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## **Kharkovians' Media Consumption: Knowledge, Groups and Specific**

*„Everywhere, mass communication is determined by the systematisation at the level of the technical medium and code, by the systematic production of messages originating from the medium itself, not from the world.”<sup>1</sup>*

### ABSTRAKT

#### **Konsumpcja mediów przez mieszkańców Charkowa: wiedza, grupy i specyfika**

Artykuł poświęcony jest badaniu środowiska medialnego Charkowa. Podstawą empiryczną artykułu jest ilościowe badanie mieszkańców Charkowa, przeprowadzone przy bezpośrednim udziale autora. Strategia badawcza artykułu opiera się na identyfikacji różnych grup obywateli Charkowa, dla których prowadzona jest szczegółowa analiza konsumpcji mediów, jej struktur wiedzy i specyfiki. Szczególną uwagę zwraca się na porównywanie wyników badań autora z badaniami innych socjologów mediów w przestrzeni postsowieckiej. Autor analizuje parametry demograficzne i identyfikacyjne mieszkańców Charkowa pod kątem korzystania z Internetu i kanałów informacyjnych. Następnie badane są plany życiowe, oczekiwania, preferencje zawodowe, struktury wiedzy o akceptowalnych i niedopuszczalnych strukturach wartości i preferowanych cechach ludzkich, a także tolerancja wobec grup innych ludzi i osądy dotyczące sprawiedliwości. W rezultacie autor demonstruje związek między konsumpcją mediów a strukturami wiedzy obywateli Charkowa i opisuje obecne ograniczenia i perspektywy dalszych badań.

**SŁOWA KLUCZOWE:** media, konsumpcja mediów, wartości, wiedza, socjologia wiedzy, struktury wiedzy, indywidualizacja, globalizacja, priorytety życiowe, grupy, praktyki.

Modern media research is becoming more and more technological, relying on big data and great data complexes obtained through special technical support. However, traditional methods of media research remain relevant and important – there is an effect of media consumption stability, according to which „about

<sup>1</sup> Zh. Bodrijjar, *Obshhestvo potreblenija*, Moskva 2006.

a constant share of the resources available in a society – time, money, etc. – is spent on mass communication. Changes in media consumption are actually redistribution, i.e. transition to a new equilibrium point of public exchange. There are changes in the preferences of individual media, but the total duration of the time expenditure on media consumption by an individual remains more or less constant”<sup>2</sup>. In this sense, it is possible to assert with confidence that the methods of traditional sociology, even in such a technologically and engineeringly secured question as segmentation of the media audience, remain relevant.

In this sense, the processes and phenomena of media consumption by local communities are of sociological interest. Studies focused on data concerning national, regional and even international cases are carried out constantly because these data are quite common and available, while regional, local, community-based studies remain peripheral and most often closed, that is, carried out for specific customers. But the communities differ significantly, and hence, the sociological ability to see and reflect in good faith on these differences comes into play. So, according to one Ukrainian sociologist, „Ukrainian media have more autonomy than the Russian ones. The latter are practically controlled by the state and take an active part in the design of the virtual majority”<sup>3</sup>. And, on the example of this quotation, one can see how social facts and peculiarities of communities, groups and regions can receive a different sociological interpretation.

Another aspect complicating media research are the multiple, dynamic and highly unpredictable processes of the formation of so-called „new media”, which „have the natural ability to produce any media product that provides interactive action and is digitally distributed via the Global Web”<sup>4</sup>. Here, the internet mobility plays a significant role. After all, the mobility of the internet results in the widespread accessibility of any – video, text, audio – content, which „at any time in any place is particularly relevant in the current situation, when the number of media channels and advertising messages is growing actively, and the time spent on content consumption remains relatively unchanged”<sup>5</sup>. Such a design of the new media gives to their user more freedom – now „we can watch, listen and read without reference to time and place, discuss and share information with others, as well as endlessly create, copy and save content, spending a minimum of time and material costs”<sup>6</sup>. But, on the other hand, it complicates the techniques and

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<sup>2</sup> M. M. Nazarov, *Televidenie i internet: tipologija rossijskogo media potreblenija*, «Sociologicheskie issledovanija», 2014, № 6 (362), p. 117.

<sup>3</sup> N. V. Kostenko, *Informacionno-kul'turnye stili v Rossii i Ukraine*, «Sociologicheskij zhurnal», 2009, № 1, p. 47.

<sup>4</sup> A. I. Solov'ev, *Novye media: osobennosti potreblenija media informacii*, «Zhurnalistyka-2017: stan, problemy i perspektivy. Matjeryjaly 19-j Mizhnarodnaj navukova-praktychnaj kanferjencyi», 2017, p. 155.

<sup>5</sup> L. E. Kravezhina, *Analiz ključevyh demograficheskikh istočnikov transformacii media sredy v Rossii*, «Aktual'nye voprosy jekonomicheskikh nauk», 2014, № 38, pp. 77-80.

<sup>6</sup> O. Ju. Meshherjakova, *Media potreblenie rossijan*, «Molodjozh', Nauka, Tvorčestvo – 2016: materialy XIV mezhvuzovskoj nauchno-praktičeskoj konferenciji studentov i aspirantov», 2016, pp. 526-528.

conceptualisation in process of the study.

Finally, the commodification of media consumption is another important aspect. From the point of view of Jurgen Habermas, this process can be viewed as an intervention of the system into the individual's life<sup>7</sup>, or – from Herbert Marshall McLuhan's point of view – as a shift of focus from message to medium, since „in the modern world, there is no boundary between medium and message, and the consumption of an information product automatically refers to the consumption of its producer”<sup>8</sup>. It is this commodification that allows us to speak of media consumption (or media diet) as individually existing, but socially replicable, set of practices and strategies on treatment and systematisation of media information and media entertainment in which researchers include interaction with new media, reading books and magazines, watching television and movies, listening to the radio, and so on<sup>9</sup>.

Such a voluminous list is connected with the fact that many things have changed in communications over the past quarter-century, in particular:

A) the construction of an interactive and subject-subject design of communication, which, without losing its vertical system, acquires the horizontal design and horizontal way of practice;

B) the natural continuation of interactivity – the personification of communication, in the course of which subjects provide information about themselves, their location, their practices, preferences, and life trajectories<sup>10</sup>;

C) the increase in the speed of communication is so high that Manuel Castells says that the modern world is a global village<sup>11</sup>, as a result of which the intensity and density of the information flow increases, calling into question the very person's ability to cope with this flow. A further consequence of this process is the construction of tools for differentiation, up to the formation of „digital castes” and „communicative classes”;

D) the transformation of communications from the peripheral fact of everyday life into the central one that raises questions of ethics, safety, environmental responsibility (if we understand ecology as the whole environment surrounding a person);

E) the increase in media competition, with the result that many researchers state the mutual replacement of media, that is, „the process of replacing one social element with another, having a similar meaning, goal, function”, in which media

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<sup>7</sup> J. Habermas, *Theorie des kommunikativen Handelns*, Frankfurt-am-Mein 1987.

