playing computer games; over half of all computer owners say that they spend most of their time on the computer playing games. Although playing is most common in the youngest age groups (94 per cent), it is relatively common in other age groups as well.

The second most common use of the home computer is for word processing, which is mentioned by around 40 per cent of the respondents. The highest figures are reported in the age group 20–34 years. Word processing is followed by computer graphics applications and programming.

Sex differences occur not only in the intensity of computer use but also in end-uses. In the youngest age groups there are no major differences between women and men in playing computer games, but the figures decline more sharply with age among women than among men. In addition, men use the computer much more often than women for programming purposes, for computer graphics, and for paying bills or for other contacts through computer networks. The majority of those who write music with computers are also young men.

Computer games provide the main link between computer use and other types of electronic image and other forms of culture. For example, a computer game may introduce the user to a film or a novel, or spark his interest in a whole subject area; the link may also work the other way round so that people learn about a computer game through television or a video. Computer use thus forms an integral part of changing television and video viewing habits. At the same time, by creating a stronger sense of mastering technology, computers have served to make television viewing a more everyday activity.

Computer graphics and music composition programs have added a whole new dimension to creative arts. There is also some indication that computers have made it easier for men to start writing fiction; this has clearly increased among men during the past ten years (see Seppänen in this volume, p. 14).

Changes in the radio field

The 1980s also saw many important changes in radio. The first private local radio stations went on the air in the mid-1980s; by 1991 there were a total of 60 local radio operators in the country, seven of which were non-commercial. For the public-service broadcaster YLE, the growth of local radio has obviously meant stiffening competition. Just ten years ago there were still many people who believed that radio was on its way out, that it had lost the battle against visual electronic media. However, these predictions have not materialized, even though the role of radio very definitely has changed and is continuing to

change. If anything it seems that the growth of local radio has provided an important boost to the whole radio field.

Since the late 1980s the traditional mode of radio production has had to give more and more way to the new, alternative concept of broadcast flow, from which it is harder to identify an individual programme in the traditional sense: a separate entity that is broadcast under its own title in a given programme slot at a certain time. At the same time music has emerged to occupy an increasingly central place in radio programming. One interesting development during the 1980s was the increasing popularity of phone-in programmes; radio wanted to emphasize the interaction between listeners and producers and the role of listeners in actually making the programmes.

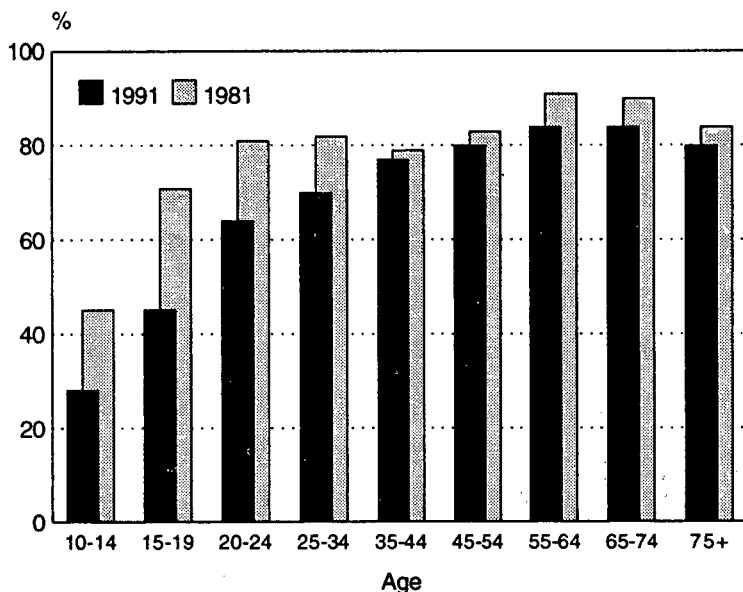
Faced with mounting competition, YLE had to rethink its business philosophy. In the mid-1980s the company decided to step up local operations and expand the third Finnish-language network, which now became a nationwide channel carrying mainly local and regional programmes. At the same time the two other nationwide channels were reprofiled so that YLE 1 adopted a more "serious" and YLE 2 a "lighter" orientation. (Ruohomaa 1991, 9.)

In 1990 YLE carried out what it described as a radio reform or a radio renaissance. In this reform all its channels were reprofiled as follows: YLE 1 was established as a channel for classical music and cultural programmes; YLE 2 or Radiomafia was established as a young people's pop and rock channel; and YLE 3 or Radio Finland was established as a news and current affairs channel. The nationwide Swedish channel (YLE 4) remained a full-service channel (Ruohomaa 1991, 10). YLE's local news are broadcast on YLE 3, which has taken on the challenge of local radio stations on the domestic front; while YLE 2/Radiomafia is a more cosmopolitan channel with a modern profile.

The changing meanings of radio

YLE diary studies indicate that the amount of time spent listening to the radio decreased in the early 1980s, but then started to increase again during the latter half of the decade. The daily reach of radio was also at its lowest level around the mid-1980s. In the years following the establishment of the first local radio stations, YLE channels clearly lost many of their listeners, particularly in the youngest age groups. However, YLE's reprofiling exercise has helped to bring back at least some of these young listeners, at the same time as local radio stations have been losing listeners in the early 1990s. This is probably due at least in part to a number of closedowns of local radio stations. In autumn 1992 the breakdown of listening between YLE and local radio channels was 70 and 30 per cent, respectively. (See Sauri 1993, 47.)

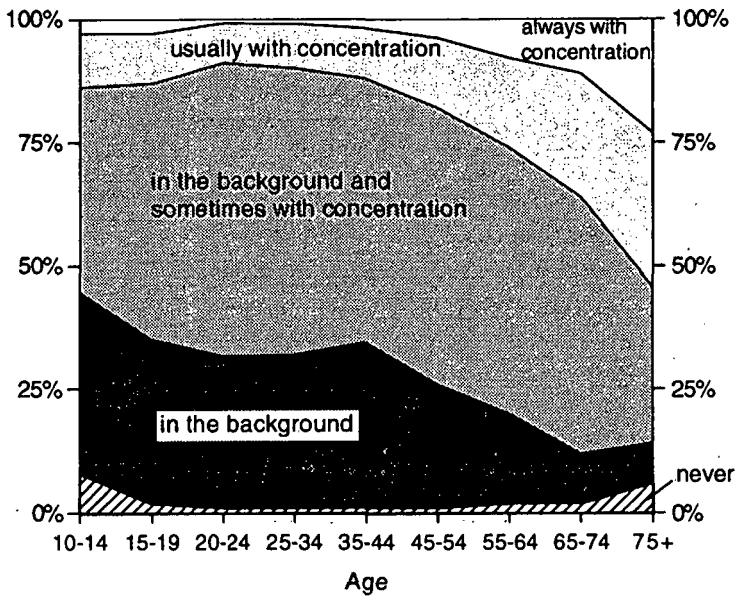
Figure 3.
Daily radio listening in 1981 and 1991



The 1991 leisure study did not measure the time people spend listening to the radio but the frequency of listening. Radio is clearly the same sort of everyday medium as television. In the population aged ten years and over, about 70 per cent listen to the radio every day; those who never listen represent only two or three per cent. However, the proportion of those who listen to the radio every day has declined over the past ten years: in 1981 around 80 per cent listened to the radio on a daily basis. In other words, these results point in the opposite direction to those based on studies of time spent listening to the radio.

The proportion of daily listeners has decreased in all age groups and social classes, but the decline is particularly clear in the age group under 35 where there are fewer and fewer people who say they listen to the radio every day. The sharpest decline (26 percentage points) is recorded for the age group 15–19 years; similarly, the figure is almost 20 per cent for those under 25. (Figure 3.) YLE diary studies also indicate that people who spend a lot of time listening to the radio are typically in the oldest age groups (see Ruohomaa 1992). By social group, the number of daily listeners is lowest among upper white-collar employees, students and the unemployed.

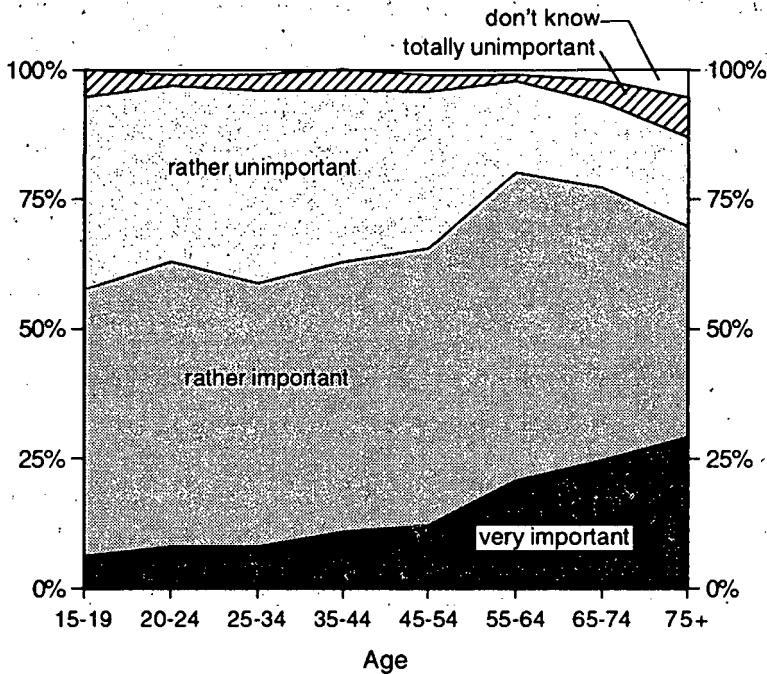
Figure 4.
Ways of radio listening in 1991



Radio listening habits are clearly in a state of flux: more and more often now, people listen to the radio in the background rather than with concentration. About one in five say they always or usually listen to the radio with concentration, while the remaining 80 per cent listen to the radio usually or always in the background. Only 5 per cent always listen to the radio with concentration. The younger the person, the more likely it is that he or she listens to the radio in the background or not at all. Concentrated listening is most common in the age group 65 or over, where over 40 per cent say they usually or always listen to the radio with concentration. (Figure 4.) By social group, concentrated listening is commonest among upper white-collar employees, pensioners and farmers.

The contradictions observed earlier between the results of the 1991 leisure survey and YLE diary studies are probably explained by the changes that have happened in radio listening habits. It is possible that as more and more people listen to the radio in the background, that has caused listening (or more precisely, hearing) times to grow longer. On the other hand, if radio listening consists primarily in background listening, then it is probably harder to notice and people will talk about it in different terms than formerly. This applies particularly to young people for whom listening to the radio in the background might no longer be defined as "listening to the radio" but as something else, such as listening to music.

Figure 5.
Attitudes towards radio listening in 1991



Although both local radio stations and YLE have managed to attract at least some young people, it seems that radio is today (and perhaps to an increasing extent so) a medium of older age groups. Indeed the increase in time spent with the radio is partly explained by the fact that older people spend more time than before listening to the radio, even though listening times have increased to some extent in all age groups. This picture is reinforced when we look at people's attitude towards radio listening (Figure 5): older generations regard radio listening as far more important than younger people. In other words, the meaning of radio and listening habits are quite different in young people and in older age groups.

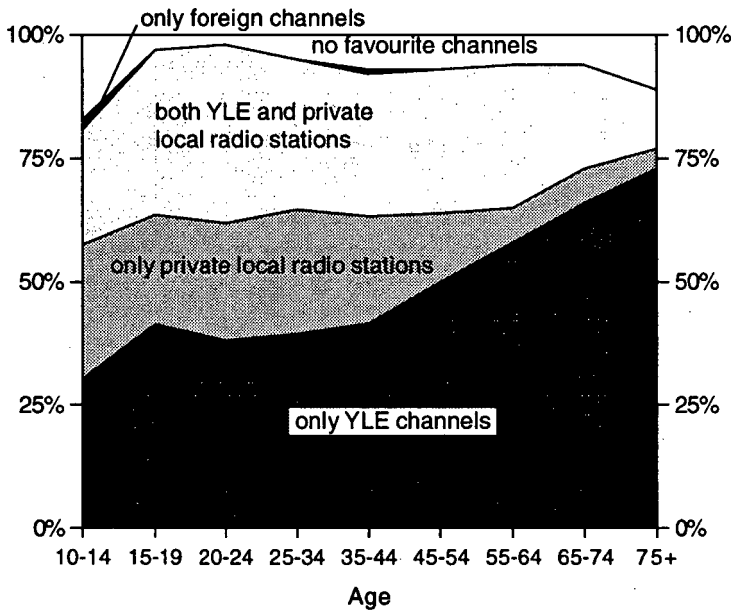
All in all, radio listening is still regarded on average as equally important as television viewing. Two thirds of the respondents feel it is at least equally important, less than one sixth say it is very important and only three per cent regard it as completely unimportant. Although the proportion of daily listeners is somewhat higher among men than women, women still consider radio listening as more important than men in all age groups.

Favourite radio channels

The biggest changes on the Finnish radio scene in the 1980s were triggered by the arrival of private local radio stations, which soon won fairly substantial audiences. The impression we got from the qualitative pilot studies for the leisure survey was that (at least at the time of those studies) people chose their favourite television programmes mainly on the basis of content as well as broadcasting time. Therefore we had no questions in the survey concerning people's favourite television channels. In the case of radio, it is not so much individual programmes but rather radio stations or channels they listen to. Only six per cent of the respondents said they had no favourite channel; the figures were highest in the age group under 15 years, who also listen to the radio least often (Figure 6).

According to the results of the 1991 leisure survey, private local radio stations have established a relatively firm position in the radio-listening audience. Almost half of the respondents mentioned at least one local radio station as their favourite. However, YLE channels were still mentioned far more often: three in four respondents mentioned an YLE channel among their favourites. Just under half of the respondents only mentioned YLE channels, less than one fifth mentioned only private local radio stations, and 28 per cent mentioned both.

Figure 6.
Favourite radio channels in 1991



The proportion of those who only mentioned YLE channels was highest in the age group 55 or over, and accordingly the proportion of those who only mentioned private local radio stations was highest in the younger age groups.

YLE 2 or Radiomafia has clearly succeeded in profiling itself as a young people's channel: in the age group 45 or over only 5 per cent mentioned it as their favourite. In younger age groups an average of around 40 per cent mentioned Radiomafia as one of their favourites. The number of references was highest in the age group 15–24, where 65 per cent said it was their favourite. People in this age group also referred most frequently to local radio stations (almost 60 per cent).

The channel with the oldest audience is YLE 1: in the age group 65 or over 40 per cent said it was their favourite, in the age group 75 or over almost half, while among those under 25 only a few per cent mentioned YLE 1 as their favourite. However, the most popular YLE channel of all is Radio Finland (YLE 3), which is mentioned more and more often in older age groups. However, it is not a great favourite among younger listeners: in the age group under 25 it was mentioned by less than 10 per cent, whereas among those aged 55–74 years almost 60 per cent mentioned it as their favourite. Among listeners 75 or over, YLE 1 is more popular than Radio Finland.

New media and new modes of expression in the 1980s

The 1980s saw an invasion in Finnish homes of new electronic (visual) media and more and more sophisticated equipment. With the breakthrough of the electronic image, television viewing became a more everyday activity, viewing habits changed, and video became an integral part of television viewing. At the same time, television viewing increased in all age groups, and viewing habits showed a clear tendency towards convergence between different social groups.

There were also significant changes in the field of radio. First of all, radio listening has become less frequent than before. The arrival of local radio stations also meant the arrival of a whole new mode of radio expression. At the same time, music gained added importance as a programme content, and the radio moved more and more into the background. The meaning of radio and radio listening habits are different in different generations. It remains very important indeed to older people, who continue to listen to the radio with concentration. Radio listening has decreased to a greater extent among younger people than in other age groups; young people are more inclined to listen to the radio in the background; and young people do not consider radio listening as equally important as older age groups. Choices of radio channels are also differentiated by age.

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Television and radio programmes: the choices of viewers and listeners

Mirja Liikkanen

A recurring argument in recent social research is that traditional value and class hierarchies are increasingly giving way to other means of social identity and social distinction, notably to choices that have to do with the media (e.g. Laermans 1992; Featherstone 1991). At the same time, it has been argued that in order to understand television viewing, for instance, we need to look at how that is connected with everyday practices and with power relations within the home and the family (Morley & Silverstone 1990, 33; Morley 1992, 139). A further point is that television programming today shows greater openness than before to viewer interpretations: it is said that television programming is created and that its meanings are interpreted by active viewers in their own living rooms (e.g. Fiske 1987).

Favourite television programmes and viewers' choices

Two approaches were adopted in the leisure survey to exploring people's choices of television programmes:

- (a) Respondents were asked to mention the programmes or types of programmes they liked to watch most (*favourite programmes*); and the programmes or types of programmes they did not like to watch (*rejected programmes*). The question was directed to the entire population aged 10 or over.
- (b) Respondents were asked to say when they had last watched a certain type of programme. This question was only for respondents aged 15 or over. Comparative data for the past ten-year period are only available for feature films and plays as well as serials.

The data on favourite programmes indicate that people consider and analyse television programming from the television audience's vantage-point. They talk about their favourite programmes mainly in terms of genres or by reference to specific programmes; their accounts come very close to the expressions created by the broadcaster or producer. It is less usual for people to define programmes by direct reference to their own everyday life; emotional expressions (as was the case with favourite music) are also uncommon (see Seppänen in this volume, p. 93). The most personal, private comments have to do with the viewing situation (Saturday evening, late-night shows).

However, accounts on different types of programming differ from each other in terms of the accuracy of references to the genre concerned, or in terms of how frequently people mention the names of individual programmes. References to the quality of programming are typically of a rather general nature, such as "good films" or "good entertainment". On the other hand, references to the viewing situation may also be interpreted as descriptions of quality; the experienced quality of a television programmes has importantly to do not only with its content but also with the viewing situation (Kytömäki & Savinen 1993, 69).

The following emerged as the main types of television programme that were mentioned in descriptions of favourite programming: serials, newscasts, documentaries & current affairs, feature films, entertainment, sports and nature programmes. The number of specific references to individual programmes is highest in the categories of serials and entertainment, which is also seen in the list below on the top ten television favourites:

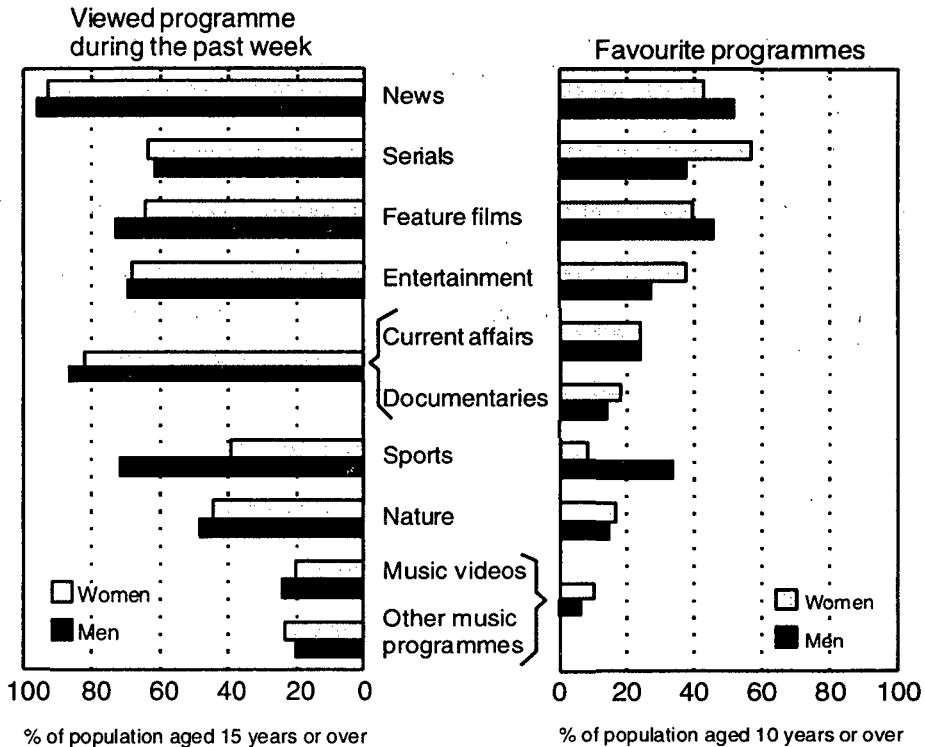
Favourite types of television programmes in 1991	Top ten television favourites	No. of times mentioned
1. serials	1. Napakymppi (dating)	460
2. news	2. Dallas	219
3. feature films	3. Jake and the Fatman	213
4. entertainment	4. Ruutuässä/Ruutuysi (quiz)	206
5. current affairs	5. Kymppitonni (quiz)	189
6. sports	6. Dynasty	166
7. documentaries	7. Twin Peaks	150
8. nature programmes	8. Ruusun aika (family soap)	148
	9. A-studio (current affairs)	131
	10. Hynntyyt yhteen (comedy)	118

Studies of television viewing have often stressed that this is an activity which is closely bound up with everyday structures and routines; television viewing is serialized, ritualized, highly repetitive (e.g. Morley 1992). It has also been found that people tend to link up different types of programmes with their own weekly rhythm: for instance, news go together with weekdays and feature films and entertainment with weekends (Kytömäki & Savinen 1993, 72). It is no surprise then that people's favourite programmes are usually those that are the most "television-like" and at once the programmes that have the highest viewer ratings. Favourite programmes are those that in one way or another are associated with enjoyable viewing experiences, that are most tightly bound up with the rhythm of everyday life, that are repeated so that you can expect to see them in the future as well. It follows that individual point programmes are very rarely mentioned among favourite television programmes.

In brief then, preliminary analysis of the 1991 data points at fairly consistent patterns and at a heavy accumulation in favourite television programmes (in contrast to the situation with music preferences; see Seppänen in this volume, p. 93). On the other hand it is useful to bear in mind that although half of the respondents have singled out a certain type of programme as their favourite, the other half have not.

The discussion that follows compares these findings on favourite television programmes with the data on the last time people have viewed different types of programmes and on the rejection of or resistance to different types of programmes.

Figure 1.
Programme types mentioned most often as favourites and their viewing during the past week



Viewing of serials declined among men

Serials were first besides the news on the list of favourite television programmes. Almost half of the respondents mentioned serials as their favourite programmes, women far more often (60%) than men (40%). In other words, serials are experienced as having greater personal importance by women viewers. This difference is seen in all age groups, but the number of women who mention serials as their favourites increases linearly towards the younger age groups. Similarly, references to foreign serials increase from older to younger respondents. Men and women mentioned action, adventure and thriller series equally often. In general there were no significant gender differences in the number of references to different types of programming, with the exception of family soaps which were mentioned clearly more often by women than men.

The number of people watching a serial during the past week has decreased somewhat since 1981; ten years on, the figure was three in five. This development is explained by changes in men's viewing habits: the figure has dropped by 10 percentage points, bringing it down to the same level as that recorded for women.

Another aspect here was to study regular viewing of serials. Among male viewers aged over 15, the proportion of those regularly watching at least one serial has declined from 60 to less than 50 per cent. In women the figure remains steadily at around 60 per cent.

However, the viewing of serials is most common in the age group under 15, where over 80 per cent say they follow at least one serial and 70 per cent at least two serials. The figures are higher among girls than boys: almost 90 per cent of the girls in this age group watch at least one and over 70 per cent at least two serials. Among girls the figures have increased over the past ten years, while among boys they have slightly decreased.

Top ten serials: regular viewing in 1991 (as % of population aged 10 or over)

Women	%	Men	%
1. Dallas	26	1. Jake and the Fatman	25
2. Dynasty	25	2. Twin Peaks	19
3. Jake and the Fatman	20	3. Dallas	16
4. Twin Peaks	16	4. Wiseguy	15
5. Falcon Crest	12	5. Dynasty	9
6. Ruusun aika (soap)	12	6. Matlock	8
7. Hynttyyt yhtein (comedy)	9	7. Ruusun aika (soap)	7
8. China Beach	7	8. Simpsons	7
9. L.A. Beat	6	9. Married with children	6
10. Wiseguy	6	10. Hyvät herrat (comedy)	5

The list of serials that people say they watch regularly differs to some extent from the picture based on their favourite programmes. For women soap operas and family series are equally important on both these lists, but for men they are far more important than is given to understand by their answers to the question concerning favourite programmes.

It seems that the largest number of rejected programmes occurs in the category of American family serials, or primetime soap operas such as Dallas, Dynasty, or Falcon Crest. Although these programmes command large audiences, there are also large numbers of both men and women who reject them (men somewhat more often than women). Overall it seems that these "soap operas" serve as an important yardstick of television taste or moral standards; it is through these programmes that people seek to reject "bad taste", the choices of both one's own and the opposite sex.

Many of the serials listed in the Table above have by now been discontinued. However, we might well find a similar moral conflict in the case of today's (1994) most popular American soap, i.e. The Bold and the Beautiful. This series differs from those mentioned above in that it is the first early-afternoon soap in Finland which is on each and every weekday (and which is done with a comparatively small production machinery).

Other expressions of resistance are aimed at domestic programming, American programming as well as police, violence and crime serials. The first category is mainly rejected by the youngest viewers, the latter by older age groups. Additionally, violence and crime are more often rejected by women than by men.

There are also other categories where women and men clearly have their own favourites. Separate mention can be made of the modern family comedy Married with Children, which has a keen following especially among young men; women's favourites include Golden Girls and (young) women's Thirty Something. Among children L.A. Beat is a special favourite of girls', while boys like to watch Simpsons.

Twin Peaks, an American serial which gained much publicity for its novel approach, ranks much higher on the viewing list than one would expect on the basis of how often it is mentioned as a favourite programme. Indeed it seems that in order to attract broader attention from the general public, new types of television serials need extensive publicity.

News are "good" television programmes

Combining the shares of television news, current affairs programmes and documentaries, this is the category that comes out as the top favourite. News alone are equally popular as serials, i.e. half of the respondents mention them as their favourite programme. The figure is even higher if only the population

aged 15 or over is included; only five per cent in the age group under 15 mentioned the news. Men mentioned the news more often than women. However, in the age group under 35 there is no significant difference between men and women in how often they mention the news as their favourite programme. From there on the difference steadily increases. News are particularly important to men aged 35–64 years.

It is in fact rather surprising that so many people mention the news as their favourite programme. This may be an indication of the high status that the news enjoy in the programming value hierarchy, but equally so of the fact that the news belong so characteristically to television. The latter is perhaps most clearly seen in the scarcity of references to specific broadcasts or programme names; the news are commonly experienced as serialized, as closely bound up with the everyday. Needless to say, the popularity of the news depends in large part on the world situation as well as the situation at home.

News, documentaries and current affairs programmes do not meet with very widespread resistance except among the youngest viewers. For the adult population the news are definitely a "good" programme, very much a matter of course that they take for granted in television programming. Political programmes, on the other hand, and particularly political debates and election programmes, meet with resistance in all age groups.

About 80 per cent of the population had watched the news on the day that the interview was carried out or the day before; almost all had watched at least one newscast during the preceding week. Men had watched the news more frequently than women. Viewing was least common in the age group 15–19 years.

The majority (84%) also reported watching documentaries and current affairs programmes during the past week; over 40% had watched these programmes today or yesterday. Men had watched these programmes more often than women. The impact of age on the viewing of programmes in this category is even greater than in the case of the news.

The viewing of films has decreased in older age groups

About 40 per cent of the interviewees said their favourite television programmes were feature films; the figure was somewhat higher among men than women. Feature films were mentioned as favourites rather evenly in all age groups, although more so among viewers under 44 years than in the older age groups. References to films were expressed in rather vague terms: "films", "feature films", "good movies". Large numbers referred to the serialized nature of films or to the viewing situation (Saturday evening, Monday evening). Some references were also made to specific types of feature film (love stories, war films, westerns) and to countries of origin.

Only a handful of classics (e.g. Casablanca and Gone with the Wind) and certain serialized films (Tarzan, James Bond, Terminator, Police Academy) were mentioned by name. Finnish film classics were identified on the basis of their leading actors.

The key dimensions according to which people classified films were their origin (domestic/foreign) and their genre (particularly in the case of action films). Older respondents in particular referred often to the domestic factor. Action and adventure were frequently mentioned by boys and men aged 10–25.

Domestic films met with resistance in all age groups, foreign films mainly among older viewers. Women showed more resistance towards feature films. These were mainly on the dimension of sex/pornography and on the dimension of crime, war, horror and violence.

Feature films are very much a main staple of television viewing: the majority or 68 per cent of the population have watched feature films or plays on television during the past week, men to a greater extent than women. It seems that the viewing of feature films and plays on television has not increased, even though television viewing as such (measured in terms of the frequency of viewing and the amount of time spent viewing) and the number of feature films broadcast on television have increased considerably during the 1980s (see e.g. Kohvakka 1992). On the contrary, the number of adults who had watched a film on television during the past week was 10 percentage points lower than it was in 1981.

The viewing of feature films has decreased equally among men and women. By age groups, film-viewing during the past week has remained unchanged among those under 35; in older age groups it has clearly decreased.

This is a rather surprising result; and the equally surprising explanation may lie in the increasing use of VCRs in Finland. According to the results of the 1991 leisure survey, the feature film remains the most common type of programme that people watch on video, and apparently it is also the type of programme that people have recorded most often. However, since television programming consists mainly of programme flows and since viewing is usually repeated on a daily basis, many recorded films may remain on the bookshelf and never actually be viewed.

Since the late 1980s there have been many important changes in television programming. For instance, it is possible that the increasing number of game shows in which viewers may take a more or less active part, has taken over from feature films, particularly in older age groups and among pensioners. In addition, the nature of television as a news medium may have gained added weight in that 1981 and 1991 were very different kinds of years, both in terms of world policy and in terms of Finland's economic situation.

Quizzes top the entertainment category

Most references to entertainment as a favourite programme mention specific programme names. One third of the respondents mentioned some programme in this category as their favourite. Entertainment is mentioned by women as a favourite far more often than by men, even though there are no differences in the frequencies of viewing entertainment programmes. Unlike viewing frequencies, the number of references to entertainment as a favourite programme increases steadily with age.

Two specific aspects stand out in people's references to this programme category: one fifth of all respondents say that their favourites are domestic productions and quiz shows. References to these factors occur in all age groups, but particularly so among older viewers. Quizzes and game shows are mentioned both in general terms and very often by reference to specific programme names. Large numbers also mention the presenter of their favourite show.

Rejections concern the same aspects and the same types of programme as choices of favourite programme. In all age groups there are some people who reject domestic programmes and game shows, but this is more common among younger respondents. However, even here the number of references to these factors is not very high.

Game shows produce a relatively active viewer (Fiske 1987, 272). These are the parlour games of the present day, and they have clearly brought the television closer to the viewer. Viewers do not watch these programmes from below; the angle is very distinctly an everyday perspective. This is a relatively novel characteristic of Finnish television.

Almost 70 per cent of the respondents had watched entertainment programmes on television during the past week. The viewing of entertainment programmes is quite evenly divided across different age groups, but viewers under 35 had followed these programmes somewhat more often than others. By social groups, only upper white-collar employees had watched entertainment programmes during the past week to a lesser extent than other groups.

Entertainment programmes were usually mentioned by reference to individual programmes, indicating that in the everyday there is no universal concept of the category of entertainment programmes. Indeed it seems likely that different age groups have not in fact spoken about exactly the same thing when they were asked when they had last watched entertainment programmes.

Sports programmes favoured by men

There is a very clear gender division of labour as far as the viewing of sports programmes is concerned: about 40 per cent of the male respondents said that sports programmes were among their favourites, whereas the figure for women

was just nine per cent. Sports programmes are mentioned as favourites most commonly by men in the age group 25–44 years. There is some resistance against sports programmes both among women and men, but more so among women. Women's resistance is specifically focused on certain types of sports, such as ice hockey, soccer, boxing and motor sports.

The clear gender difference in the popularity of sports programmes is very rare; there is no other category which is so distinctly favoured by men only. Over 70 per cent of the male respondents as compared to less than 40 per cent of the female respondents said they had watched a sports programme during the past week.

Nature programmes

Less than half of the interviewees said that they had watched some nature programme during the past week. Men were overrepresented in this group. The viewing of nature programmes increases clearly with age, as does the number of references to this programme category as a favourite. Less than one fifth of the respondents mentioned nature programmes as a favourite. There is no resistance against this programme category.

Music and culture programmes

Some ten per cent of the respondents mentioned music programmes as their favourites; the figure was higher for women than men. There were no major differences between different age groups, although among women the youngest age groups as well as those over 45 years were somewhat more interested.

Theatre shows and performances were mentioned by two per cent of the interviewees. The number of references was highest among women over 45. About one per cent mentioned other culture programmes as their favourites. Here, too, the number of references was highest among middle-aged and older women.

Music is very clearly a factor which distinguishes between different generations as well as what may be termed good taste. Rejection is focused on classical music, particularly on opera in all age groups. Men tend to show stronger rejection than women, which suggests the question as to whether this is aimed not only at elitist but also at gendered tastes. There is also some rejection against rock'n'roll music. However, this is clearly a case of generational rejection, for the references come mainly from the older age groups.

About one fifth said they had watched some music programme other than a music video on television during the past week. The figure was slightly higher among women, but there were no major differences by age groups or social classes.