<sup>8</sup> T. S. Krajnikova, *Media potreblenie: obzor recepcij javljenija*, «Vestnik Voronezhskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Serija: Filologija. Zhurnalistika», 2013, № 2, pp. 167-170.

<sup>9</sup> Ibidem, p. 167.

<sup>10</sup> Ju. N. Zemskaja, *Ob izmenenijah komunikaci onnogolandshafta v jepohu interneta i social'n yhsetej*, «Filologija i chelovek», 2015, № 4, pp. 187-190.

<sup>11</sup> M. Castells, *The new public sphere: Global civil society, communication networks, and global governance*, «Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science», 2008, 616(1), pp. 78–93.

turns out to be „functionally equivalent” to each other – such as, for instance, television and the internet<sup>12</sup>;

F) the effect of the emergence of convergent media that complement – but, we note, do not replace – them. The Wolfgang Riepl’s law formulated more than a hundred years ago, remains relevant<sup>13</sup>, but it needs proof and illustration. Because „new neighbours” in the media system, becoming trendsetters, force traditional media to transform and integrate into a new technological media context”<sup>14</sup>;

G) the growth of media consumption, in which, in addition to traditional devices (television, newspaper), desktop personal computers, laptops, transformers gadgets (for example, netbooks or tablets with a removable keyboard), large tablets (with the screen diagonal of more than 10 inches) competed ordinary tablets (with the diagonal of 7–10 inches), phablets (with the diagonal of 5.1–7 inches), smartphones (with the diagonal of 3.5–5.1 inches), devices worn on the body (for example, the so-called „smart watches”, fitness bracelets, etc.)<sup>15</sup>. While online media often lag behind the purely technological side, „the majority of online media resources are analogous to offline media, namely, 54% of text sites, 61% of television sites and 70% of radio resources”.<sup>16</sup>

Naturally, an even greater lag characterises the social processes associated with the media and the differentiation of their consumption. So, there are already attempts to create sustainable classifications (primarily based on clustering)<sup>17</sup>, separating „innovators”, „discriminating conservatives”, „soap opera consumers”, „interested”, „average socially oriented”, etc. However, these classifications are, firstly, built *ad hoc*, and secondly, highly situational and unstable. Moreover, such classifications, based solely on the „magic of numbers” that constitute cluster analysis, often ignore the essential content of media consumption practices and their place in people’s everyday life.

In connection with all of the above, the goal of our article is to study the internal structure of the various groups of Kharkov’s citizens, selected from the point of view of their strategies, tactics and practices of media consumption.

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<sup>12</sup> M. M. Nazarov, *Televidenie i internet ...*, op. cit. Note that we discuss primarily about functional equivalence and in no way about the equivalence of consequences and results.

<sup>13</sup> W. Riepl, *Das Nachrichtenwesen des Altertums mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die Römer*, Leipzig und Berlin, 1913, p. 478.

<sup>14</sup> A. S. Tarasenko, *Media potreblenie auditorii 55+: internet protiv televidenija?*, «Nauka televidenija», 2009, № 6, p. 153.

<sup>15</sup> A. I. Solov’jov, *Novye...*, op.cit., p. 156

<sup>16</sup> L. E. Kravetzhina, *Paradigma, tendencii razvitija i transformaci i videokontenta v tradicijnom televidenii i v internete*, «Kreativnaja jekonomika», 2014, № 9 (93), p. 116.

<sup>17</sup> S. G. Davydov, T. A. Nemudrova, *Potrebiteli media: opyt tipologizacii*, «Sociologicheskij zhurnal», 2011, № 1, p. 79.

To do this, we plan to turn to the study of their identity consciousness, value field (in the terminology of Lyudmyla Sokuryanskaya<sup>18</sup>), ideological preferences, expectations, perceptions of others and themselves, the ratio of permissions and prohibitions for them in outside world, as well as the socio-demographic dimension of these groups.

The empirical basis of our research is the research carried out by a group of sociologists of the Department of Sociology of the V.N. Karazin Kharkov National University (September – December 2017; field stage – December 2017) under the guidance of Dr Soc., prof. Alexey Musiezdov on „Traditional, modern and post-modern values in Ukrainian megalopolis (Kharkov's example)”. The study was conducted with the use of the face-to-face interview; the sample was developed on the basis of statistical data about the structure of the Kharkov population – it is representative of the city's adult population from the perspective of sex, age and education and makes a sample of 800 observations (n= 800).

In the course of the analysis, we used a technique for constructing indices, created on the basis of the simplest weighted averages. In order to ensure the convenience of interpreting the indices, we decided to place explanations to each table concerning the possible range of ordinal scales on the basis of which these indices were built.

## **The main parameters of the media consumption in Kharkov: demography, identification, practice**

The structure of the media consumption by the residents of Kharkov is as follows: only 1,3 % of Kharkov citizens listen to stationary radio points (this group was excluded from further analysis because the subsample is unrepresentative and small), 6,9 % of the respondents listen to FM radio stations, 68,8 % of Kharkov's citizens watch television, 13,0 % of the city residents read the print media, finally, the respondents use the internet on a level comparable to television consumption – 68 %.

These results are somewhat debatable in the context of the conclusion made by well-known Ukrainian sociologist Natalia Kostenko that: „in Ukraine and Russia traditional media – the press, radio and especially television – remain the main means of social communication”<sup>19</sup>, and the television audience of these countries (as well as in Europe) is approximately equal to their entire adult population. For example, television, according to N. Kostenko, was not watched in Ukraine by 6 % and in Russia by 4 %, whereas according to Mikhail Nazarov, in Russia 93% of

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<sup>18</sup> L. G. Sokurjanskaja, *Studenchestvo na puti k drugomu obshchestvu: cennostnyj diskurs perehoda*, Har'kov 2006.

<sup>19</sup> N. V. Kostenko, *Informacionno-kul'turnye...*, op. cit., p. 49.

the study's respondents turned to television every day or almost every day, among which 44 % – used the internet<sup>20</sup>. These data allow us to compare different moments and situations and understand how dynamic the picture is in this issue in the modern world.

At the same time, the potential of the internet as a mass medium has not been exhausted: in Kharkov, as in any large metropolis with developed infrastructure, only one in five citizens (22 %) does not use the internet and 78 % use it (which significantly exceeds the average parameters both in the country and in the macroregion). 63,5 % of the respondents use the internet almost every day (that is, very actively), 11,1 % use it several times a week, 2,6 % use it several times a month and 0,7 % use it several times a year or less. Such a pyramid of consumption forces us to assume that media consumption in the sector of the internet has a cumulative property, namely the inclusion of the internet media consumption inevitably entails an escalation and a gradual but rather fast filling of the available time because, as is held, „the key parameter of a digital material is the time it takes to consume it“<sup>21</sup>. In this sense, from the dichotomy of the strategies described by N. Kostenko – namely, „the influence of involvement in the network on the intensity of using the main information sources is ambiguous: the internet can facilitate contacts with them or make them an obvious competition. At the very least, active internet communication does not prevent Europeans from active listening to the radio and reading newspapers, but it does not combine with the habit of active television viewing“<sup>22</sup> – it turns out that the internet is following the first path, gradually „occupying“ communications in the everyday life of Kharkov's residents. Probably, it is still a matter of fact that the internet is quite multifunctional: it can satisfy any level of selectivity and any orientation. As described by S. Davydov and T. Nemudrova: „The level of selectivity and focus on entertainment or information content are important parameters differentiating the audience“<sup>23</sup>.