Music videos represent a new genre of culture which has rapidly gained popularity especially among young people. In the age group 15–24 years over half had watched a music video during the past week, and about 80 per cent during the past month. In the age group 25–34 years 30 per cent had watched a music video during the past week; the figures decline steadily towards the older age groups. However, there are very few references to music videos as favourite television programmes. This may be a symptom of changing discourses: music videos are not necessarily regarded as television programmes, just as listening to music is not necessarily regarded as listening to the radio (cf. Liikkanen in this volume, p. 64). This is probably connected with changing listening habits, with music and the electronic image being more and more closely integrated at the same time as the role of other media in music listening is declining (see Sepänen in this volume, pp. 88–90).

Television programme choices: distinctions and value hierarchies

Pertti Alasuutari (1991, 246–248) has found that in Finnish television viewing culture, the viewing of certain types of programmes is not explained or justified at all (e.g. news), whereas justification seems to be more or less obligatory in other programme categories (most notably in the case of American soaps such as *Dallas*, *Dynasty*, etc.). On this basis he suggests that television programmes make up a collective value hierarchy which provide a framework for interpreting individual discourses. Alasuutari says that the top-ranking programmes in the value hierarchy are those that people feel they do not need to justify viewing; or conversely that they have to explain if they do not watch the programme. The value hierarchy that is formed on this basis is as follows: 1. current affairs and documentaries, 2. nature programmes, 3. sitcoms, 4. sports programmes, 5. detective series, 6. action serials, and 7. soap operas (*ibid.*, 248). This hierarchy is structured around the realism/enlightenment/maleness axis.

These excuses and justifications mentioned by Alasuutari were hardly in evidence at all in the 1991 leisure survey. However, similar patterns of respect and non-respect can also be detected for different programmes and programme types on the basis of the respondents' programme choices and their rejections – particularly if it is taken for granted that the choices of men represent the top end of the value hierarchy. In the light of the findings of the 1991 leisure survey, the most highly valued programmes would be f.i. news, current affairs programmes, sports, feature films, and nature programmes; and at the low end of the hierarchy we would have entertainment, particularly quizzes and games shows, as well as serials and most notably soap operas.

However, television culture is not necessarily structured around just one dominant value hierarchy; new, alternative value hierarchies have emerged or may be emerging that deviate from the prevailing view (cf. Hobson 1990; Fiske 1990).

As far as television morality is concerned, there probably co-exist in society different kinds of cultures; cultures which take a moral stand on programme contents, cultures which take a moral stand on viewing itself and on the amount of time that people spend with television, and cultures in which neither involve any morality (cf. Roos 1989).

For instance, the value hierarchies of women and men are partially the same and partially different; of these two the value hierarchy of men has so far had more visibility. As it seems that women have now been adopting a more permissive attitude towards television viewing, their value hierarchies (with a dual emphasis on entertainment on the one hand and high-brow culture on the other) will also gain greater visibility. The emphasis in women's favourite genre of entertainment is very clearly on contents, which in a non-ironic way is related to people, to interaction, to human relations. These are important elements both of quiz shows and human relations games, as well as in the soap operas that women like to follow.

Different kinds of value hierarchies can be uncovered by means of different interview strategies. It appears that people will readily change their own strategy of speaking according to whom or what the target of their speech represents, according to the context of their speech and the framing of the subject matter. The younger the viewers, the more openly they seem to talk about their viewing habits and the less they seem to bother about traditional value hierarchies. (See also Keränen 1992.)

An overview of people's programme choices suggests that there are no major differences between social groups. It seems that those choices are determined through and on the basis of everyday life, which means that the distinctions made reflect the power relations at home and people's life situation; and at a societal level, the relationships between the genders and generations. People talk about television programming from the point of view of family and the everyday, not so much as representatives of their social group.

So key distinctions concerning television programmes are based on the dimensions of gender and, on the other hand, age and generation. Choices based on gender are such that men prefer news, feature films and sports; and reject soap operas and high-brow culture; the respective categories for women are serials (and most particularly family serials), entertainment, current affairs programmes and high-brow culture; and sports, violence, war and soaps.

Points of culmination for the rejection of the taste of the opposite sex are sports and soap operas. Indeed some scholars have drawn direct parallels between these programme categories (O'Connor & Boyle 1991), saying that sports programmes are men's soap operas. The argument is that in the same way as soap-opera family serials move within the traditional domain of women's competence (human relations and privacy), sports programmes exhibit the cultural experience of male viewers: practices and fantasies of power, control and autonomy.

Distinctions related to age and generation are seen in the focusing of choices and rejections on the origin of programming (domestic/foreign) so that older generations prefer domestic programmes and reject foreign programmes, while younger viewers prefer foreign programmes and reject domestic programmes. It also seems that younger generations are more analytical in their discourses on television. For example, their distinctions concerning the genres of foreign serials are rather accurate. The orientation of younger generations towards international material is also seen in their viewing of satellite programmes and music videos. The same age and gender-based choices are also seen in the viewing of video programmes.

In Finland both television and radio have been involved in a national project of popular education, at the same time as television culture in particular has been built up from the very outset on the basis of universal models. Material aimed at the promotion of a unified culture as well as popular education have occupied a very central place in Finnish television programming. Especially during the early years of radio the emphasis was on teaching people to concentrate, to listen in a high-brow fashion (Onnela 1990, 150–151). The heritage of enlightenment is clearly reflected in people's television programme choices in that news and current affairs programmes are very high on the lists of both men and women. On the other hand, it is also reflected in the dual attitude of women's choices towards both high-brow culture and the most rejected types of entertainment. Indeed, television culture is an interesting meeting place for universal culture, for its gendered genres and for the distinctive characteristics of Finnish culture, which include a drive towards a unified culture and women being more interested in high-brow culture.

Choices of radio programmes

The leisure survey measured choices of radio programmes by asking the respondents to say in their own words what kind of programmes they listened to on the radio. The programmes mentioned should therefore represent the programmes that these people mainly listen to, the programmes they have chosen themselves, and the programmes that probably are most important to them.

Top ten radio programmes mentioned

1. music
 2. news
 3. factual/information
 4. current affairs
 5. anything/what happens to be on
 6. plays
 7. religious programmes
 8. Church services
 9. interviews
 10. request programmes
-

As is clear from this list, most references to radio programmes were of a rather general nature; this applies particularly to the top end of the list.

Music is by far the most common type of programme that people listen to on the radio. Over half of the respondents said they listened to music. Music was mentioned by large number in all age groups, but the figures clearly increased towards younger age groups.

References were made not only to music in general but also to a wide range of different types of music and music programmes. Among young people the accent was distinctly on rock and pop music and music charts; from about age 30 onwards, references were also made to classical music, light music as well as schlagers. Dance music and spiritual music attract older listeners.

About one third of the respondents said they listened to the news. The news were mentioned in all age groups, but the figures clearly increase with age. Men say they listen to the news on the radio somewhat more often than women. In other words, the general picture is very much the same as in the case of television.

Music and the news are mentioned far more often than any other programme category; the number of respondents referring to the next category on the list, i.e. factual/information programmes, was just under 10 per cent; the figure is roughly the same for current affairs programmes and unselective listening. In the remaining categories the share of individual references dropped to five per cent and below.

References to factual/information and current affairs programme were made rather evenly in all age groups with the exception of listeners under 15. However, the listening of factual/information programmes increased towards the older age groups. Women mentioned factual/information programmes more often than men. There were no differences between men and women in the frequency of references to current affairs programmes.

The proportion of respondents who said they listened to everything or anything that was on, was evenly divided between all age groups, but the figure was slightly higher among those aged 25–35 years. However, there were no gender differences in unselective listening. Radio sports programmes are favoured particularly by men in all age groups.

That religious programmes and Church services rank so high on the list of most-favoured radio programmes is a clear indication of the importance of radio to older generations. In the age group under 30, these programme categories were not mentioned at all. The number of references increases steadily with increasing age; the figure is highest among women aged 65 or over.

Otherwise people's preferences in radio programming are very much the same as in television. Large numbers say they like to listen to nature programmes, entertainment and comedy as well as quiz shows. Likewise, older age groups in particular say that they prefer domestic to foreign programmes.

On the other hand there are also certain features that are clearly distinctive to radio; some of these are traditional, some new. These include the emphasis on local concerns in radio programming, phone-in programmes, programme-flow broadcasts and listening being closely linked up with the situation and place.

It seems that the latter factor is becoming more and more important in radio-listening. Choices of radio programmes are often said to be connected with everyday rituals and routines, such as driving to work or going to school, going to sleep, etc. People listen to the radio in the car, at work, at their summer cottage, when they are cleaning or cooking, in the evening or morning, or just during weekends. Many people link up specific programmes and listening habits with different situations or places.

In sum, it may be said that radio listening habits and programme choices are rather clearly distinguished in different generations. The importance of radio is clearly emphasized in older generations; old people listen to the radio a lot, and their listening is quite concentrated. As far as contents are concerned the accent is on news, on domestic programming, local news, traditional everyday matters such as nature, forest, agriculture, gardening and cooking, traditional music and spirituality.

In the youngest age groups radio tends to be less important and listening less common. For young people the radio typically represents background noise; they listen to rock and pop music, they are more international, they are interested in the new forms of expression in radio, in programme flows, and they tune in to Radiomafia and local radio stations. (See Liikkanen in this volume, pp. 62–67.)

Looking at different social groups, only upper white-collar employees differ to some extent from this generational model: they tend to listen to the radio to a lesser extent and also in a more concentrated fashion.

Although the radio, like television, is essentially a form of domestic technologies, the changes that are taking place in radio listening habits are now causing it to drift further apart from the domain of the home. As in the case of television, the principal distinguishing factors in the choices of radio programmes are generation and gender. However, in radio it would seem that generational differentiation (along some sort of modernism-traditionalism dimension) is even clearer than in television. By contrast, gendered distinctions, reflecting among other things power relations within the family, would not seem to have the same sort of effect as in the case of television. Indeed it seems that radio is becoming

an increasingly individualized medium which people listen to more and more often outside the home. Further, since there is often more than one radio in the same household, radio choices are unlikely to cause any profound internal conflicts or choice situations within the family.

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Music consumption and music preferences

Susanna Seppänen

During the past ten years there have been many changes in the Finnish phonogram markets which have affected not only music consumption but also the market for sound reproduction systems. One of the most important developments has been the continuing spread of new audio systems, particularly hi-fi music centres, walkmans and CD players.

The arrival of the CD players and compact disc turned out to be a major boost to the phonogram industry. With the sharp increase in CD sales, the import and production of vinyl records was (not surprisingly) adversely affected. The manufacture of music cassettes also declined, but on the other hand imports increased. In spite of the growth of CD sales, the beginning of the 1990s marked a turning-point in a long run of almost uninterrupted growth in the turnover of the phonogram industry since the early 1980s (Finnish mass media; Sauri 1993).

There was also a definite movement during the past decade towards greater diversity and internationalization on the Finnish music scene. As local radio stations went on the air and music established a firm presence on the market, the amount of music available multiplied several times over. At the same time, our musical world-view was dramatically affected by the breakthrough of completely new types of music.

Against this background it is hardly surprising that listening to music appears to have increased during the 1980s: according to the results of time use studies (Niemi & Pääkkönen 1990), people spent more time listening to phonograms in the late 1980s than they did in the late 1970s. Data published by the Finnish Broadcasting Company YLE for 1991 indicate that almost one in four Finns listen on a daily basis to phonograms. The amount of time spent listening averages around 20 minutes.

It follows from the above that there very probably have also been changes in the structures of musical communities. In the 1981 leisure survey (Cultural statistics 1981) it was found that music preferences and choices differed between men and women, between people living in big and small municipalities, as well as between different age groups. Ownership of phonograms and sound reproduction systems as well as listening to music are indeed explained not only by the structure of the phonogram markets but also by social factors. Comparing the data from the 1981 and 1991 leisure surveys, this report looks at how the

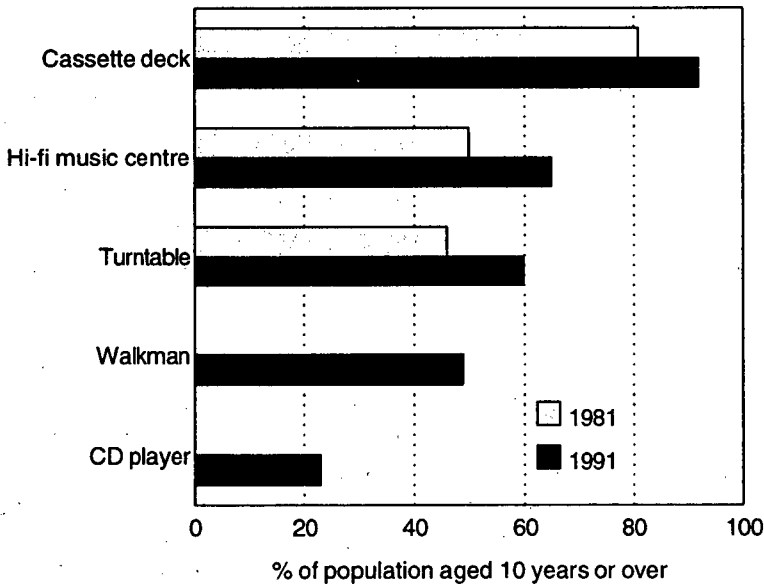
changes that have occurred in the field of music have affected ownership of phonograms and sound reproduction systems as well as listening habits and music tastes.

Buoyant markets for sound reproduction systems

One indication in Finland of the rising standards of living during the 1980s and the consequent increase in consumption levels was that large numbers of people bought new sound reproduction systems (Figure 1). New purchases were reported most often by men and households living in large towns with over 100 000 inhabitants.

Ownership of sound reproduction systems is most common among upper white-collar employees. During the past decade they invested money especially in the most expensive type of equipment, i.e. in hi-fi music centres. Households with 15–24 year-old members have also been active on the market: these households have typically been buying the newest types of equipment, i.e. CD players and above all walkmans. Ownership of sound reproduction systems was lowest among pensioners both in 1981 and in 1991.

Figure 1.
Ownership of sound reproduction systems in 1981 and 1991

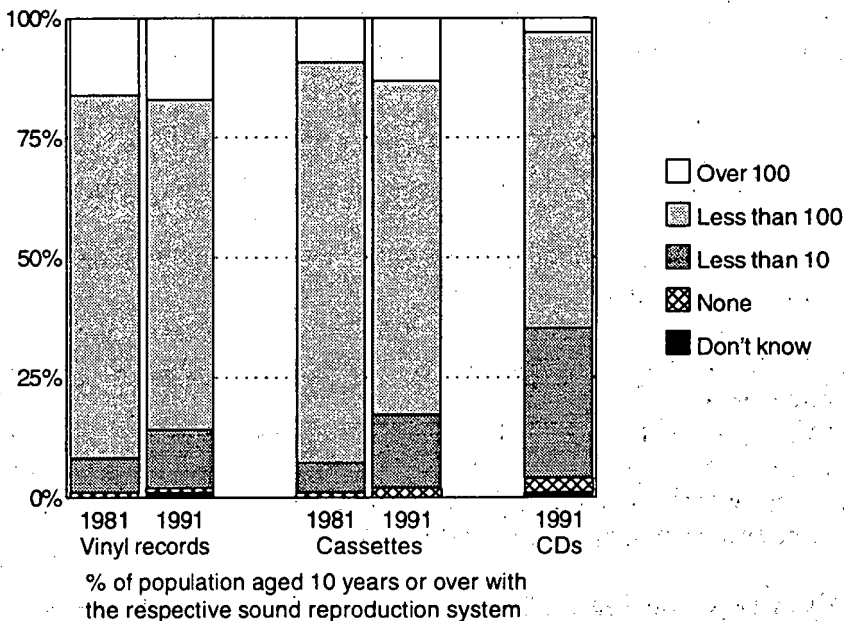


CDs the best-selling phonogram category

Both in 1981 and 1991 Finnish people had at home an average of more than ten but less than one hundred phonograms and music cassettes (Figure 2).¹ However, in quantitative terms people nowadays buy somewhat less vinyl records than they used to in earlier years. On the other hand, the number of households with either few (less than 10) or many (over 100) music cassettes (either purchased or self-recorded) has increased over the past ten years. In other words it seems that the decrease in real prices of vinyl records and cassettes during the 1980s has had no major impact on households' purchases of vinyl records and cassettes. The top-selling phonogram category in the 1980s was the compact disc. In spite of this ownership of CDs is still at a lower level than that of other types of phonograms.

Ownership of all types of phonograms is more common among men than women; this situation has remained unchanged over the past 10 years. Ownership of phonograms has also increased among people living in larger towns. During the past decade vinyl records have been bought most particularly by households of 15–24 year-old women and 45–64 year-old men. Another major buyer category is represented by families of women occupying upper white-collar positions. Ownership of CDs, on the other hand, is highest in families of those aged 20–34 years and of upper white-collar employees.

Figure 2.
Ownership of phonograms in 1981 and 1991



¹ Ownership of phonograms was only queried of those respondents who had the respective sound reproduction system.

Ownership of phonograms remains lowest among pensioners. Blue-collar workers and farmers have less vinyl records than the average household, and production workers have less than the average number of CDs.

During the past ten years the importance of recorded (cassette) music appears to have declined in all age groups except young people; in the age group 15–24 years four in five said they had recorded music on a cassette player, and ownership of music cassettes is at the same level as ownership of vinyl records. In the age group 25 or over, ownership of music cassettes is at a lower level than previously, as is the recording of music. As far as the phonogram industry is concerned this trend is obviously good news: recording at home has been regarded as one of the major threats to the industry. On the other hand, it is possible that recording music from television to video has increased at the expense of recording on audio tape.

Listening to music on phonograms on the decline

Listening to music is one of the most common leisure activities in Finland: two in three people listen to music on a daily basis and nine in ten at least once a week. No comparative data are available on music listening from the early 1980s, but time use studies (Niemi & Pääkkönen 1990) indicate that the amount of time spent listening to phonograms and audio cassettes has increased during the 1980s.

Frequent listening attests to the diversity of the musical world that surrounds us: people listen to music not only on the radio and phonograms, but also via the television, at concerts, and in various public spaces such as department stores, places of work, etc. Music is by far the most popular type of radio programme both in public service broadcasting and among the audiences of local radio stations (see Liikkanen in this volume, pp. 80–81). On the other hand, people very often listen to music in the background rather than sit down and listen with concentration.

Virtually everyone in Finland still listens to music over the radio or on television (see Figure 3). The only social group where listening to music over the radio or on television has sharply declined during the past ten years is represented by pensioners. This is at once the group where listening to recorded music is at the lowest level. Overall, listening to recorded music has declined over the past ten years, which means that the importance of music on radio and television has been increasing. Men continue to listen to recorded music to a greater extent than women, even though the relative decline among men during the past ten years has been greater than among women.

The most active listeners are found in the age group 15–24 years: in this age group four in five report that listening is important to them and that they actually listen to music on a daily basis (Figure 4). Results from YLE studies indicate

Figure 3.
Listening to music: the share of different media in 1981 and 1991

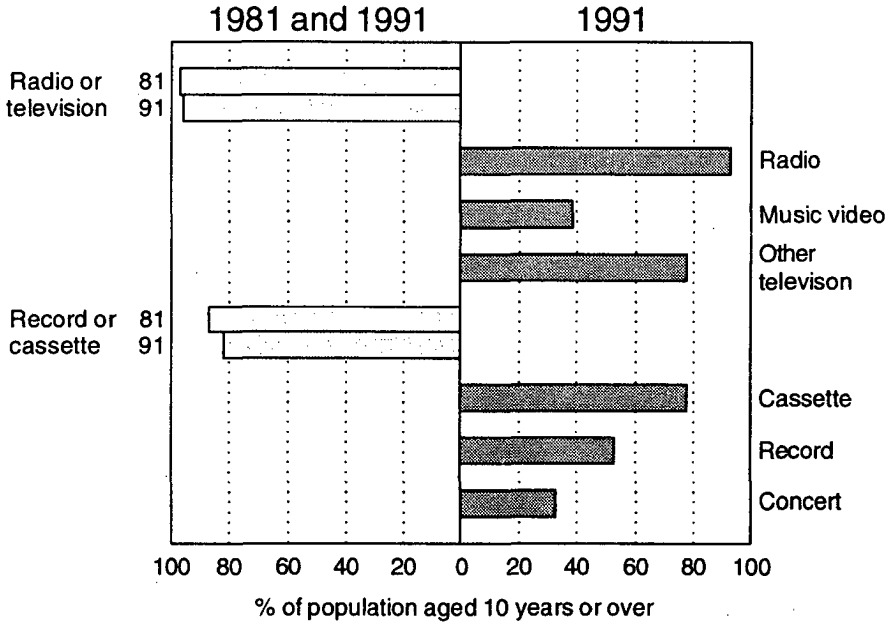
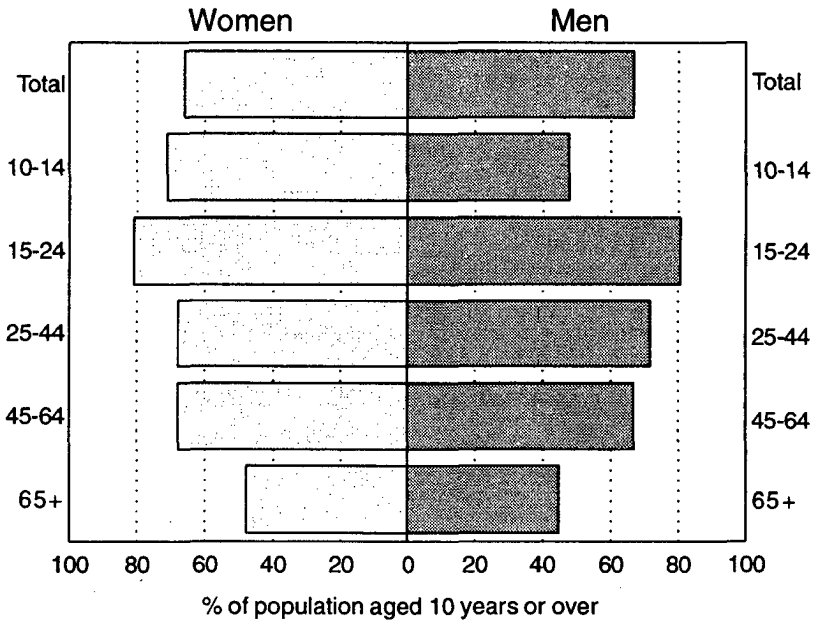


Figure 4.
Daily listening to music by age and sex in 1991



that in the early 1990s, 50 per cent in this age group listen to phonograms or music cassettes for more than one hour a day. Young people listen to music equally often through the mass media and on audio recordings. Results from studies on television viewing (see Liikkanen in this volume, pp. 77–78) suggest that one in four respondents in the age group 15–24 had watched music programmes other than music videos (such as concerts) during the past week. Consumption of music videos is highest in the age group 15–19 years: four in five in this age group watch music videos. This is the only age group where music videos represent the major category of television music.

On the other hand, the frequency of music listening among upper white-collar employees with big music libraries and with different types of sound reproduction systems, remains below average. In this group listening to recorded music has also declined during the past ten years.

Concerts appear to be a legitimate avenue to music most particularly for women: among women two in five go to concerts, among men one in four. Concert-going is most common among those upper white-collar women who have an academic education. Among these women half report that knowing what is happening on the music scene is important to them. Concert-going is also relatively common in the age group 15–24 years (for more on concert-going, see Pääkkönen in this volume, p. 106).

Listening to music and music taste

The 1991 leisure survey had questions concerning both listening to music and music taste.² The questions concerning listening to music were designed so as to shed light on the views and preferences of music consumers: for this reason the concepts used may not completely satisfy musicological criteria. Nonetheless they are in everyday use and perfectly understandable.

Data on listening to different types of music helps us to explore the consumption of music in different population groups and the popularity of different types of music. In the analysis of music tastes, on the other hand, average distributions for different social groups are not relevant. Music tastes shed light first and foremost on the concepts and discourses that people employ in articulating and analysing music taste. In the conceptualization of their own music taste along the dimension of acceptable vs. non-acceptable, people will largely rely on the notions and classifications and values they have assimilated in the socialization process.

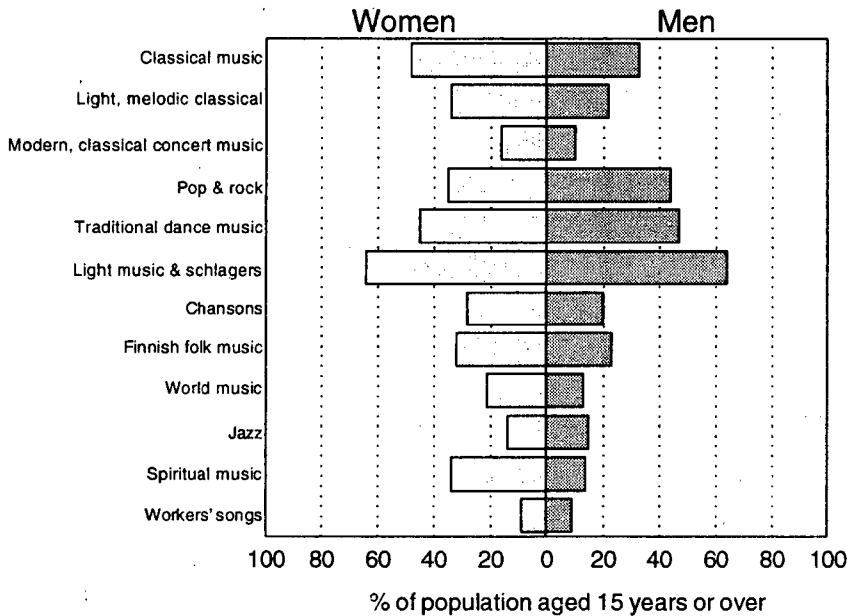
2 The first aspect was approached by means of a structured question (tested in the qualitative pilot study) which read: What kind of music do you listen to. Music tastes, on the other hand, were queried by means of two open-ended questions: What kind of music do you prefer to listen to? and Are there certain types of music that you do not like at all?

Changes in music listening communities

In the age group over 15, the most popular types of music include light music and traditional schlagers and, on the other hand, traditional dance music: three in five listen to the former and almost every other to the latter type of music. Large numbers also listen to classical music (particularly light, melodic music), and pop & rock: two in five report listening to these types of music.

The listening habits of men and women show clear structural differences (Figure 5). As was the case ten years previously, women listen to classical and spiritual music as well as to folk music and chansons to a greater extent than men. On the other hand, men listen to pop & rock more often than women. Men used to listen to light music, schlagers and traditional dance music to a greater extent than women, but that difference has now disappeared.

Figure 5.
Listening to different types of music by sex in 1991



One indication of the changes that have happened in people's musical world-view is that the popularity of both classical music and pop & rock seems to have increased over the past ten years, while that of light music, schlagers and traditional dance music seems to have declined (Cultural statistics 1981).³ Similarly, among those who play an instrument classical music as well as pop & rock have increased in popularity. On the other hand, the playing of traditional dance music has tended to decline. (See Seppänen in this volume, pp. 11–12.)

The changes that have occurred in the relative popularity of different types of music imply a gradual replacement of the music culture of those who were born prior to World War I, i.e. traditional dance and folk music, by pop & rock culture (cf. Salminen 1991, 15–16; Karttunen 1992, 128–130). The data collected from the leisure surveys were also analysed against the generation typology proposed by J.P. Roos (1990), to which we added one further generation, i.e. the oldest age group included in our survey. As is the case with cultural and historical experiences, a clear pattern of differentiation is in evidence across generations in the case of music preferences. In a rough outline, the music preferences of different generations may be described as follows:

- The generation of nation-building (born before 1919) listen mostly to spiritual music.
- The generation of war and shortage (born in 1920–39) has the largest proportion of those who prefer to listen to traditional dance music, but large numbers also listen to Finnish folk music and chansons;
- The generation of the great migration (born in 1940–49) listen to classical music, light music and schlagers, as well as to traditional dance music;
- The suburban generation (born in 1950–59) listen both to light music, schlagers and pop & rock.
- The welfare generation (born in 1960–69) and the new generation (born in 1970-) listen primarily to pop & rock. The latter two are accordingly often described as the rock generations.

Different genres of music are in effect social categories which are maintained not only by generations but also by social groups. Within the musical field it is indeed possible to identify a tradition of art music and avant garde music which is upheld by the cultural elite: people with an academic education (to a large extent people occupying upper white-collar positions) and those living in large cities listen to classical and jazz music to a greater extent than others. Similarly, women with an academic education and occupying upper white-collar positions listen most to modern concert music and world music.

³ The questions in the 1981 and 1991 survey questionnaires were not identical and therefore direct comparisons are not possible.

On the other hand, it is also possible to distinguish a tradition of popular music which is based on rural music culture. This tradition is represented by those with a lower level of education (for the most part people in blue-collar and farming occupations) as well as people living in non-urban communities who listen more than others to Finnish folk music, spiritual music and traditional dance music.

Pop & rock also represents urban music culture. However, people who listen to pop & rock do not constitute a coherent music community. This is explained by the heterogeneity of values and musical world-views in younger age groups, which is causing the rock generation to break down into ever smaller musical communities and subcultures (cf. Salminen 1991).

The national music taste

The respondents' discourses on music taste are highly heterogeneous. At the same time as their references to favourite music and to rejected music tend to accumulate in certain basic categories, people mention by name hundreds of artists and composers and use other manners of speaking. Overall there is not very much depth to the way in which people describe their views on cultural unity and musical taste.

Discourses on music taste combine elements of both the individual and the social (Salminen 1990; Karttunen 1992). Individual music taste is largely captured in adjectives referring to emotional reactions; discourses on music are highly emotional, which means that values are centrally involved. At the same time the way in which people talk about their music taste provides interesting insights into how they have learned in the socialization process to classify different types of music. The norms and concepts that prevail about music within the community determine the criteria on the basis of which people learn to appreciate music and to specify what kind of music is good music.

The communal music taste is best described by people's concepts of different genres of music. Music taste is typically conceptualized as combinations between and within different types of music, as rejections and acceptances vis-à-vis other types. The category which attracts by far the most frequent references as a top favourite is rock, followed by schlagers or pop music. Other categories that are mentioned quite often are classical and spiritual music as well as dance music, light music or disco music. People who like spiritual music constitute a separate group all of their own: they normally reject all other types of music.

The categories which meet with most resistance are jazz, rock, opera and heavy metal. Frequent references are also made to pop, classical music and spiritual music as well as symphonies or workers' songs.

The existence of different musical generations is clearly seen in the list of favourite artists (see Table 1). The favourite music of the generation of war and shortage and the generation of the great migration (i.e., the domestic schlager and dance music) occupies a very central place on this list. On the other hand, traditional dance music may also be a favourite of wider population strata. For instance, the urban-dwelling middle class does not necessarily reject traditional dance music as vulgar and entertaining (which it does with schlagers), but on the contrary expresses acceptance, underlining the fact that their music taste is "broadly-based" (cf. Karttunen 1992, 145). The types of (pop & modern rock) music favoured by the suburban generation (mostly born in the 1960s) are also clearly seen on the list of favourite artists. Against this background it is no surprise to find that people often describe their music taste by referring to the age from which their favourite (or rejected) music originates. Favourite music and the music that people actually listen to are most typically that music which was around at the time that the interviewee (and the generation that the interviewee represents) was growing up and becoming socialized. At the same time this serves as a form of resistance to the music taste of the generation that went before and those coming after. The generation of war and shortage and the generation of the great migration typically express rejection of the favourite music of the next generations, while the suburban generation takes distance from the music taste of both the previous generation and that of the rock generation.

The rock generation, for its part, expresses resistance against the tastes of both the older generations and certain segments within its own generation. Very often discourses within the rock generation are organized around genre-specific rock and pop culture. Another indication of the dispersion of music tastes is that only few rock artists appear on the list of favourite artists, and those that do lie towards the bottom end of it or outside of it.

Looking more closely at the list of favourite artists, it seems that people in Finland remain very faithful to the music of domestic artists. The structural difference in the music tastes of men and women appears to be related in part to this national aspect of music culture. Foreign music is mentioned more often among the top favourites of women: on the women's list the top positions are occupied by the classical music favourites of the generation of the great migration and the pop idols of the young girls of the rock generation. On the men's list, the top favourites include many male artists whose songs are powerful interpretations of the hardships and the ups and downs in the everyday life of Finnish men.

Music tastes are often organized around the dimensions of new and modern vs. old and traditional, or domestic vs. foreign. References to the foreign origin of music occur least frequently in the discourses of representatives of the rock generation.