Similar considerations can explain the specificity of the demographic characteristics of the mentioned groups depending on the media consumption in Kharkov (see Table 1). So, it turns out that radio, television, and (especially) print media are the main sources of information for women, while the internet has this function for men (given the overall prevalence of women in the sample, it is noticeable). In addition, the internet consumers group is clearly younger than the radio and television consumption groups, and the oldest is the group that reads printed publications.

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<sup>20</sup> M. M. Nazarov, *Televidenie i internet ...*, op. cit., p. 119

<sup>21</sup> A. I. Solov'jov, *Novye...*, op.cit., p. 155.

<sup>22</sup> N. V. Kostenko, *Informacionno-kul'turnye...*, op. cit., p. 66.

<sup>23</sup> S. G. Davydov, T. A. Nemudrova, *Potrebiteli media...*, op. cit., p. 75.

It is significant that the most „Ukrainised” media consumption groups (if, of course, one can use this word for such low indicators that is understandable for Kharkov. We note that the language was studied by the respondent’s choice of the interview language) are the „elderly” ones – namely, the groups that prefer radio and print publications, while the most modern and youth consumption (internet) group is most Russified.

**Table 1. Selected socio-demographic characteristics of the media groups in Kharkov (in %)**

	They use the internet several times ...					They receive information about events in the country and world mostly from ...			
	per day	per week	per month	per year	They do not use it at all	FM-radio	Television	Press	Internet
Male	51,0	51,1	46,9	11,1	33,1	46,4	41,4	43,7	51,9
Female	49,0	48,9	53,1	88,9	66,9	53,6	53,4	56,3	48,1
18-29 years old	29,4	6,7	6,3	0,0	1,1	10,7	10,7	8,2	26,9
30-44 years old	35,2	33,3	18,8	0,0	1,9	26,2	23,6	15,8	33,8
45-59 years old	24,4	37,0	34,4	33,3	16,9	26,2	27,2	28,5	26,3
60 years old and older	10,9	23,0	40,6	66,7	80,1	36,9	38,5	47,5	13,0
Russian language	99,1	100	96,9	100,0	97,4	97,6	98,4	97,5	99,0
Ukrainian language	0,9	0,0	3,1	0	2,6	2,4	1,6	2,5	1,0
Ukrainian	81,0	75,2	71,0	77,8	77,4	72,3	77,4	70,5	79,3
Russian	15,7	18,0	29,0	22,2	20,3	22,9	19,4	25,0	16,5
Another	3,3	6,8	0,0	0,0	2,3	4,8	3,2	4,5	4,2

Source: The author’s research.

At the same time, there is an interesting discrepancy within the data on ethnic identity. It turns out that the most „Russian” groups are just radio and „printed media” groups, while almost 4/5 of the respondents who prefer the internet, called themselves Ukrainians. Such a paradox is generally characteristic for Ukraine: the discontinuity of ethnic identification and real language practices, triggers, in the field of media consumption, additional research difficulties.

In the demographic characteristics of the intensity of use of the internet, we have not revealed any unexpected facts or trends that would not have been indicated previously. The internet is more often used by men, young Russian-speaking people, identifying themselves as Ukrainians (we would attribute the latter fact to the results of the „identity policy” of the Ukrainian state and its education system, which, of course, primarily affects the youth).

In other words, a century later, the question of the value differences between generations, as posed by Karl Mannheim<sup>24</sup>, is still important and significant. According to K. Mannheim, important factors of generational differences are the common history and experience of given people, and these factors realise and actualise the phenomenon of a generation. In this sense, K. Mannheim argues that a generation is not conditioned, but from the point of view of its experience, self-awareness, structures of people's knowledge, which, of course, are connected with their demographic cohort, age, and historical factors in a non-linear way.

The situation is also complicated by the fact that: „each new media forms a particular practice of its consumption (media consumption) for the consumer and changes the consumption habits of already existing media. The consumption of modern man is constantly expanding the boundaries. This leads, firstly, to the fragmentation of the audience, not only by content but also by technological preferences”<sup>25</sup>. In other words, direct and caste dependencies „do not work”. It turns out that the same generation of Soviet people, contrary to the findings of earlier studies, is „smeared” between radio, television and (especially) print publications; and now due to the rigid broadcasting network of television channels into which the „Soviet people” are built in, publication schedule, and even the use of the internet, are added.

The above conclusions are confirmed by a study of the structure and distribution of the identities of Kharkov’s citizens (see Table 2).

**Table 2. Kharkov’s identity groups (5 - maximum identification, 1 - no identification)**

	They use the internet...				They receive information about events in the country and world mostly from ...			
	Every day	A few times per week	Rarely	Do not use at all	FM-radio	Television	Press	Internet
Representative of his or her nationality (ethnic group)	4,1410	<b>3,9627</b>	3,7805	4,1015	4,1548	4,1372	<b>3,9613</b>	4,1523

<sup>24</sup> K. Mannheim *The Problem of Generations*, “Essays of the Sociology of Knowledge”, Oxford 1952, pp. 276–322.

<sup>25</sup> A. Tarasenko, *Media potreblenie ...*, op. cit., p. 153.



Ukrainian citizen	4,3403	4,1926	<b>4,0976</b>	4,3459	<b>4,2857</b>	4,3625	4,2949	4,3196
Representative of his or her region	4,3611	4,3507	<b>4,1463</b>	4,4280	<b>4,2143</b>	4,4542	4,2581	4,3815
Resident of his or her hometown	4,5462	<b>4,5333</b>	4,5610	4,6466	<b>4,5476</b>	4,6439	4,5696	4,5733
A Soviet man	<b>2,1380</b>	2,5852	3,0976	3,4962	2,7738	2,7440	2,8452	<b>2,1942</b>
A European	2,5750	2,3778	2,0000	<b>1,8383</b>	2,4881	<b>2,1681</b>	2,4841	2,5492
A citizen of the world	2,7396	2,7259	2,6098	<b>2,1090</b>	2,6786	<b>2,4125</b>	2,8217	2,7379

Source: the author's research<sup>26</sup>.

Thus, radio listeners have the most polarised identities: on the one hand, more than other groups, they identify themselves as carriers of their nationality and as Europeans. On the other hand, they view themselves less than other groups as citizens of Ukraine, representatives of their region and residents of their hometown. In contrast, it is these three identities that are most intense among the group of television lovers, whereas European and global identities are least significant for them.

No less significant is the fact that it is the print media that is read by people with the most actualised Soviet and global identities. It turns out that the Soviet internationalism is perceived by its ordinary carriers not only as a part of the mythology of the Soviet man but also as a construct that erases ethnonational and regional differences: even for almost three decades after the collapse of the USSR, we observe that there is a definite correlation between the Soviet and global identity. It is not surprising that this particular group is also distinguished by its minimal (compared to other groups, of course) inclusion of ethnonational identity. Indeed, it is possible that the ethnonational identity as a common identity, *Gemeinschaft*-identity, is replaced by the mechanism described as follows: „Press consumption is provided by a number of factors: the feeling of group involvement, the exclusivity of information, where tradition reminiscent of the book culture – some readers still need for the media to look like books in Europe”<sup>27</sup>.