Table 1.
Favourite artists of women and men in 1991

Women	No. of times mentioned	Men	No. of times mentioned
Arja Koriseva	137	Arja Koriseva	106
Katri-Helena	135	Juice	92
Tapani Kansa	110	Tapio Rautavaara	84
Kirka	97	Tapani Kansa	62
W.A. Mozart	65	Katri-Helena	60
Roxette	57	Juha Watt Vainio	58
Juice	54	Eppu Normaali	56
New Kids On The Block	53	Olavi Virta	55
Rainer Friman	53	Eino Grön	50
Reijo Taipale	53	Dire Straits	47
Olavi Virta	52	Reijo Taipale	42
Paula Koivuniemi	48	Paula Koivuniemi	37
Jean Sibelius	47	W.A. Mozart	36
Tapio Rautavaara	46	Kirka	31
Eppu Normaali	45	Irwin	29
Eino Grön	40	Topi Sorsakoski	28
Juha Watt Vainio	35	Hector	27
J.S. Bach	35	J.S. Bach	26
Antonio Vivaldi	35	Lea Laven	26
Matti ja Teppo	33	Elvis	26
Madonna	33	Jean Sibelius	25
Lea Laven	32	Matti ja Teppo	22
Vesa-Matti Loiri	31	Vesa-Matti Loiri	21
Ressu Redford	29	Metallica	21
Bryan Adams	27	Veikko Lavi	21
Bad Boys Blue	26	Raptori	21
Women	2 278	Men	2 100

A recurring theme in discourses on favourite music is that people say they want to hear above everything else music that makes them feel happy. This is most clearly seen in references to Finland's favourite artist of the day, Arja Koriseva. On the other hand, most of the music appearing on the list of favourite shares the common feature that it is melodic; this is also frequently mentioned as an important criterion in descriptions of favourite music. Other characteristics commonly associated with favourite music is that it should be bright and lively at the same time peaceful. At the opposite end of the scale, there is much resistance towards music that is described as crude and excessively loud. The opposite pole to the widely favoured harmonious music is represented by experimental, avant garde or improvised music. Overall people seem to expect of music that it avoids going to extremities as well as contradictions. Karttunen (1992, 103) describes this difference as one between music on the one hand and noise and chaos, on the other. It is very difficult to like the music one has heard without fully appreciating and understanding it.

Summary

During the past decade household purchases of new sound reproduction systems have been at a very high level in Finland. As far as phonogram sales are concerned, the biggest single category is represented by the compact disc. Nevertheless ownership of CDs is still at a lower level than ownership of other phonograms. As a result of the ongoing structural changes on the phonogram markets, both the C cassette and the vinyl record are now on their way out. On the other hand, radio and television have emerged as increasingly important channels for listening to music, as listening to recorded music has been on the decrease.

Ownership of sound reproduction systems (excepting walkmans) and phonograms remains higher among men than women. Men also listen to recorded music to a greater extent than women. Even so men clearly listen to less recorded music now than they did ten years ago.

Ownership of both sound reproduction systems and phonograms is highest among upper white-collar employees, students and schoolchildren as well as those living in larger municipalities. During the past decade upper white-collar employees have been buying the most expensive type of sound reproduction systems and phonograms, i.e. hi-fi music centres and CDs. However, they listen to music less often than the average consumer. In concert halls most seats are taken by upper white-collar clerical women, half of whom say that following what's on in the music world is an important leisure interest to them.

The role and importance of music for students and schoolchildren has not changed over the past 10 years. The most active stage of music listening is between ages 15 and 24: four in five of the respondents in this age group say they listen to music on a daily basis and that they consider listening to music an important part of their everyday life. In this age group almost all listen to music either through the mass media or audio recordings. The heaviest consumption of music videos is in the age group 15–19 years. Households with members aged 15–24 years have during the past decade purchased walkmans and CD players as well as vinyl records and music cassettes quite frequently.

Ownership of sound reproduction systems and recorded music is at the lowest level among pensioners. They also listen to music less frequently than others, both in the category of recorded music and radio and television music.

During the past decade it seems that the musical world-view of the Finns has been changing: traditional dance, schlager and folk music culture seem to be on their way out, while rock culture and its various subcultures are coming to the fore. It also seems that the importance of classical music is growing. New music listening communities have grown up around world music and modern concert music.

Musical communities develop around not only different types of music but also around genders and generations as well as different social groups. The proportion of those who listen to classical music, jazz and world music is highest among those with an academic degree and those who live in larger towns, and higher among women than men. Finnish folk music, traditional dance music and spiritual music are firmly anchored in the countryside: listening is most common among those with a lower level of education and among the generations born before World War I.

Even today the music tastes of the generation of war and shortage and the generation of the great migration are fairly homogenous and true to national traditions. By contrast, the music tastes of the rock generations are becoming more diversified and more international. At the same time pop and rock music remain more legitimate types of music to men than to women and girls.

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Cultural participation

Hannu Pääkkönen

This article is concerned with participation in selected cultural events and gatherings, religious activities, clubs, societies and associations, and with participation in certain entertainments. In other words, the concern here is with leisure activities ranging from high culture to everyday culture, from opera-going to evenings out at the local restaurant.

Participation in cultural events is comparatively infrequent: even the most active people do not go out more than once a week, while the average figure is a few times a year. This means that these activities take up considerably less time than, say, television viewing or reading.

More specifically, the questions addressed in this article are as follows:

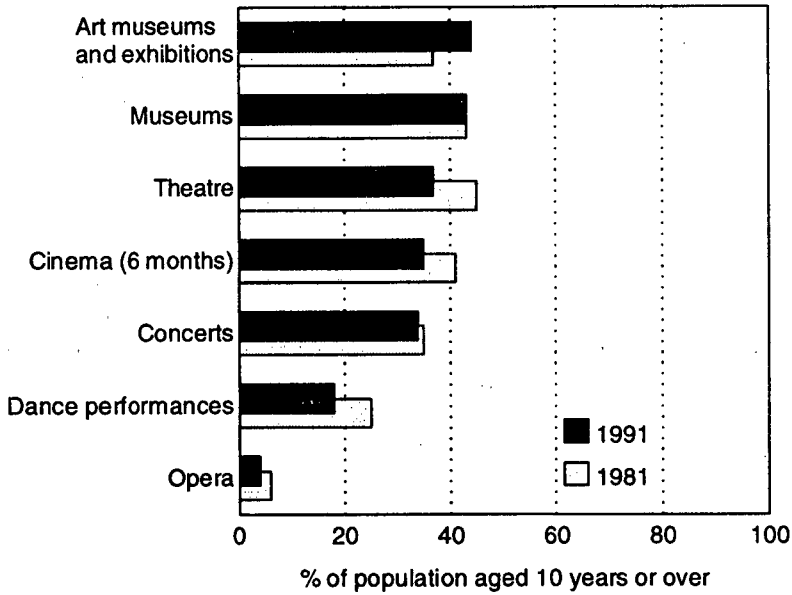
- Has participation in cultural events and gatherings increased or decreased during the 1980s?
- Have there been any changes in the contents of participation?
- Have the differences between population groups widened or narrowed down?

Going to cultural events

The following leisure activities are here included under the general heading of cultural events: going to the cinema, concerts, theatre, opera, art exhibitions, museums, and dance performances. Participation was queried for the past 12 months with the exception of cinema-going, where for reasons of comparability the period was six months.

Participation in cultural events is commonly regarded as a minority interest, with between 5 and 40 per cent of the adult population (depending on the activity concerned) taking part (see Eskola 1976, 135). However, if we take a broader view and look at all cultural events in aggregate, we find that almost 80 per cent of the population aged 10 or over take part in at least one event per annum. The figure has remained unchanged over the past ten years.

Figure 1.
Participation in cultural events during the past 12 months in 1981 and 1991



In 1991 the most popular leisure activity in the category of cultural events was going to art museums and exhibitions (Figure 1). Going to museums follows close behind. Next on the list are going to the theatre, cinema and concerts. Dance performances and particularly going to the opera are far less common forms of cultural participation.

During the 1980s audiences have been dwindling in the theatre, cinemas and dance performances. Opera-going has also been on the decline. Museums and concerts attract about the same amount of people as they did ten years ago. The only categories where audiences have been increasing are art exhibitions and museums.

In the discussion that follows we will be looking separately at the different categories of cultural participation. The figures given are for the Finnish population aged 10 or over.

Art museums and exhibitions

According to the 1991 leisure survey 44 per cent of the adult Finnish population have been to art museums or exhibitions during the past 12 months, compared with less than 40 per cent in 1981. Going to art exhibitions has increased among both men and women. However, art exhibitions are still more popular among women than men.

In recent years art exhibitions seem to have been attracting new audience groups (Figure 2). Although upper white-collar employees are still the most active group, the proportion in this group of those going to exhibitions has declined somewhat. Among other active exhibition-goers, entrepreneurs and lower white-collar employees remain at more or less the same level as previously. In all other social groups the proportion of those going to art museums and exhibitions has been increasing. Today, students and schoolchildren rank as the second most active group of exhibition-goers.

A similar trend is seen when we look at different educational groups. Those with an academic degree and those with a higher intermediate education remain above the average level in terms of the proportion of those going to exhibitions. The number of admissions to art museums has increased among those with less education.

Figure 2.
Going to art exhibitions or museums during the past 12 months by socio-economic status in 1981 and 1991



In regional terms the increase in admission numbers has occurred primarily outside the Helsinki region, even though the frequencies are still by far the highest in and around the capital city: over half of the people living in the metropolitan area said they had been to an art exhibition. Elsewhere in Finland, the figure was around 40 per cent. Fourteen per cent had been to an art exhibition abroad.

People who go to art museums can be clearly divided into two categories: those who take a serious interest in arts and "tourists" who go for amusement. The interest in the latter group has clearly increased during the 1980s (Saresto 1992, 72). A similar trend is evident in other countries as well: some scholars have gone so far as to refer to the growth of a new type of leisure market where the arts are now attracting larger crowds than soccer (Sandlund 1988, 24).

Museums

There has been no change during the 1980s in the proportion of museum-goers. Both in 1981 and in 1991, 43 per cent of the population had been to a museum during the past 12 months. Even though the number of visitors has not been increasing, availability has certainly improved: during the 1980s more than 100 new museums were set up in Finland (Saresto 1992, 3).

Women are somewhat more active than men in going to museums, even though the difference is by no means very large (cf. Saresto 1992, 8). By age groups, the most active visitors are those aged under 15. The proportion of museum-goers tends to decline with increasing age. A clear association is seen between museum-going and education: two thirds of those with an academic degree had been to a museum during the past 12 months, while the proportion was just one fourth among those with the lowest level of education.

The most popular places that people visited in this category were local museums and historical museums. In 1991 about one third or 30 per cent of the population had been to such a museum. Sixteen per cent had been to a specialized museum, while 14 per cent had been to a museum abroad.

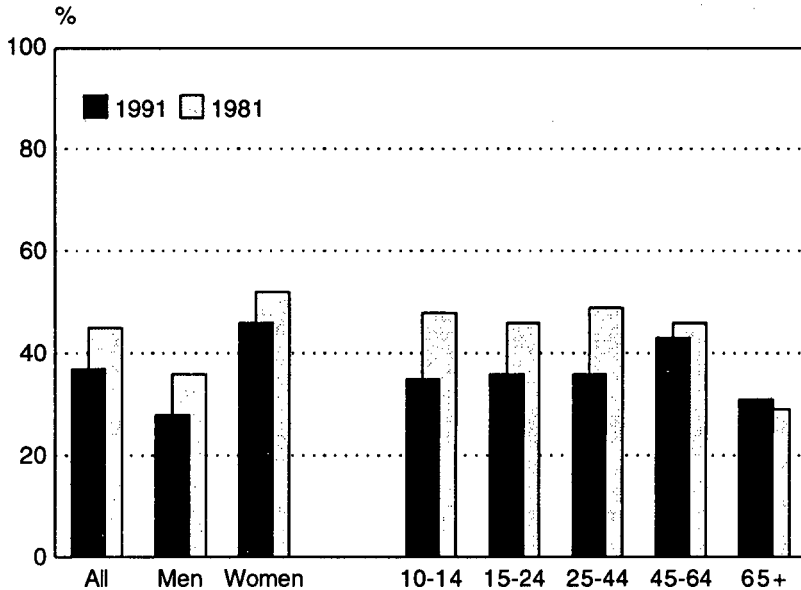
Theatre

Theatre-going has declined during the 1980s. In 1981 almost half or 45 per cent of the population had been to the theatre, whereas the figure for 1991 was 37 per cent. The statistics of the central union of Finnish theatre organizations indicate that the number of tickets sold has declined rather steadily during the past decade (Statistical yearbook of Finland 1992, 439).

Theatre-going has declined both among men and women (Figure 3), but women still go to the theatre considerably more often than men. It would seem that the

theatre has been losing above all its youngest viewers: the figures have been declining only in the age groups under 45. In the older age groups frequencies of theatre-going are at the same level as previously.

Figure 3.
Theatre-going during the past 12 months by sex and age in 1981 and 1991



Theatre-going has declined most sharply in the Helsinki region, dropping from 61 to 47 per cent. In small municipalities with less than 10 000 inhabitants, there have been no major changes in the number of admissions.

Theatre-going has declined most among those with the highest level of education. The frequencies have also dropped quite sharply among those with a higher intermediate education. Overall, however, the impacts of education remain unchanged: the higher the level of education, the more frequent the visits to the theatre.

A considerable proportion, i.e. 14 per cent of all visits to the theatre were with some group or other, i.e. school class, association or work place; the corresponding figure in 1981 was slightly higher at 17 per cent.

Cinema

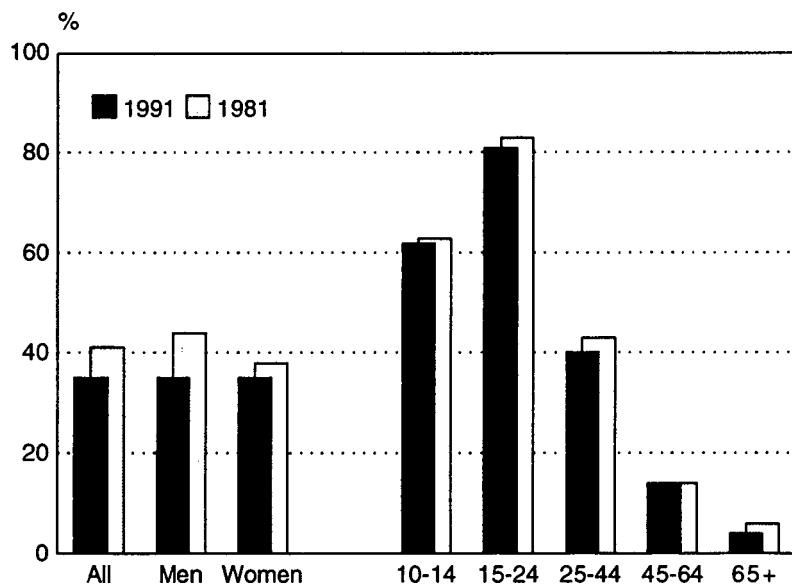
Cinema-going has declined very substantially during the 1980s: the proportion of those who said they had been to the cinema during the past six months had dropped from 41 to 35 per cent. According to the statistics of the Finnish Film Foundation the number of film-goers declined almost throughout the 1980s. Towards the end of the decade there were some signs of the trend reversing, but since 1990 the figures have been dropping again.

The decline in cinema-going has been sharper among men than women. As a consequence of this the difference that there used to be between men and women in the proportion of cinema-goers, has now disappeared (Figure 4). In earlier years men used to be more frequent cinema-goers than women. Films remain characteristically a leisure activity for young people: four out of five in the age group 15–24 years had been to the cinema during the past six months.

The frequency of cinema-going is lowest among those with the lowest level of education. The decline in cinema-going has been sharpest in this same group.

The most probable explanation for the declining number of cinema admissions lies in the continuing spread of VCRs and in the growing number of films shown on television towards the late 1980s. In 1981 VCRs were still virtually non-existent in Finnish households; by 1991, 61 per cent of the population aged 10 or over had a VCR at home. Feature film is the major video category as far as home viewing is concerned (see Liikkanen in this volume, p. 75).

Figure 4.
Cinema-going during the past 6 months by sex and age in 1981 and 1991

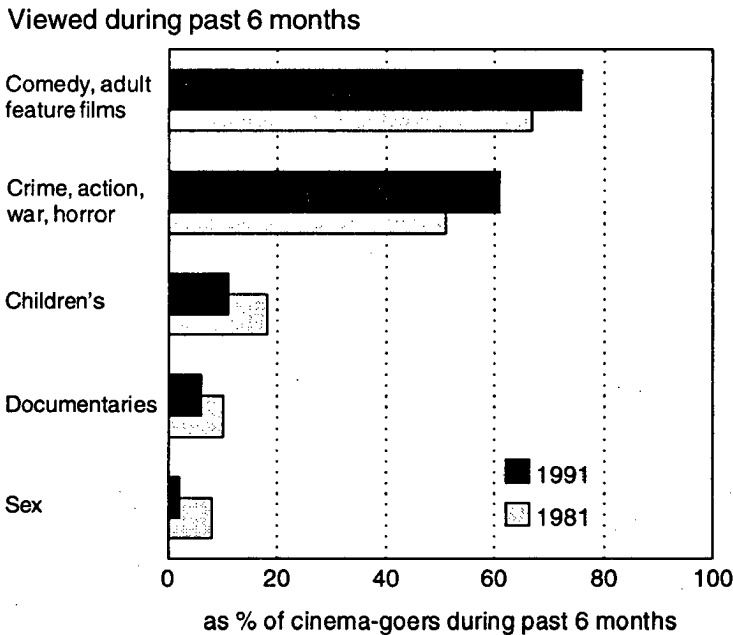


The number of feature films shown on television increased steadily up until the mid-1980s. Following the establishment of Channel Three in 1987, a quantum leap was recorded from 329 to 600 films shown on television. In 1991, Finnish television broadcast a total of 682 films. (Finnish mass media; Kohvakka 1992, 40.)