Finally, the mentioned group of internet users is characterised by low identity tensions. The forecast of Bauman<sup>28</sup> about a revolt against norms and against identities and about the formation of a wardrobe of identities is being carried out. The only thing that distinguished the internet consumers from other groups was

<sup>26</sup> Hereinafter: a marker allocates a cell with the maximum value per line, in bold is allocated a cell with the minimum value per line.

<sup>27</sup> N. V. Kostenko, *Informacionno-kul'turnye...*, op. cit., p. 49.

<sup>28</sup> Z. Bauman, *Tekuchaja sovremennost'*, Sankt-Peterburg 2008.

the „protest” against the Soviet identity, which was significantly (by 25-30 %) less pronounced than in other three groups.

This is evident in the case of the frequency of the internet use. It turns out that four of the seven proposed identities are most actualised for those who do not use the internet at all. In contrast, we see that the active internet users have actualised the identity of a European, a global citizen and a member of their ethnonational community; although the latter is only slightly ahead when it comes to the indicator of the same identity among those who do not use the internet at all.

Thus, it is possible to hypothesise that an active use of the internet is a part of the process of engaging in broader global contexts, as a result of which most of the known identities are discarded, and, in this sense, the opposition between the internet and traditional media consumption becomes much more diverse and complex.

## **Expectations and priorities of Kharkov’s groups: knowledge about the future, knowledge about the present**

An important parameter in the global world is not so much identity, not so much involvement in the „old” social structures, traditions and practices, as individual personal priorities, expectations and ways of perception. It is they – in the world of „the collapse of metanarratives”<sup>29</sup> – that replace these metanarratives, control the actions of both individuals and large groups of agents, and influence the formation and development of social systems and structures. In addition, an individualised society<sup>30</sup>, as a structural objectification of the culture of individualism<sup>31</sup>, cannot be studied solely as a collection of large structures, and the empirics of media research have demonstrated<sup>32</sup>.

We observe that the life priorities of different groups, subdivided with regard to the sources of information they use, differ significantly.

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<sup>29</sup> Zh.-F. Liotar, *Sostojanie postmoderna*, Moskva 1998.

<sup>30</sup> Z. Bauman, *Individualizirovannoe obshchestvo*, Moskva 2005.

<sup>31</sup> M. Jacino, *Kul'tura individualizma*, Har'kov 2012.

<sup>32</sup> A. V. Tolokonnikova, T. S. Cherevko, *Potreblenie novostno jinformaciiu internete studentami MGU imeni M. V. Lomonosova*, «Vestnik Moskovskogo universiteta. Serija 10: Zhurnalistika», 2016, № 4, s. 142-162.

**Table 3. Life priorities of Kharkov's citizens (4 - „very important”, 1 - „not at all important”).**

	They use the internet...				Mostly they receive information about events in the country and world from ...			
	Every day	A few times per week	Everyday	Do not use at all	FM-radio	Television	Press	Internet
Family	3,9168	3,9333	3,9024	<b>3,8684</b>	3,9643	3,9293	<b>3,8797</b>	3,9273
Friends	3,4531	3,2296	3,2195	<b>3,1434</b>	3,4286	3,3121	<b>3,2739</b>	3,4223
Free time	3,3172	3,2164	2,9250	<b>2,8485</b>	3,3095	3,1209	<b>3,0645</b>	3,2864
Politics	<b>2,0079</b>	2,2148	2,2195	2,1396	2,1905	2,1578	2,3742	<b>2,0428</b>
Work	3,4316	3,3704	3,1750	<b>2,4774</b>	3,1786	<b>3,0962</b>	3,1026	3,4221
Religion	<b>2,3272</b>	2,3582	2,5750	2,4621	2,3810	2,4227	2,6405	<b>2,3594</b>

Source: The author's research.

There is a strong structural polarisation between the readers of print media (for whom such post-materialist<sup>33</sup> values as family, friends, free time, and much more important than politics and religion) and the active internet-users (who, on the contrary, are more interested in the first three values more than the other groups, while they remain much less interested in politics and religion).

We would like to point out that – unexpectedly – family values, friendship and free time are important for the radio listeners and work for the internet audience. Work is least significant – confirming all the information presented in the previous studies in which the group of tele-consumers was labelled as „housewives” and „lovers of soap operas” – for the television group.

We would like to point out as well that, in addition to the demonstrative rejection of politics and work by active internet users, the other minima are concentrated in the group of those who do not use the internet at all. Their value consciousness, in contrast to the identification consciousness, is the least stressful and loaded. We consider such mutual replacement of value and identification burdens as symptomatic and important: it turns out that these different forms of knowledge about oneself and the world around in contexts of globalisation and textualisation<sup>34</sup> of sociality cannot coexist equally, they mutually supplant each other.

In addition to knowledge of the present, the person's knowledge about the future is also important in the structure of a person's knowledge of the world – which can exist only in the form of expectations, hopes, dreams and preferences

<sup>33</sup> R. Inglehart, *Modernization and Postmodernization*, Princeton 1997.

<sup>34</sup> The world is text, according to J. Derrida (Derrida Zh. *O grammatologii*, Moskva 2000).

(see Table 4). First, knowledge about the future „grows“ out of knowledge about the past and the present, secondly, it is directly connected with knowledge of oneself and one's place in the world, thirdly, it inevitably targets other people (since this is the future).

**Table 4. Expectations of Kharkovites for the near future (1 - the most positive expectations; 3 - the most negative expectations)**

	They use the internet...				Mostly they receive information about events in the country and world from ...			
	Every day	A few times per week	Rarely	Do not use at all	FM-radio	Television	Press	internet
The importance of working in our lives will change	<b>1,4784</b>	1,6269	1,6829	1,7795	1,5833	1,5918	1,6968	<b>1,4817</b>
Greater focus on technology	1,3307	<b>1,3233</b>	1,4878	1,6692	1,3690	1,4389	1,4968	<b>1,3341</b>
Respect for authority will grow	<b>1,6937</b>	1,6940	1,7805	1,7500	1,7024	1,7008	1,9231	<b>1,6960</b>

Source: The author's research.

The least optimistic expectations have the readers of the press (in all three parameters), the most optimistic are the adherents of the internet. At the same time, television lovers are somewhat more optimistic than radio lovers (except for issues of politics and respect for power), and otherwise, in the knowledge of the future, we observe hard polarisation, reproduced both at the level of media consumption channels and at the level of intensity of internet-use. It turns out that the group of active users of the internet are optimistic, while the groups not using or very rarely using are pessimists. This may be due to the fact that it is easier to find like-minded people on the internet (the others themselves, on whom the future depends), and to the fact that the lifetime of knowledge on the internet is much less, and therefore the bindings of knowledge about the future to knowledge of the past are smaller and much less rigid.