However, the results of the leisure survey suggest that the viewing of films on television has not in fact increased over the past ten years. One possibility is that people record films from television for later use, in which case some of those films will never be watched (see Liikkanen in this volume, p. 75).

It seems that there is less diversity nowadays in the type of films that people watch in Finland. As we can see in Figure 5, the popularity of crime, action, war and horror films as well as comedies and adults' feature films has continued to increase. By contrast, the viewing of documentaries, children's and sex films has been declining. Action, crime and war films as well as comedies are favoured most particularly by young people, the major category of film consumers. Children, by contrast, seem to have moved increasingly from children's films to comedies.

Figure 5.
Type of films viewed in 1981 and 1991



Concerts

The number of concert-goers has remained unchanged during the 1980s. Over one third of the population aged 10 years or over had been to a concert during the past 12 months.

There have been clear changes in the popularity of different types of concerts. The proportion of those who had been to spiritual music, organ as well as folk music and workers' song concerts has dropped by one half compared with the figure ten years previously. On the other hand, the figures for pop & rock and light music concerts were up on those for 1981. The popularity of jazz concerts was also greater than ten years earlier.

Quite a few people went to concerts with a group: 17 per cent of all visits to concerts were with a school class, association, people from work, etc. Women went to concerts with a group somewhat more often than men. Amongst those who had been to a concert, 11 per cent had done so abroad.

Young people in the age group under 15 go to spiritual music concerts less often than they did previously. On the other hand, the proportion of those going to pop & rock concerts has increased.

Upper white-collar employees and students are still the most active concert-goers: in both groups over half had been to a concert during the past 12 months. Classical music concerts were favoured most particularly by upper white-collar employees. Not surprisingly, going to pop & rock concerts was most common among students.

Dance performances

People go to see dance performances less often than before. In 1981 one quarter of the population had been to see a dance performance, but in 1991 the proportion was down to less than one fifth. The only type of dance with smaller audiences than previously are folk dances; no major changes have occurred in the number of people going to see ballet, modern dance, or other dance performances.

Women are more interested in the art of dance than men and have been so during the past ten years. There is some tendency for the interest in dance performances to increase with rising levels of education. There are no major differences between age groups, with the exception that the oldest age group is less interested.

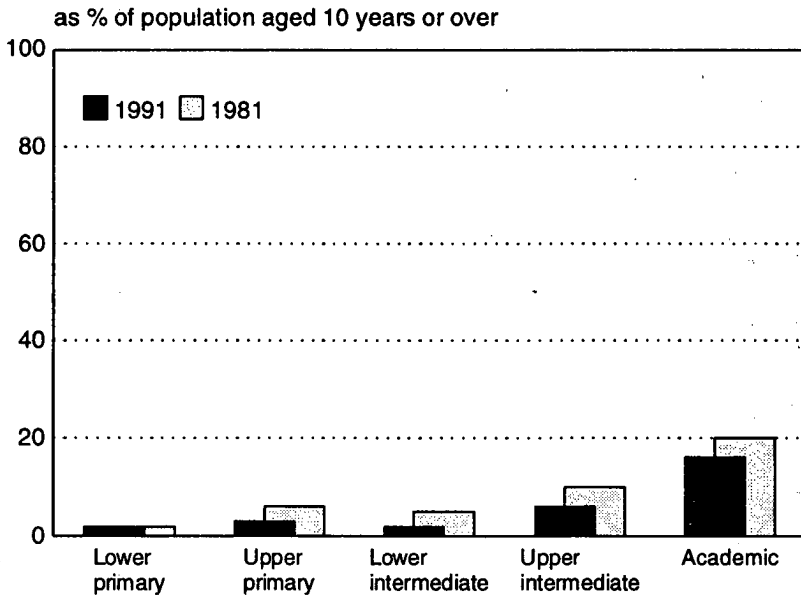
Opera

Opera-going remains a fairly uncommon leisure activity in Finland: only four per cent of the population had been to the opera during the past 12 months. The majority of them had been to the opera no more than once. Three in four Finns have never been to the opera in their whole life.

Opera-going has decreased somewhat during the past ten years. One quarter of all visits were in groups.

Opera-going is characteristically a leisure activity for the middle-aged population: the frequency of opera-going is highest in the age group 35–64 years. As we can see in Table 6, opera-going shows a clear association with level of education. Because of availability, people who live in the Helsinki region go to the opera much more often than those living elsewhere in the country.

Figure 6.
Opera-going during the past 12 months by education in 1981 and 1991



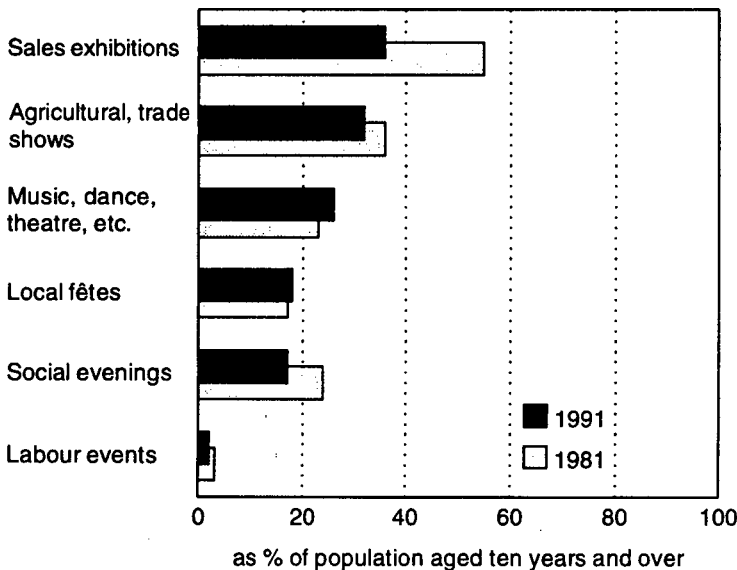
In Finland women go to the opera far more often than men. In many other European countries opera is less clearly a women's art (see Kivekäs 1991, 19).

One in ten people in Finland have sometimes been to the Savonlinna Opera Festival. One of the relevant variables here is education: amongst those with an academic degree one in three had been to Savonlinna, whereas among those with primary education the proportion was less than one in ten. People living in the Helsinki region had been to Savonlinna more than twice as often as those living elsewhere in the country. The Helsinki region and the southernmost province of Uusimaa also supply much of the audience of other music festivals (see Cantell 1993, 23).

Events and festivals

According to the results of the leisure survey, participation in events related to the planning of consumption has been decreasing over the past ten years (Figure 7): in the population aged 10 years or over, participation in sales exhibitions and similar has dropped from 55 to 36 per cent. There has also been some decline in the proportion of those going to agricultural exhibitions and trade shows: one third of the population go to these exhibitions.

Figure 7.
Participation in selected events and festivals during the past 12 months in 1981 and 1991



The proportion of Finnish people who have been to different types of cultural events such as music, theatre, dancing etc. festivals is slightly higher than ten years previously. On the other hand, the popularity of social evenings has been declining. People go to local fêtes equally often as ten years ago. Public interest in labour culture events remains at a very low level.

Participation in associations and organizations

According to Martti Siisiäinen (1990) 1980 and 1981 were years of exceptionally high activity in the field of associations and organizations: large numbers of new white-collar trade unions, sports clubs and cultural associations were set up. Towards the end of the decade things began to slow down again.

Nevertheless, the results of the leisure survey indicate that participation in associations and organizations is at a somewhat lower level than it was ten years ago. In 1981, 57 per cent of the Finnish population aged ten or over were involved in the activities of at least one association, but ten years later in 1991 the figure was down to 52 per cent. Although the change is not very dramatic, there are clear differences between different types of organizations. Participation in trade union and party political organizations is at a lower level than ten years previously. In the age groups over 15, the proportion of those involved in trade unions has dropped from 23 to 12 per cent. The proportion of those involved in party political organizations has dropped from 7 to 4 per cent.

Sports and hobby organizations have been attracting increasing participation. Involvement in youth organizations has remained unchanged. The same applies to religious associations.

The results from 1991 indicate that there are no differences in the level of activity of men and women; ten years earlier, men were far more active. Women now take a much more active part most particularly in hobby organizations. The decline in activity has been sharpest in the age group 20–64 years. Among those under twenty, there has in fact been a clear increase in participation. Among pensioners there has been no change in levels of activity.

Measured in terms of frequency of participation, the highest levels of activity are recorded for sports clubs and associations. Young people are particularly active: in the age group 10–14 years, 37 per cent had taken part in the activities of a sports club at least once a week.

In many types of organization the most active participants are found amongst those with the highest level of education as well as among upper white-collar employees.

New types of participation queried in the 1991 survey included involvement in food shopping cooperatives or similar as well as participation in demonstrations, squatting and other similar activities. Food shopping cooperatives are still very rare in Finland; only one per cent of the population aged 15 or over said they were involved. People with an academic education and upper white-collar employees were more active than others in this respect as well.

In the age groups 15 and over, four per cent had taken part in demonstrations or squatting. This type of activity was most typical of young people. Among students and schoolchildren, 12 per cent had taken part in demonstrations or squatting campaigns.

Religious participation

The majority of the Finnish people are members of the Evangelical Lutheran Church (in 1991 membership was 87.3%). The figures for other denominations are considerably lower (for the Orthodox Church 1.1% and for others less than 1%). The proportion of those belonging to no religious community currently stands at 10.6 per cent of the population. (Structure of Population 1991, 49.)

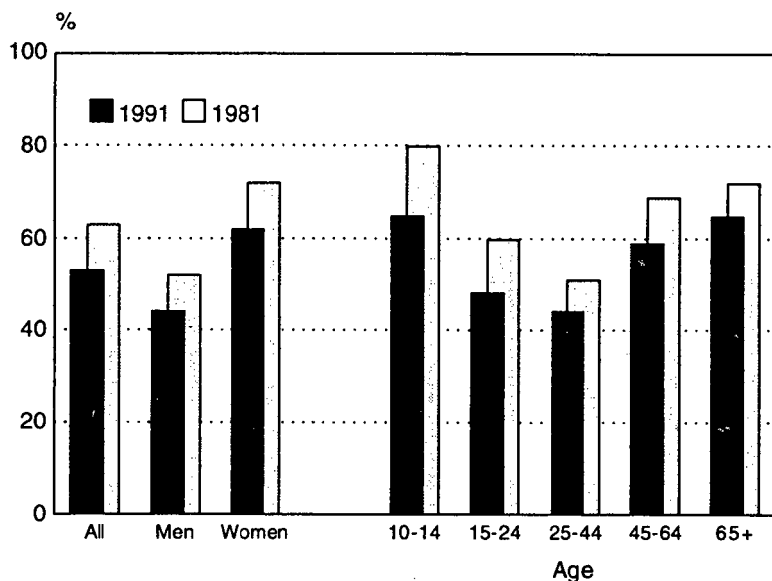
During the past decade participation in religious events has been declining. Nonetheless, over half of the population aged ten or over had attended a church service or some other religious meeting during the past twelve months (Figure 8). The trends have been very similar among both men and women as well as in different age groups. However, it seems that the decline in religious participation has been greatest among young people. In regional terms, the decline in religious participation has occurred in southern Finland; no changes are recorded for central or northern Finland.

Statistics on the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church indicate that participation in church services during the daytime has declined during the 1980s. The number of people attending public events organized by church parishes has also dropped. By contrast, the number of people attending special services (such as those arranged for schoolchildren or in late evening) has increased. (Heino, Kauppinen & Ahonen 1993, 70–79.)

Religious activity peaks in youth and in old age. In the age group over 64, participation is more intensive than in other age groups. Women continue to be far more active than men.

In 1991 over 200 000 people, which is 5 per cent of the Finnish population aged ten years or over, had been to a religious summer festival. The number of women who go to these festivals is twice as high as the number of men. Participation in summer festivals is higher among the middle-aged and elderly than among younger people. There are clear regional differences as well:

Figure 8.
Participation in religious events during the past 12 months by sex and age in 1981 and 1991



people from central and northern Finland go to summer festivals more often than people from southern Finland.

Entertainment and amusement

The leisure survey also contained questions concerning more everyday leisure activities; these include playing different types of games and slot machines as well as going out to pubs and restaurants.

Games and slot machines

Cards and other parlour games are the most popular type of games played in Finland: in the age group 10 years or over, 57 per cent report that they play these games. About a half of the people in Finland say they do crosswords. Solid state pinball and other similar slot machines are almost equally popular. One quarter play roulette or snooker. Chess and bingo are less common games: 13 per cent play chess, while 7 per cent go to play bingo.

The popularity of different types of parlour games and slot machines has increased considerably during the past ten years. There has also been some increase in playing roulette and snooker. On the other hand, the traditional pajatso has been losing players. Some decline is also reported for doing crosswords and playing chess.

Men are more active in playing games than women. The only category where women are more active than men is in doing crosswords. Playing bingo has now become equally popular among men and women. Ten years ago men still outnumbered women in the bingo hall.

Poker and fruit machines are particularly popular among males aged 15–24 years: as many as 85 per cent of men in this age group had played these games during the past 12 months. Among women in the same age group, 63 per cent had gambled on these machines. It is a popular theory that pensioners spend a lot of time with slot machines. Indeed, the findings of the leisure survey indicated that 17 per cent of pensioners in Finland had played on slot machines during the past 12 months. However, in the age groups over 65 only one in ten reported playing on slot machines.

Lotto and the football pools remain extremely popular in Finland: over three quarters or 78 per cent of the population had spent money on some form of betting during the past 12 months. Over half of the population play at least once a month. One third play every week. The proportion of people who buy lottery tickets or bet on horses has increased from 66 to 73 per cent.

Men play lotto and do the pools more often than previously; they now play considerably more often than women. By contrast, there is no clear difference between men and women in buying lottery tickets.

It would seem that young people are somewhat less interested in the football pools than previously. On the other hand, the frequency of gambling has increased among the middle-aged and the elderly. They also buy more lottery tickets than ten years previously.

Dancing and restaurants

There had been no major changes over the past ten years in the frequency of going out dancing. In 1991, 34 per cent of the population aged 15 or over had been out dancing during the past six months; the figure for 1981 was 31 per cent. The distinctively Finnish culture of dancing at open-air pavilions in the summer is also still alive: one in four had been to open-air dances. However, restaurants have clearly taken over from dance pavilions as the chief place of dancing: almost half of the population aged 15 or over had been to a restaurant for dancing during the past six months, and one in ten had been to ladies' choice. The number of those going to afternoon dances was still very low.

Going to discos and other restaurants has become increasingly common. In the age group 15 years and over, one in four had been to a disco during the past six months and over half to some other type of restaurant. Virtually all who had gone to a disco were in the age group under 45; amongst those 15 to 24 years, as many as four fifths frequent discos.

Men tend to go dancing and to restaurants more often than women. However, ethnic restaurants are equally popular among both men and women. In 1991, 38 per cent of the population in the age group 15 or over had been to an ethnic restaurant.

Young people go to dances less frequently than before, whereas in other age groups the frequency has increased. On the other hand, young people go to discos and other restaurants more often than ten years ago.

In conclusion

In this article we have been looking at the changes that have taken place during the 1980s in cultural participation, religious participation, in involvement in organizations and associations as well as in playing games and going out to restaurants.

Today, the most common type of cultural event in the everyday life of Finnish people is to go to art museums or exhibitions. The theatre, cinema and dance performances have all seen their audiences dwindle during the 1980s. Opera-going has also decreased during the past decade.

Even though large numbers of new associations were set up during the 1980s, participation in organizations and associations declined somewhat. Different types of organizations moved in different directions. Participation in trade unions and party-political organizations decreased; on the other hand, sports clubs and hobby organizations attracted larger numbers of participants. There were no changes during the 1980s in the level of participation in youth organizations. The same applies to religious associations as well as cultural and arts clubs and societies.

Participation in religious events decreased during the 1980s. Nevertheless, over half of the Finnish people still go to church services or other religious meetings.

The popularity of different parlour games and slot machines has increased during the past ten years. The majority of the Finnish people still go in for lotto and the football pools.

There has been no dramatic changes during the past ten years in going to public dances. Most of the dancing now goes on in restaurants.

The majority of the people who go to cultural events in Finland are women. Women also outnumber men at religious events. In organizations and associations, there are no sex differences in terms of participation. Playing slot machines and going to restaurants are favoured primarily by men.

Participation in cultural events and in organizations and associations tends to increase towards higher education groups.