Notice that in the structure of the identity and values of the global person, the person of the modern world and the person of mass communication, the work is important (see above about the importance of work for internet-users), that is confirmed, among other things, by theoretical concepts<sup>35</sup>. At the same time,

<sup>35</sup> U. Beck, *Was ist Globalisierung? Irrtümer des Globalismus – Antworten auf Globalisierung*, Suhrkamp 2007;

the work should have certain characteristics that fit into the trend of „post-materialism” (according to R. Inglehart). And basically, these theoretical hypotheses in Kharkov case are confirmed (see Table 5).

**Table 5. How significant are the work parameters for the Kharkov citizens in their work (indices; 5 - very important, 1 - absolutely not important)**

	They use the internet...				Mostly they receive information about events in the country and world from ...			
	Every day	A few times per week	Rarely	Do not use at all	FM-radio	Television	Press	internet
Good pay	4,8153	4,6970	4,6341	<b>4,4491</b>	<b>4,5714</b>	4,6751	4,6306	4,8214
Not overstretched work	4,0026	4,0305	4,1000	<b>3,8333</b>	3,8452	3,9709	<b>3,6818</b>	4,0246
Guaranteed job	4,6658	4,5985	4,4390	<b>4,3698</b>	4,4881	4,5887	<b>4,4810</b>	4,6707
Work respectable	4,2146	4,0227	<b>3,5854</b>	3,8835	<b>3,9881</b>	4,0841	4,0316	4,1859
Convenient running time	4,3172	4,2424	<b>3,9024</b>	3,9283	4,1667	4,1590	<b>3,8535</b>	4,2890
Ability to take initiative	4,0730	3,8864	<b>3,3902</b>	3,6316	<b>3,6988</b>	3,8614	3,8662	4,0389
Long vacation, enough non-working days	3,7906	3,7955	<b>3,4634</b>	3,5526	3,6310	3,7208	<b>3,3354</b>	3,7555
Work where you feel you can accomplish something	4,2637	4,0606	<b>3,4634</b>	3,7556	<b>3,9524</b>	4,0313	4,0255	4,2366
Responsible work	3,9373	3,7879	<b>3,1951</b>	3,5358	<b>3,7381</b>	3,7723	3,8217	3,9122
Interesting job	4,5930	4,3939	<b>3,9756</b>	4,1654	4,3929	4,3966	<b>4,3608</b>	4,5711
A job that meets the abilities	4,5286	4,2576	<b>4,0488</b>	4,1767	<b>4,1548</b>	4,3582	4,2785	4,4842

Source: The author's research.

We see that supporters of internet consumption of information responded most sharply to questions about work, while relative indifference to this question was distributed among supporters of print media (5 minima) and radio (6 minima). No one minimum fell to television consumption.

In the case of the study of the very group of internet consumers, we observe that here is the „Inner Party”, in which active users of the internet are first of all. Only long-term leave (the second most active group of internet-use chose this indicator more actively) and „work without much tension” (the third most active group) turned out to be less important for active internet users than for other groups.

Thus, we see that within the landscapes of identities or values, the identities or values themselves are not competing. But they compete with each other (as different forms of knowledge about the world and people living in it). In particular, it turns out that one and the same group can have a very tense value consciousness – and the identification consciousness is a little tense. No „overflows of attention” between different values or different identities are observed.

Moreover, we observe that values or identities are also knowledge products of media consumption - where the media work as a channel for design, and as a tool for reproduction and support of a certain form and content of knowledge about the outside world.

## **The influence of media consumption on self-perception and knowledge about the other, near and far**

An important part of this world is others. The subject of the Other in sociology is actualised primarily from the side of philosophy (for example, through the efforts of Emmanuel Levinas<sup>36</sup>, Martin Heidegger<sup>37</sup>, Mikhail Bakhtin<sup>38</sup>, Maurice Merleau-Ponty<sup>39</sup> or Paul Ricoeur<sup>40</sup>) and psychology (Slavoy Žižek<sup>41</sup>, Sigmund Freud<sup>42</sup>, Jacques-Marie-Emile Lacan<sup>43</sup>). However, the actualisation in the context of globalisation of the issues of interaction with another (embodied in the topics of political correctness, tolerance, recognition policies<sup>44</sup> and moral grammars<sup>45</sup>)

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<sup>36</sup> E. Levinas, *Time and the Other, and Additional Essays*, Duquesne 1987.

<sup>37</sup> M. Heidegger, *Vremja i bytie: stat'i i vystuplenija*, Moskva 1993.

<sup>38</sup> M.M. Bahtin, *K filosofii postupka*, Bahtin M.M. «Sobranie sochinenij: v 7 t. T. 1», Moskva 2003, p. 7-68.

<sup>39</sup> M. Merleau-Ponty, *Fenomenologija vosprijatija*, Sankt-Peterburg 1999.

<sup>40</sup> P. Ricoeur, *Ja – sam kak drugoj*, Moskva 2008.

<sup>41</sup> S. Žižek, *How to Read Lacan*, London 2006.

<sup>42</sup> Z. Freyd, *Totem i tabu*, Sankt-Peterburg 2005.

<sup>43</sup> J. Lacan, *The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psycho-analysis*, London 1977.

<sup>44</sup> Ch. Taylor, *Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition*, Princeton 1994.

<sup>45</sup> A. Honneth, *The Struggle for Recognition: The Moral Grammar of Social Conflicts*, Cambridge 1995.

leads to the fact that sociologists are increasingly asking how people see the Other – a specific Other or generalised Other. In this sense, as raised by George Herbert Mead subject of perception of oneself through the eyes of another<sup>46</sup>, and the phenomenological question of the existence of another and its interpretation by an actor are significant.

In our study, we singled out, first, the person's perception of himself „from the outside” (the judgment of similarity, which we offered to the respondents during the study, is precisely the judgment „from the outside”), secondly, the person's perception of others – close others (in the form of their children and their preferred variations) and distant others (in the form of groups potentially capable of causing xenophobic moods). Here we also received significant differences between groups of media consumption (see Table 6).

So, here, unlike the value or identification consciousness, we observe a more or less uniform distribution of maxima and minima among groups of different channels of media consumption, with the exception, perhaps, of radio.

It is less important than for other groups,

- for radio consumers – to follow traditions and customs;
- for internet consumers – to care about the environment and always behave correctly;
- for tele-consumers – to be rich, to do something good for society, to live interesting;
- for readers of print media, to live in safety, have a good time and be successful in the eyes of others.

More important than for other groups:

- for radio amateurs – to live in safety and always behave correctly;
- for television viewers – to follow the traditions;
- for internet consumers – to be rich, have a good time, be successful in the eyes of others, live interestingly;
- for readers of print publications – to do something useful for society, to take care of the environment and nature.

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<sup>46</sup> G. H. Mead, *Mind, Self and Society: The Definitive Edition*, Chicago 2015.

**Table 6. Agreement with the similarity of the given person with himself (indices; 1 - the maximum level of similarity, 6 - the maximum level of dissimilarity)**

For this person it is important ...	They use the internet...				Mostly they receive information about events in the country and world from ...			
	Every day	A few times per week	Rarely	Do not use at all	FM-radio	Television	Press	Internet
to be rich, to have a lot of money and expensive things	3,4817	<b>3,4222</b>	4,2439	4,3008	3,7857	3,8281	3,8205	<b>3,4842</b>
to live in safety, he avoids everything that may be dangerous	2,3416	2,2537	2,3415	<b>2,0301</b>	<b>1,8810</b>	2,1575	2,3885	2,3114
have a good time, indulge himself	<b>3,0300</b>	3,4593	3,8049	3,8684	3,1310	3,4651	3,7500	<b>3,0535</b>
do something good for society	<b>2,6775</b>	2,8593	2,8780	2,7782	2,6071	2,7284	<b>2,5287</b>	2,7108
be successful so that others know about his achievements.	<b>3,1948</b>	3,3111	3,8293	4,0679	3,4048	3,5723	3,6452	<b>3,2229</b>
adventure and risk, a life full of exciting events	3,9269	<b>3,8284</b>	4,5610	4,7841	4,0723	4,3602	4,2692	<b>3,9513</b>
always behave correctly, do not commit disapproving acts	2,7653	2,8296	2,9024	<b>2,3094</b>	<b>2,4096</b>	2,5361	2,5860	2,7558
caring for the environment and nature	2,5875	2,6815	2,7317	<b>2,5150</b>	2,4048	2,5925	<b>2,3654</b>	2,6034
follow the traditions and customs adopted in his family or religion	2,5085	2,4074	2,6585	<b>2,1617</b>	2,4524	<b>2,3141</b>	2,3782	2,4714

Source: the author's research

Paradoxically, in this case, that unlike the overwhelming majority of the remaining data, we do not confirm a number of the trends highlighted above, analyzing the structure of the group of internet users. We reveal that for active



internet users it is less important than for others to be rich and live in safety while having a good time, doing something useful for society and being successful in the eyes of others is more important. This picture needs more in-depth studies of self-identification practices and life preferences of internet consumers, especially since this group is in an extremely dynamic state on post-Soviet space, it is constantly being formed and changing, which complicates conceptual conclusions.

The picture in the description by users of various information channels about the qualities of other people looks somewhat different (see Tables 7-8).

**Table 7. Preferred qualities for their children, needed and wished by respondents (indices, where 2 is not selected quality, 1 is the chosen quality)**

	They use the internet...				Mostly they receive information about events in the country and world from ...			
	Every day	A few times per week	Rarely	Do not use at all	FM-radio	Television	Press	Internet
Independence	<b>1,4228</b>	1,4667	1,5122	1,6090	<b>1,3333</b>	1,4988	1,4810	1,4202
Hard work	1,2227	1,1481	<b>1,0244</b>	1,1128	1,1807	1,1463	<b>1,1392</b>	1,1990
A responsibility	1,2258	<b>1,2015</b>	1,2195	1,2632	<b>1,1807</b>	1,2236	1,2342	1,2095
Imagination	<b>1,7113</b>	1,7239	1,8250	1,8226	1,7831	1,7736	1,7722	<b>1,7160</b>
Tolerance and respect for other people	1,4713	1,5821	<b>1,3171</b>	1,3684	1,4512	1,4260	<b>1,4167</b>	1,4738
Thrift	1,6754	1,6343	1,6000	<b>1,4474</b>	1,5244	1,5700	<b>1,4713</b>	1,6789
Determination, perseverance	<b>1,4476</b>	1,5075	1,6000	1,5585	1,4878	1,5048	1,5705	<b>1,4530</b>
Religiosity	1,8978	<b>1,8881</b>	1,8974	1,9019	<b>1,8415</b>	1,8971	1,8645	1,8888
Disinterestedness, unselfishness	1,7840	1,8496	1,8750	<b>1,7500</b>	1,7654	1,7712	<b>1,7613</b>	1,7985
Obedience	1,8480	1,8284	<b>1,7561</b>	1,8038	1,8537	1,8225	<b>1,8141</b>	1,8557
Self-expression	<b>1,4172</b>	1,5373	1,5500	1,6128	1,6145	1,5048	1,5949	<b>1,4270</b>

Source: The author's research.

For internet-users, it is less preferable than other groups for their children to be hardworking, tolerant, thrifty, disinterested and obedient, more important for them to be resolute and determined to express themselves.

Readers of print editions less than other groups see their children as responsible and determined, assertive, and more than other groups – as hardworking, tolerant, thrifty, disinterested and obedient.

Tele-consumers tend to abandon the independence and religiosity of their children (a paradoxical combination, of course).

Finally, radio listeners prefer to sacrifice their penchant for self-expression and fantasy, whereas more than other groups they are willing to see independence, responsibility, religiosity.

Regarding various groups in terms of intensity of internet consumption, the group of active internet users prefers to see their children independent, imaginative, determined, persistent and inclined to express themselves, while the group that does not use the internet prefers such qualities for their children as thrifty, disinterested, unselfish and much less other groups are ready to see their children independent, responsible, religious, prone to self-expression.

Thus, we observe that from the point of view of the nearest and desirable other, the use of the internet stimulates the expectation of modern and post-materialistic qualities (self-expression, decisiveness, imagination) for close people. Whereas reading of print media or radio is connected with the requirement of traditional qualities (diligence, thrift, disinterestedness, obedience, religiosity). In this sense, the hypothesis of a positive correlation of the desired qualities and features of communicative strategies is confirmed.

Data about how people are tolerant towards different groups depending on media consumption (see Table 8) is illustrative also.

In particular, internet-users are the most tolerant (four local maxima), television users are the least tolerant (no local maxima, eight local minima out of 10 possible, and the internet users are less tolerant to alcoholics, print media is not tolerant to characterises the traditionalism of their perception of the world). This is indicative: after all, according to previous data, the group of television consumers did not look like supporters of prohibitions or traditional morality. We can assume that the fact is that the media content of television radicalises more media content of the internet or print media, imposes much more powerful and effective stereotypes and brings up a much less tolerant audience.

**Table 8. Willingness to live in the neighbourhood with different groups (indices; 1 - unwillingness to live; 2 - readiness to live in the neighbourhood)**

	They use the internet...				Mostly they receive information about events in the country and world from ...			
	Every day	A few times per week	Rarely	Do not use at all	FM-radio	Television	Press	Internet
Drug addicts	1,0494	1,0296	<b>1,0000</b>	1,0489	1,0357	<b>1,0276</b>	1,0316	1,0376
People of another race	1,8837	1,8889	1,8780	<b>1,7744</b>	1,9048	<b>1,8401</b>	1,8608	1,8893

People with AIDS	1,6863	1,6593	1,6341	<b>1,5358</b>	1,6429	<b>1,6089</b>	1,7089	1,6825
Immigrants, foreign workers	1,8446	1,7778	1,8293	<b>1,7331</b>	1,8214	<b>1,7981</b>	1,8228	1,8396
Homosexuals	1,5849	1,4519	1,4146	<b>1,3985</b>	1,5238	<b>1,4700</b>	1,5570	1,5735
People of another religion	1,9346	1,9478	1,9268	<b>1,9019</b>	1,9512	<b>1,9191</b>	1,9427	1,9415
Alcoholics	1,1105	1,1259	1,0732	1,1316	1,1786	1,1055	1,1139	<b>1,1018</b>
Unmarried couples living together	1,9713	1,9778	1,9756	<b>1,9436</b>	1,9762	1,9603	<b>1,9367</b>	1,9708
People who speak another are not your language	1,9321	1,9185	1,8780	<b>1,8195</b>	1,9286	<b>1,8834</b>	1,9304	1,9235
Migrants from Donetsk and Lugansk regions or Crimea	1,9647	<b>1,9481</b>	1,9512	1,9624	1,9762	<b>1,9603</b>	1,9684	1,9635

Source: The author's research.