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Sports and physical culture in Finland

Kimmo Aaltonen

People in Finland take their sport and physical exercise very seriously. Looking at the numbers who take some form of physical exercise at least once a week, there have been significant changes during the past ten years. Involvement in sports and physical exercise during the summer appears to have declined somewhat, while winter sports has remained unchanged at about the same level. Over 80 per cent of the Finnish people engage in some form of physical exercise in the summer and winter. Women's participation is about 4–5 percentage points higher than men's.

Children aged 10–14 years remain the most active group as far as sports and physical exercise are concerned. In both summer and winter over 90 per cent take part in some form of sport. However, this is at once the group where the decline in participation appears to have been sharpest, at least during the winter season.

A comparison of the survey data from 1981 and 1991 provides a useful opportunity to examine the qualitative changes that have happened in sports participation. No comparisons can be made for different types of sports because in the 1991 interviews involvement was defined in stricter terms as regular participation on a weekly basis for at least a few months a year. The 1981 interview schedule simply queried what sports the respondents had done during the past 12 months.

The reason why these stricter criteria were applied in the 1991 survey was that the aim was to obtain data on sports participation that was directly relevant to the respondent's physical health and fitness. According to current knowledge people should do physical exercise at least three times a week if it is to have beneficial effects on their physical fitness. Weekly sessions should suffice to bring benefits to mental health and social welfare.

A number of different factors will have an impact on the level of sporting activity at any point in time. As far as outdoor sports are concerned, the weather conditions obviously represent one crucial factor. In 1981 the winter was what may be described as normal: there was plenty of snow and ice even in southern Finland well into March. By contrast, 1991 marked the fifth consecutive winter when there was no snow in southern Finland; this must have been reflected in levels of involvement in cross-country skiing and skating, for example.

However, before we can properly determine the relative impacts of cultural changes, fashions and weather conditions, a serious follow-up study is needed.

Although the signs of the ongoing recession were clearly visible by 1991, it seems unlikely that its impacts were as yet reflected in the results of the survey. For example, it was not until after this date that unemployment figures started to reach record levels. It is a safe assumption to say that patterns of sporting behaviour change rather slowly. However, the results for 1992 might already have been very different from those obtained in 1991. The data available now are not sufficient for us to draw a profile of the sporting activities of the unemployed. The comparisons with the results for 1981 must be examined with caution because the number of unemployed people in the 1981 sample was very low.

There are clear indications in the data of a movement towards greater gender equality as girls and women have been going in for sports traditionally dominated by boys and men (such as soccer and jogging). At the same time, girls have been engaging in completely new sports of their own; a case in point is the game of ringette, which is modified from ice-hockey. The increasing participation of girls and women in competitive sports can probably also be seen as an indication of greater equality in physical culture.

Sports and physical exercise remain the most popular leisure activity of young people today, even though the increasing availability and diversity of other leisure pursuits has certainly had some impact on levels of involvement in sports. On the other hand young people have also been finding new types of sports for themselves: skateboarding, indoor hockey and rollerskating.

In older age groups, physical exercise has an important role to play in health care. The generation who are now about to retire is the first that has learned to use public keep-fit facilities such as indoor swimming pools. This is clearly seen in the research results.

Physical culture in Finland has traditionally been built around competitive sports, in which the labour movement has played a very major role indeed. Today, as this culture is withering away, it seems that generational differences and the growth of youth culture are emerging as the key dimensions of differentiation. At the same time keep-fit sports and competitive sports seem to be moving more and more in their own directions and developing into separate subcultures.

Involvement in different sports shows interesting patterns of differentiation by provinces. To a certain extent this is explained by differences in availability, but also by different cultures. In the winter there will be no swimming without indoor swimming pools; and wrestling belongs traditionally to the province of Ostrobothnia. In the future this perspective on sports and physical exercise might prove very useful as regional cultures gain increasing weight and importance in a Europe where the role of nation-states will inevitably decline.

For the reasons stated above, we have only limited comparative data to study the development of different sports and forms of physical exercise. However, it is interesting to look at those sports in the 1991 data where one might expect to see changes, such as badminton, indoor hockey, skateboarding, horseback riding, golf, athletics, cross-country skiing, downhill skiing, etc.

The research material available throws light on the sports programmes that people watch on television (entertainment value); on the importance of sports and keep-fit physical exercise as a leisure activity (valuation); on participation in organized activities (clubs and organizations); on participation in events; on differences in summer and winter activities; and on the differences in participation in keep-fit and competitive sports.

The discussion that follows starts by looking at the viewing of sports on television and at participation in sports clubs and organizations. We then move on to look more closely at personal participation in sports.

Watching sports on television

In the 1981 leisure survey the respondents were asked how often they followed sports programmes on the radio and on television; the 1991 questionnaire referred to television only. This complicates our comparisons somewhat. What is more, the availability of sports programmes has grown tremendously during the past decade since the arrival of cable television and sky channels. Sports programmes are also important to local radio stations.

The data for 1991 indicate some increase in the proportion of those who say they never follow sports; and among men a certain degree of polarization between those who watched sports today/yesterday and an increase in those who never watch sports. This finding may be due to the absence in this data set of radio programmes. In younger age groups viewing seems to be increasing and in older groups declining. The viewing of sports programmes seems to be least common among mothers of small children and most particularly among women sole providers. In the latter group one in five say they never watch sports programmes with concentration. This does not mean that these people take a negative stand on sports as such: on the contrary, fully 79 per cent of the respondents says that physical exercise is very important or rather important.

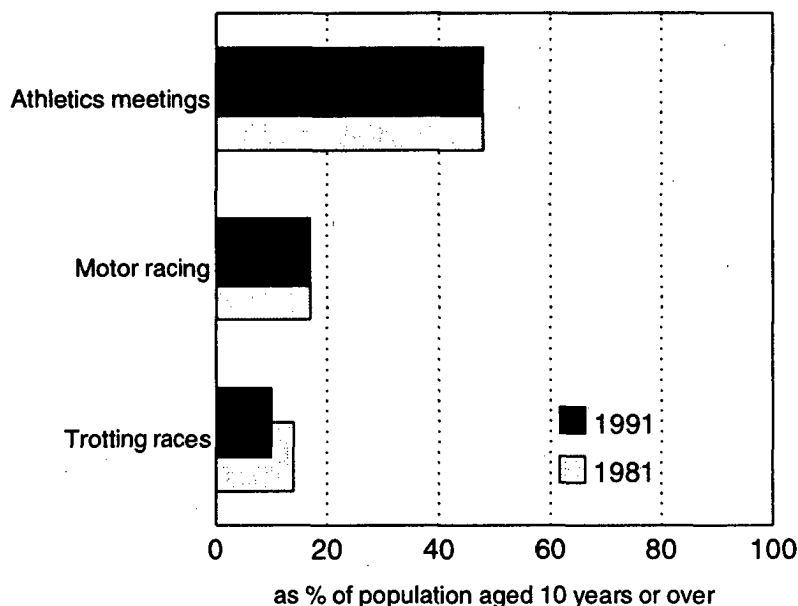
The viewing of sports on television reflects people's attitudes towards competitive sports as a form of entertainment.

Attendance at athletics events, motor racing events and trotting races

There seems to have been no change in the level of spectator sports from 1981 to 1991. At both points of measurement almost half (48 %) of the population aged 10 or over said they had been to an athletics meeting during the past 12 months; the figure for motor racing events was 17 % for both 1981 and 1991; whereas in 1981 one in seven reported going to trotting races compared with just one in ten in 1991. The decline in going to the races is probably explained by people having less money available for betting. Indeed the state revenues from horse betting dropped from FIM 50 in 1990 to FIM 38.5 million in 1991.

Attendance at athletics meetings was slightly down among men but up among women. Among men almost 60 per cent and among women 40 per cent had been to athletics meetings – another indication of increasing gender equality in our society – even though in a less significant domain.

Figure 1.
Attendance at athletics meetings, motor racing events and trotting races during the past 12 months



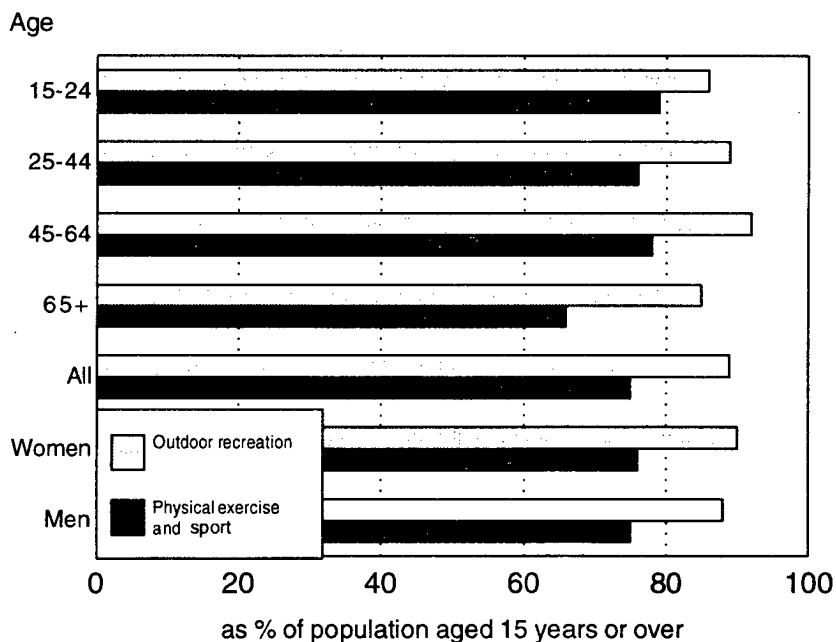
Keep-fit exercise, competitive sports and outdoor recreation as leisure activities

We have no comparative data from 1981 on the relative importance of different domains of leisure activity.

In the Finnish population aged 15 and over, three in four regard keep-fit and competitive sports as very or rather important; the corresponding figure for outdoor recreation is 90 per cent. Men and women consider physical exercise and sport as equally important to themselves. On the other hand, a considerably larger proportion of women (48 %) than men (38 %) consider outdoor recreation important. As for the number of those regarding outdoor recreation as rather important, there are no differences between men and women.

Among women the appreciation of outdoor recreation is highest among those with an academic education, and on the other hand among women aged 20–24 years: in both groups the figure is 95 per cent.

Figure 2.
Appreciation of physical exercise, sports and outdoor recreation as very or rather important



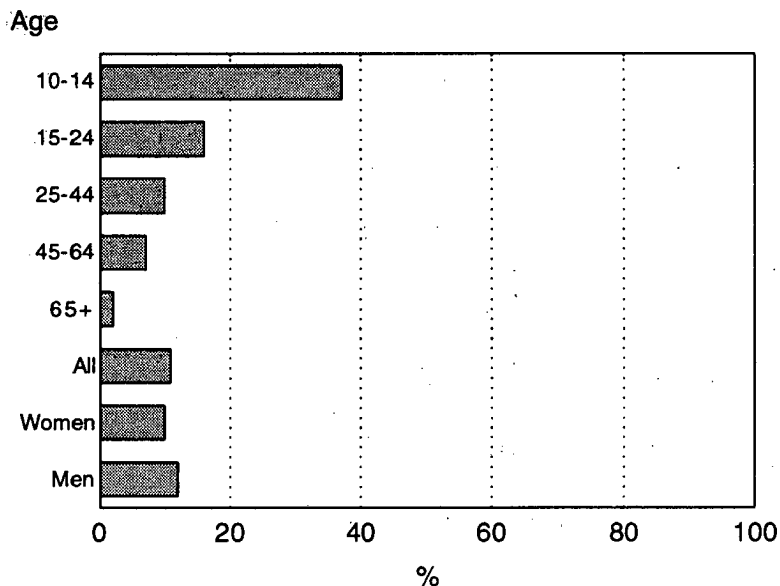
The highest appreciation for physical exercise is reported by those aged 15–24 years and those in the age group 45–64 years. Almost 80 per cent attach much importance to physical exercise. The latter age group also show the highest level of appreciation for outdoor recreation, i.e. over 90 per cent.

In geographical terms, the appreciation for physical exercise and sport is highest in the Helsinki region and in Central Finland. However, the differences here are not at all significant.

Participation in sport organizations and clubs

Regular (i.e. at least once weekly) participation in the activities of a sport club or organization is highest among children and young people. In the age group 10–14 years one in three, in the age group 15–24 years one in seven, in the age group 25–44 years one in ten, in the age group 45–64 years one in 15 and in the age group over 65 only two in 100 take regular physical exercise in a sports club.

Figure 3.
Participation in the activities of a sports clubs at least once a week



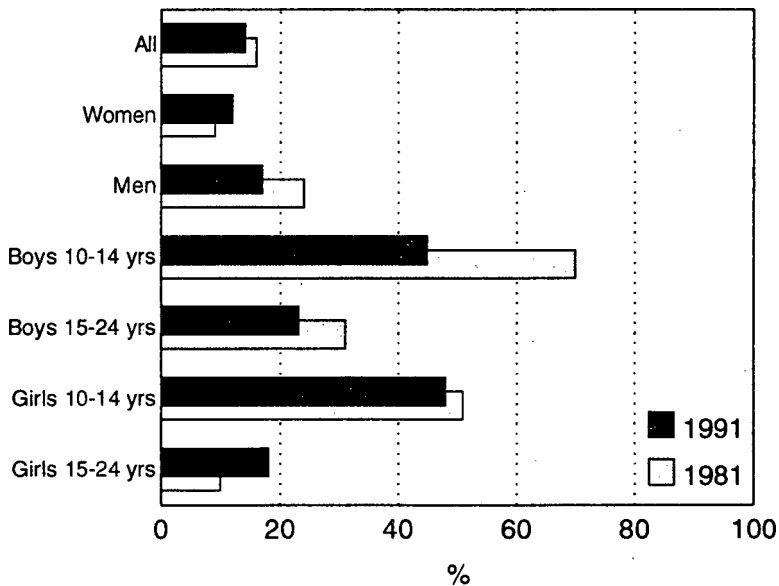
This result clearly reflects the priorities of sports clubs, which are chiefly concerned to provide services to children and young people and mainly in the context of competitive sports. In this sense, there is much unused potential within sports clubs.

Participation in competitive sports

In the leisure survey respondents were asked whether they had taken part in competitive sports during the past 12 months. Comparisons between the two dates can be reliably made only on the single dimension of yes/no: the relevant question was phrased differently in 1981 and 1991.

In the whole sample it would seem that participation in competitive sports is declining to a certain extent: one in seven said they had taken part in competitive sports during the past 12 months. Among men the decline is very clearly visible, dropping from one in four to one in six. Among women, on the other hand, there are signs of some increase in participation, from just under to just over ten per cent. Again, women are moving towards greater equality.

Figure 4.
Participation in competitive sports in 1981 and 1991 during the past 12 months



The most significant change is recorded for the participation of boys and young men in competitive sports: in the age group 10–14 years, participation has dropped from 70 to 45 per cent and in the age group 15–24 years from less than one third to less than one quarter.

Part of this change may be explained by the different phrasing of questions. However, it does seem that physical culture in Finland is now in the midst of a process of transformation. Whereas in the age group 10–14 years the decline in weekly involvement and physical exercise has not been very significant (in the summer about 2 percentage points and in the winter 5 percentage points), the decline in participation in competitive sports among boys has been 25 percentage points. This clearly represents a major cultural change. Physical exercise has retained its popularity, but involvement in competitive sports has dropped by over one third. This is one clear indication of the differentiation of our current physical culture into an increasingly diversified field of leisure activities.

Among girls and young women it seems that competitive sports is faring much better than among boys and young men. Among girls aged 10–14 years there has been no decline in their participation in competitive sports; among those aged 15–24 years the popularity of competitive sports has been increasing; and in the age group 25–44 years there are some signs of a similar trend.

Once again, I feel that the increase in women's participation in competitive sports is an indication of growing equality in our society, of women's increasing self-esteem and independence. At the same time (and perhaps somewhat paradoxically) I would argue that the declining interest among boys and young men in competitive sports implies a positive development towards greater pluralism.

Participation in different types of sports in 1991

As was observed at the outset of this article, no direct comparisons can be made here with the results for 1981.

According to the 1991 leisure survey, the most popular forms of sports and physical exercise in the population aged 15 years or over (participation at least once a week) were as follows.

	%
1. Walking	63
2. Cycling	42
3. Swimming	26
4. Keep-fit at home	22
5. Jogging	21
6. Cross-country skiing	19
7. Keep-fit at gym	14
8. Gymnastics with instruction	12
9. Downhill skiing	10
10. Badminton	8

A recent report on the public-health role of physical exercise identified the following as the most important types of physical exercise among adults in Finland:

	%
1. Walking	44
2. Cycling	25
3. Jogging	21
4. Keep-fit at home	16
5. Swimming	14
6. Cross-country skiing	13

These figures are for the population aged 15–64 years. The data were collected in 1991 and they are for the most part based on studies by Gallup Oy. The measurements here were based on participation at least twice a week.