We observe within the internet audience the trends that are quite explicable in this light. The only group that internet-illiterate treat better than internet-users is alcoholics, while the group of active internet users „occupied” 6 out of 10 maxima of tolerance, the other three belong to the average user group. And vice versa: eight out of ten local minima belong to the group of „internet-illiterate”, whereas none of them belongs to the group of active internet users.

Thus, in reality, we observe a statistically noticeable influence of the information consumption channel on how the image of oneself and another is produced, reproduced and criticised. In this sense, M. McLuhan's thesis „Media is the Message”<sup>47</sup> acquires a new life, because the message turns out to be a person's self-understanding.

## Media consumption and knowledge about the world: a question of justice

Finally, another important plot is how people interpret the world around them. It is no longer the object of discussions that these interpretations depend on how a particular issue will be demonstrated and interpreted in the media – here you

<sup>47</sup> M. McLuhan, *Understanding Media. The Extensions of Man*, London 2005.

can summarise and extend P. Bourdieu's thesis „to be is to be shown on TV"<sup>48</sup>. In particular, an important question is how people carry out the justification and legitimation of the surrounding world. This problem was actualised in modern sociology by Luc Boltanski and Laurent Thevenot<sup>49</sup>, who demonstrated that people use some justification strategies that are built into the whole universe of justifications<sup>50</sup>. However, the very tendency and willingness to justify actions or phenomena (even abstracting from the question of a specific strategy for implementing this) may be indicative (see Table 9).

And here it is pointedly that the listeners of radio stations (6 out of 10 local maxima) have high permissiveness, while television viewers (not a single local maximum, 5 out of 14 local minima), as well as the audience of printed publications (local maxima "abortion" and all three types of violence, and seven local minima, that is, half). In this sense, the internet-audience is very moderate: local maxima in justifying homosexuality, prostitution, premarital sexual relations, suicide, as well as a local minimum in condemning abortion.

**Table 9. Willingness to justify actions or phenomena (indices; 1 - „never deserves justification”, 10 - „it always deserves justification)**

	They use the internet...				Mostly they receive information about events in the country and world from ...			
	Every day	A few times per week	Rarely	Do not use at all	FM-radio	Television	Press	internet
Receipt of state benefits for which a person has no right	2,5065	2,4851	3,1220	<b>2,2368</b>	2,7381	<b>2,4010</b>	2,4013	2,5073
Travel without payment in public transport	3,5189	3,4328	4,4878	<b>3,3308</b>	4,1071	3,4850	<b>3,4459</b>	3,5552
Theft of another's property	1,4031	1,5075	1,3659	<b>1,3008</b>	1,4405	1,3625	<b>1,3567</b>	1,4327
Failure to pay taxes, if possible	2,6432	3,0000	2,9512	<b>2,1660</b>	3,1310	2,5668	<b>2,3631</b>	2,7002
Taking bribes using official position	1,8551	2,0597	1,8293	<b>1,5094</b>	1,9762	1,7702	<b>1,7613</b>	1,8978

<sup>48</sup> P. Burd'e, *O televidenii i zhurnalistike*, Moskva 2002, p. 25

<sup>49</sup> L. Boltanski, L. Teveno, *Kritika i obosnovanie spravedlivosti: ocherki sociologii gradov*, Moskva 2013.

<sup>50</sup> L. Boltanski, L. Teveno, *Sociologija kriticheskoy sposobnosti*, «Zhurnal sociologii i social'noj antropologii», 2000, Tom III, № 3, pp. 66-83.

Homosexuality	3,5293	3,5000	3,1707	<b>2,3835</b>	3,1786	<b>3,0217</b>	3,3885	3,5298
Abortion	<b>4,7370</b>	5,4812	4,9500	4,8636	4,9880	4,8732	5,0449	<b>4,7947</b>
Prostitution	3,4102	3,0597	3,6098	<b>2,4398</b>	3,0476	<b>2,8415</b>	2,9873	3,2731
Divorce	6,4330	7,0896	7,4878	<b>6,2906</b>	6,5714	6,4976	<b>6,3974</b>	6,4364
Sexual relations before marriage	7,2760	7,3582	6,7073	<b>6,4545</b>	7,0595	6,9723	<b>6,8471</b>	7,2476
Suicide	1,8190	1,8134	1,9512	<b>1,4699</b>	1,7024	1,6575	<b>1,5414</b>	1,7998
If husband beats wife	<b>1,2770</b>	1,4179	1,4634	1,3571	1,2976	1,2989	1,4650	1,2958
If parents beat children	<b>1,5579</b>	1,6940	2,0488	1,6128	1,6667	<b>1,5930</b>	1,7771	1,5976
Violence against other people	1,3810	1,5448	1,4634	<b>1,3233</b>	1,4762	<b>1,3589</b>	1,6115	1,4097

Source: The author's research.

It is not surprising that active internet users are also quite moderate in both maxima and minima, „justifying” homosexuality compared to other groups and „condemning” abortion and two of the three types of violence compared to them. The group of „internet-illiterate” (which show no one „local maximum”, but 11 of 13 local minima) turns out to be the least tolerant to the listed phenomena, while users of average activity who are 6 of 14 local maxima and no local minima, and users with low activity (no local minimum, seven (!) local maxima).

Thus, it is safe to assume that the readiness to justify socially or morally condemned or problematic phenomena increases with the postmodernisation of media channels and, conversely, decreases with the becoming the channels are more traditional (radio) and less convergent (print media).

In the same way, it is safe to believe that not only value but also ideological attitudes are mixed into this readiness to justify. In this sense, the internet audience is much more liberal, while the press and radio audience is much more etatical.

An indirect evidence of the connection with ideological attitudes is the distribution of opinions about certain political, economic and ideological maxims, which was demonstrated by media consumers in Kharkov (see Table 10).

**Table 10. Consent with a number of political and economic judgments (indices; 1 - maximum agreement with the thesis from the left column of the table; 7 - maximum agreement with the antonym thesis)**

Listed "opinions on the left", and not their antonyms.	They use the internet...				Mostly they receive information about events in the country and world from ...			
	Every day	A few times per week	Rarely	Do not use at all	FM-radio	Television	Press	internet
There is need to reduce the difference in income	3,0299	2,7388	2,5366	<b>2,3434</b>	2,8795	<b>2,6466</b>	2,7436	2,9964
The share of private property in business and industry should be increased.	<b>4,2656</b>	4,3684	4,9512	5,2820	<b>4,1687</b>	4,6955	4,8291	4,2676
The government should be more responsible for ensuring that all citizens are provided	2,6801	2,3284	1,9756	<b>1,9737</b>	2,5060	2,1969	<b>2,0190</b>	2,6274
Competition is good. It encourages people to work hard and develop new ideas.	<b>2,6966</b>	3,3955	3,0488	3,4361	3,0843	2,9652	3,0316	<b>2,6877</b>
Ultimately, hard work is rewarded	<b>3,4909</b>	3,7463	3,6829	3,7481	3,7349	3,5379	<b>3,3608</b>	3,4775
People can get rich only at the expense of others	4,3937	4,4328	4,0732	<b>4,0263</b>	4,4458	<b>4,2173</b>	4,7532	4,4161

Source: the author's research<sup>51</sup>.

In particular, it can be seen that internet consumers demonstrate maximum agreement with purely libertarian statements compared to other groups, „you

<sup>51</sup> Antonymic judgments, respectively: It is necessary to increase the difference in income so that people make more efforts; It is necessary to increase the share of state ownership in business and industry; People must provide themselves and not rely on the government; Competition is harmful: it awakens people's worst qualities; Hard work usually does not lead to success: it requires luck and communication; The level of well-being can grow for all people equally.

need to increase the difference in income so that people put more effort" (which television viewers are radically opposed to) and „people should provide themselves and not rely on government" (opposed to readers of press publications), while supporters of the etatist approach are concentrated among readers of press (who are sure that the state's share should be increased, that the government is responsible for the security of citizens, but paradoxically share the libertarian utopia of possibility of welfare sprouting for all without exception).

A more detailed analysis of this table shows that the distribution of ideological convictions from the point of view of sources of information is far from random, and television "erodes" convictions (although it brings up a little bit etatist views on wealth and income), while the radio audience does not believe in Protestant myths about hard work, about competition as a source of prosperity and about the priority of private property in business and industry.

Thus, our mini-hypothesis about the connectedness of the structure of knowledge with the source of knowledge, and the message from the media, for the most part, is confirmed quite confidently.

Fundamentally important for this study is the thesis of M. McLuhan that the method of transmitting information implicitly carries a certain content. From this point of view, we oppose the print media with classical electronic (radio and television), and those, in turn, with the new media: the internet and mobile communications<sup>52</sup>.

## The discussion of the results

Carried out analysis, of course, has a number of disadvantages and limitations.

1. This analysis was carried out in relation to an atypical community for Ukraine and Eastern Europe. Kharkov is a large, quite prosperous city with specific groups within (students, programmers, a powerful stratum of merchants, strong bourgeois sentiments). These data cannot be distributed neither in the country nor in the region;
2. The analysis was carried out exclusively by means of indices. To clarify and more profoundly test hypotheses, one needs to refer to the internal structure of these indices, as well as to more complex methods of analysis (factor, cluster, logistic regression, etc.);
3. The formation of communities of media consumption in Kharkov is not only incomplete - the schedule of this process obviously did not even reach its „plateau". Therefore, comparative data, allowing to analyze the dynamics of processes, their direction and vectors, would be very indicative.

However, despite these limitations (which are, rather, promising areas for

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<sup>52</sup> S. G. Davydov, T. A Nemudrova, *Potrebiteli media...*, op. cit., p. 75.

further research on this issue), we can see that the relationship between media consumption and life priorities, social preferences, political and economic ideologies and individual tastes appears quite definite and rigid. Certainly, the conclusion is confirmed that „despite the emergence of new, alternative media, it would be premature to talk about a global revolution in the information sphere and the erosion of the existing structure of the audience. There are new segments of the audience, but its social heterogeneity remains”<sup>53</sup>.

In the global space of individualisation, we do not observe the formation of a „fog of homogeneity”: we see statistically noticeable patterns and distributions. Especially these patterns are relevant in the context of the process of unification of the media landscape: „Today the media landscape is being transformed into a unified environment tied to the constant exchange of information between ordinary internet users. They spend less and less time on the consumption of the generated information flow on TV, in the press and on the radio”<sup>54</sup>. After all, it turns out that the development of individual strategies and tactics of media consumption does not at all lead to a lack of typicality in these tactics and strategies.

These patterns indicate that in the media landscape of the modern world there are both prevailing „heights” that define the scenario and features of media processes in a given territory, and subordinated to them „territories” and „places” in the media landscape. Such an unequal distribution of forces in the symbolic space refutes the neoliberal mythology of the late Michelle Foucault<sup>55</sup>, that in the symbolic space any point of space is a point of power and power. It turns out that an individual blogger can become a place of strength and power – but one can be present in the media space as an object, not a subject, of influence. In addition, such a picture of the media landscape on the example of Kharkov shows us that the media are the points of „crystallisation” of groups in the modern world, which „cling” to their usual practices, tactics and strategies for consuming information, hoping to „save” themselves, reproduce and continue themselves, this determines the appropriate editorial and discursive media strategy. In this sense, we have a system with a double bond, where the expectations of social groups largely determine the specifics of the existence and actions of the media, and the actions of the media reproduce the social group objectively (that is, supporting its practices and picture of the world) and subjectively (that is, reproducing stereotypes about it and supporting them in the external world relative to this group). In this sense, any study of the media should be careful and responsible –

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<sup>53</sup> N. V. Kostenko, *Informacionno-kul'turnye...*, op. cit., p. 48.

<sup>54</sup> A. N. Shestakov, *Novye media – novaja filosofija potreblenija informacii*, «Aktual'nye problemy social'noj kommunikacii: materialy Vtoroj Mezhdunarodnoj nauchno-prakticheskoi konferencii», 2011, s. 179-181, s. 181.

<sup>55</sup> M. Fuko, *Upravlenie soboj i drugimi. Kurs lekcij, pročitannyh v Kollezhe de Frans v 1982–1983 uch. godu*, Sankt-Peterburg 2011.



the objectification of such subtle matter implies removing the sociologist from them so as not to fall into the error of „accusation” and stigmatisation in accordance with the dominant non-reflective discourses and ideas.

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### **Kharkovians' Media Consumption: Knowledge, Groups and Specific**

#### **Summary**

The article is devoted to the study of the media landscape of the residents of Kharkov. The empirical basis of the article is a quantitative study of Kharkovians, conducted with the direct participation of the author. The research strategy of the author of the article is based on identifying various groups of Kharkovians, for whom a thorough analysis of their media consumption, their knowledge structures, and their specifics is carried out. Particular attention is paid to comparing the results of the author's research and the study of other media sociologists in the post-Soviet space. The author analyzes the demographic and identification parameters of Kharkov citizens in terms of using the Internet and information channels. Then, life plans, expectations, job preferences, knowledge structures about acceptable and unacceptable, value structures and preferred human qualities, as well as tolerance towards groups of other people and some judgments about justice are studied. As a result, the author demonstrates the relationship between media consumption and knowledge structures of Kharkovians and describes the limitations of the current and prospects for further research.

Keywords: media, media consumption, values, knowledge, sociology of knowledge, knowledge structures, individualization, globalization, life priorities, groups, practices.