The top six sports are the same on both lists. The reason why the figures differ is that in the former case the question concerned once weekly participation and in the latter case twice weekly participation.

The same report lists the following as the most popular sports among children (participation at least twice a week):

	%
1. Soccer	22
2. Athletics	15
3. Cycling	14
4. Cross-country skiing	14
5. Ice hockey	11
6. Swimming	9
7. Gymnastics	8
8. Jogging	8
9. Downhill skiing	7
10. Finnish baseball	6

These figures are for the population under 15. The data were collected in 1991 and they are for the most part based on studies by Gallup Oy.

In the youngest age group included in the 1991 leisure survey (10–14 years), the list looked as follows (note that here the question concerned once weekly participation):

	%
1. Cycling	70
2. Swimming	53
3. Skating	50
4. Soccer	36
5. Downhill skiing	34
6. Jogging	32
7. Indoor hockey	26
8. Ice hockey	25
9. Finnish baseball	24
Cross-country skiing	24
10. Badminton	21

On these two lists we have eight sports that are the same. The odd sports out are athletics, gymnastics, skating, indoor hockey and badminton. The differences can be explained at least in part by the fact that twice weekly participation is clearly of a more sports-like nature with more serious training than once weekly participation. In addition, there are differences in the age groups involved in the study.

In the population aged 10 years or over, **walking** is by far the most popular form of physical exercise. By age groups, walking ranks as follows:

	rank-order	participants %
10-14 years	11.	19
15-24 years	1.	46
25-44 years	1.	61
45-64 years	1.	71
over 65	1.	69

From age 15 onwards, walking ranks as by far the most popular form of physical exercise in Finland.

The second most common form of physical exercise is **cycling**:

	rank-order	participants %
10-14 years	1.	70
15-24 years	2.	42
25-44 years	2.	43
45-64 years	2.	48
over 65	2.	32

The third most common is **swimming**:

	rank-order	participants %
10-14 years	2.	53
15-24 years	4.	32
25-44 years	4.	25
45-64 years	4.	30
over 65	4.	16

The fourth most common is **jogging**:

	rank-order	participants %
10-14 years	6.	32
15-24 years	3.	41
25-44 years	3.	28
45-64 years	6.	12
over 65	9.	2

The fifth most common is **gymnastics at home**:

	rank-order	participants %
10-14 years	12.	16
15-24 years	7.	19
25-44 years	5.	22
45-64 years	5.	24
over 65	3.	26

The sixth most common is **cross-country skiing**:

	rank-order	participants %
10-14 years	9.	24
15-24 years	16.	8
25-44 years	6.	19
45-64 years	3.	31
over 65	5.	12

The sport most characteristically favoured by girls is horseback riding, with most of those involved representing the age group 10–24 years. In the age group 10–14 one in five, and in the age group 15–24 one in ten go in for horseback riding. At the same time, this is equally characteristically a leisure activity of the youngest generation (those born after 1970).

A sport which is just as characteristically dominated by boys is skateboarding, where most of those involved are in the age group 10–14 years. One in six boys in this age group has tried skateboarding. The number declines very sharply in the age group 15–24 years; according to the present data only two per cent have in fact taken part. As in the case of horseback riding, skateboarding is also very clearly a leisure activity of the new generation.

The student generation of the late 1980s and early 1990s has been described as the indoor hockey generation. The present results lend support to this description. Indoor hockey is favoured most particularly by students and schoolchildren, of whom one in five regularly take part. In the age group 10–14 years one in four go in for indoor hockey, and in the age group 15–24 one in six.

Table 1.
At least weekly participation in horseback riding, skateboarding and indoor hockey (%)

Age group	Horseback riding		Skateboarding		Indoor hockey	
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
10 – 14 years	28	1	4	16	6	26
15 – 24 years	8	0	0	2	4	16
25 – 44 years	2	0	0	0	0	4
45 – 64 years	0	0	0	0	0	1
65 – years	0	0	0	0	0	0

Summary

There has been no essential change over the past ten years in levels of participation in different sports in Finland. Among women, participation has remained overall at the same level, whereas among men there has been some decline; children and young people are slightly less active than ten years ago; while pensioners and older age groups have tended to become more active.

One particularly noteworthy development is that competitive sports no longer occupy the same sort of dominant position as a leisure activity among young people. At the same time, new modern forms of physical exercise have made impressive breakthroughs among young people. Nonetheless, competitive sports still occupy a significant position in the sporting activities of children and young people.

There are very clear signs indeed that women have been gaining increasing equality in the domain of sports and physical exercise. Women have retained their level of activity, their involvement has become more diversified and the differences with the level of activity among men have narrowed down. Women's sporting activities are very clearly motivated by concerns of physical health. The findings of the 1991 leisure survey indicate that women attach more importance to physical exercise and outdoor recreation than men. For men, competitive sports remain the most important thing.

An important finding of this study is that people in Finland consider physical exercise, sport and outdoor recreation as an important domain of leisure activity.

In younger age groups people watch more sport on television than previously; in older age groups viewing appears to be on the decline. However, comparisons here are complicated by the fact that in 1981 questions were asked about both radio listening and television viewing, whereas the 1991 questionnaire was restricted to television viewing.

As far as individual sports are concerned it is interesting to note that the popularity of athletics seems to be declining. Another sport in which Finland has traditionally done well on the international scene, cross-country skiing, does not seem to enjoy very much popularity among younger age groups. In the latter case five bad winters (at least in southern Finland) running up to the 1991 leisure survey has no doubt been a major factor.

Appendix Table

Leisure activities in 1981 and 1991 (as % of population aged 10 or over)

	All		Women		Men	
	1981	1991	1981	1991	1981	1991
	%					
Watches television every day	59	72	55	69	63	75
Watches video programmes at least once a week	..	35	..	29	..	40
Listens to the radio every day	79	71	79	69	79	73
Listens to recorded music	87	82	85	80	90	83
Listens to music every day	..	67	..	66	..	67
Reads at least one newspaper regularly	96	96	96	96	97	96
Reads newspapers or evening papers every day	..	82	..	80	..	84
Reads some magazine at least once a week	79	69	80	70	78	67
Reads comic books at least once a week	30	22	22	19	40	25
Has read books during past 6 months	76	75	77	80	74	70
Has been to the library during past 6 months	53	59	56	62	50	55
Plays an instrument	20	15	19	15	21	15
Takes an interest in singing	7	4	9	5	6	3
Takes an interest in visual arts	13	13	16	15	9	11
Writes fiction	8	9	12	13	4	5
Uses the computer at least once a week	..	11	..	6	..	16
Takes an interest in handiwork	65	63	86	74	42	52
Takes an interest in dancing	9	9	11	10	6	8
Does some sport in the summer at least once a week	85	82	86	84	82	80
Does some sport in the winter at least once a week	81	81	84	84	79	79
Has been to the cinema during past 6 months	41	35	38	35	44	35
Has been to a concert during past 12 months	35	34	40	39	29	27
Has been to the theatre during past 12 months	45	37	52	46	36	28
Has been to the opera during past 12 months	6	4	8	6	4	3
Has been to see a dance performance during past 12 months	25	18	31	22	19	14
Has been to an art exhibition during past 12 months	37	44	43	50	29	38
Has been to a museum during past 12 months	43	43	45	44	41	42
Has been to a religious meeting during past 12 months	63	53	72	62	52	44
Has taken part in the activities of an association, club, etc. during past 12 months at least a few times a year	57	52	53	52	60	52
Goes out dancing or to a restaurant at least once a year (population over 15 yrs)	63	70	56	65	70	75

Sampling, nonresponse and estimation of results in the 1991 leisure survey

Kari Djerf

1. Sampling

The sample for the 1991 leisure survey was drawn from the Central Population Register. The sample frame consisted of the country's noninstitutional, or household, population aged 10 years and over. The sample contained 5,600 individuals and was drawn using systematic random sampling. An additional sample of 735 individuals was selected from among the residents of the city of Helsinki. After some technical checks and adjustments the gross sample size was 5,650 persons.

2. Nonresponse

During fieldwork it appeared that there still was some overcoverage in the sample consisting of those who had died, or moved abroad permanently, or been admitted to institutional care after the sample had been selected. These people numbered 97; the final sample size was thus 5,553.

Acceptable responses were obtained from 4,378 individuals, giving a response rate of 78.8 per cent. The most important causes of nonresponse were refusal (17.3 per cent) and non-contacts (3.7 per cent).

The nonresponse was somewhat skew in terms of both place of residence and age. The response rate was clearly lowest in Helsinki and highest in eastern Finland. It declined with increasing age. The respondent and nonrespondent groups were fairly similar in terms of sex and level of education, but differed slightly in terms of marital status, most probably because of the effects of age.

Table 1. Nonresponse in the Leisure Survey 1991 according to some demographic variables

	Nonresp. rate	Distribution			Sample size
	(%)	Refusals (%)	Non-contacts (%)	Other (%)	
All	21.2	17.3	3.6	0.3	5 553
Gender					
Male	21.2	16.5	4.3	0.3	2 665
Female	21.1	17.9	3.0	0.2	2 888
Age					
10–14	9.4	7.9	1.2	0.2	403
15–24	15.9	10.6	5.3	–	819
25–34	20.7	15.0	4.7	1.0	1 000
35–44	24.3	20.3	3.8	0.2	1 045
45–54	22.6	18.7	3.8	–	807
55–64	20.8	17.7	2.9	0.2	616
65–74	25.2	23.7	1.6	–	507
75+	30.3	27.5	2.5	0.3	356
Province					
Metr. Area of Helsinki	31.5	24.4	6.5	0.6	1 436
Uusimaa (excl. Metr. Area of Helsinki)	20.4	19.6	3.6	0.2	419
Turku–Pori	19.4	16.1	2.7	0.5	737
Häme	18.9	16.0	2.9	–	661
Kymi	19.6	15.5	4.1	–	342
Mikkeli	13.5	11.5	1.9	–	208
Pohjois-Karjala	5.6	8.0	0.6	–	174
Kuopio	9.2	8.1	1.2	–	260
Keski-Suomi	13.8	11.3	2.4	–	247
Vaasa	17.5	15.7	1.6	0.2	428
Oulu	19.4	15.9	3.5	–	428
Lappi	13.0	11.9	1.0	–	193
Åland	25.0	20.0	5.0	–	20
Marital status					
Married	19.3	17.3	1.6	0.4	2 563
Separated/widowed	29.0	23.9	5.2	–	796
Single	20.5	14.8	5.5	0.2	2 194
Level of education					
No qualification	22.0	17.8	3.6	0.5	2 920
Secondary school	20.8	16.7	4.0	–	2 124
University or other inst. of higher ed.	18.3	16.3	1.8	0.2	509

3. Estimation

In practice, the sampling procedure described in paragraph 1 above involved a regional stratification, with the city of Helsinki forming one stratum and the rest of the country the other. The optimal estimation strategy was determined by examining the effects of the estimation method on some selected study variables. The criteria included, among other things, the unbiasedness of the estimator used for retaining the correct population structure, and the ease of application of the estimator. An effort was made to minimize standard errors and to obtain low design effects.

It was found that the best results were obtained by using both pre- and post-stratification. Post-strata by age were formed according to a more detailed regional classification. The regional divisions were the city of Helsinki, the southern provinces (excl. the city of Helsinki), the eastern provinces and the northern provinces. There were seven age categories: 10–14, 15–19, 20–24, 25–34, 35–44, 45–64 and 65+ years. This yielded a total of 28 strata.

Weighting

The basic expansion weights were calculated by using the inverse of inclusion probabilities (and assuming that nonresponse was random in each post-stratum in order to justify the replacement of the sample size with the number of respondents in the formulas below):

$$(1) \quad W_{kh} = \frac{1}{\pi_h} = \frac{N_h}{n_h}, \quad \forall k = 1, \dots, n_h \in h$$

The analysis weights retaining the number of respondents in agreement with the correct population structure:

$$(1') \quad W_k^* = W_k \frac{n}{N}$$

Standard error calculations

Standard errors were calculated by applying the conditional variance approximation procedure for stratified sampling (see e.g. Holt and Smith 1979). The following is an example of the applicable variance formula for the mean:

$$(2) \quad \hat{\sigma}^2(\hat{Y}) = \sum_h \left(\frac{N_h}{N} \right)^2 \left(1 - \frac{n_h}{N_h} \right) \frac{1}{n_h} \frac{\sum_i (Y_i - \hat{Y})^2}{n_h - 1}$$

The corresponding conditional variance approximation for percentages:

$$(2') \quad \hat{\sigma}^2(\hat{p}) = \sum_h \left(\frac{N_h}{N} \right)^2 \left(1 - \frac{n_h}{N_h} \right) \frac{\hat{p}_h (1 - \hat{p}_h)}{n_h - 1}$$

References

Holt, D., and T.M.F. Smith (1979). Post Stratification. *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society A*, Vol. 142, 33–46.

Examples of standard errors in the 1991 leisure survey

	Estimate per cent	Standard error percentage points
Plays an instrument		
All total	14.8	0.5
Men	15.1	0.8
Women	14.5	0.7
Age		
10-14 yrs	43.1	2.6
15-24 yrs	23.7	1.6
25-44 yrs	12.8	0.8
45-64 yrs	10.1	0.9
65+ yrs	5.3	0.9
Has been to the theatre during past 12 months		
All total	36.9	0.7
Men	27.7	1.0
Women	45.5	1.1
Age		
10-14 yrs	35.0	2.5
15-24 yrs	36.4	1.9
25-44 yrs	36.1	1.2
45-64 yrs	42.6	1.5
65+ yrs	30.6	1.8
Has been to the opera during past 12 months		
All total	4.2	0.3
Men	2.6	0.3
Women	5.6	0.5
Age		
10-14 yrs	2.0	0.7
15-24 yrs	2.6	0.6
25-44 yrs	4.2	0.5
45-64 yrs	6.4	0.7
65+ yrs	2.8	0.6

Background variables used in the articles

Level of education

For education beyond the primary stage, the variable describing level of education is formed on the basis of Statistics Finland's degrees and examinations register; and for education up to and including the primary stage, on the basis of the interview data.

The following classification is used:

1. Lower primary or less
2. Upper primary
3. Lower intermediate
4. Upper intermediate
5. Academic

Socio-economic status

With the exception of students, socio-economic status corresponds to the concept of 'quality of activity' as defined in Statistics Finland's Labour Force Survey. If the respondent was both a student and engaged in paid employment, socio-economic status was defined on the basis of which of the two took up more of the person's time during the week.

As far as the gainfully employed population is concerned, the classification follows the guidelines issued by Statistics Finland in 1989.

The following classification is used:

0. Farmer
1. Other entrepreneur
2. Lower white-collar employee
3. Upper white-collar employee
4. Productive worker
5. Distribution or service worker
6. Retired or chronically ill
7. Unemployed
8. Student or schoolboy/girl
9. Housewife/husband or other

Type of municipality

Based on population density and the size of the biggest community within the municipality concerned, the respondents were divided into three groups of place of residence:

1. Urban areas
2. Densely populated or mixed areas
3. Rural areas

Region

The following classification was used for geographical region:

1. Metropolitan area: Helsinki, Espoo, Vantaa and Kauniainen
2. Other southern Finland: province of Uusimaa with the exception of the metropolitan area, the province of Turku and Pori, Åland, and the provinces of Häme and Kymi
3. Central Finland: the provinces of Mikkeli, North Karelia, Kuopio, Central Finland and Vaasa
4. Northern Finland: the provinces of Oulu and Lapland

Generation

Some of the articles in this volume have used (in an experimental vein) the classification of generations proposed in 1990 by J.P. Roos. The classification is based on detailed studies of an extensive biographical research material, and it is described in full depth in Roos, J.P.: *Suomalainen elämä* [Finnish life], *Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden seura, Hämeenlinna 1987*.

Roos has subsequently suggested various modifications of his original classification. For the purposes of the present survey one further generation was added to Roos's list: the oldest generation (born before 1920), who were described as the generation of nation-building.

The following classification is used:

1. The new generation (born in 1970–)
2. The welfare generation (born in 1960–1969)
3. The suburban generation (born in 1950–1959)
4. The generation of the great migration (born in 1940–1949)
5. The generation of war and shortage (born in 1920–39)
6. The generation of nation-building (born before 1920)

Culture of the Everyday

Leisure and Cultural Participation in 1981 and 1991

Mirja Liikkanen and Hannu Pääkkönen (ed.)



Looking at people's leisure activities and at how those activities and interests have changed over the past ten years, the articles in this volume discuss such aspects of leisure as reading, creative hobbies, television viewing, listening to the radio, music consumption, sports and physical exercise, and participation in cultural events. The reports are based on data from the 1991 leisure survey, which are compared with the results for 1981.

ALSO AVAILABLE:

- Finnish Mass Media. SVT, Culture and the media 1994:1. FIM 180.
- Time use changes in Finland in the 1980s. Statistics Finland, Studies 174. FIM 80.

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