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Media-connected society:
the analysis of media content and
usage patterns from
a systems-theoretical perspective

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LIST OF ORIGINAL PUBLICATIONS

This dissertation is based on the following original publications, which will be referred to according to their respective Roman numerals.

STUDY I   Kõuts 2004 *Social Integration in the Post-Socialist Society: The Case of Estonia.* Gdansk-Berlin: Nordeuropa-Institut der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin.

STUDY II   Kõuts, Vihalemm, Lauristin 2013 Trust in the context of audience fragmentation. *CM: Communication Management Quarterly,* 26, 77–102.

STUDY III Kõuts-Klemm 2006 Fragmentierte Publika in der Transformationsgesellschaft Estlands. Tendenzen der Mediennutzung. *Medien und Kommunikationswissenschaft*, 54(4), 620–636.

STUDY IV   Vihalemm, Lauristin, Kõuts 2012 Trends in Estonian media landscape in 2000–2012. *Media Transformations*, 6, 12–63.

STUDY V   Lõhmus, Kõuts, Nieminen, Kõnno, Aljas 2013 Between Journalism and Society: Transformation of Newspapers' Thematic Structure in the 20th Century, *Javnost – The Public*, 20(1), 89–106.

STUDY VI   Lõhmus, Kõuts, Kõnno, Aljas 2011 Time and space in the content of Estonian daily newspapers in the 20th century. *Trames*, 15(1), 60–73.

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AUTHOR'S CONTRIBUTION

STUDY I and III are original contributions, authored by myself, that focus on the analysis and interpretation of representative survey data related to media use and social integration in Estonia. In the first study, the outlines of the theoretical interpretations are given in an embryonic sense, and not elaborated further in terms of the systems theoretical paradigm. This will be done in the present dissertation.

Four of the other studies are co-authored (STUDIES II, IV, V and VI).

In the STUDY II my contribution consisted mainly in the data analysis, while the theoretical aspects and analysis were elaborated jointly with shared responsibility in terms of defining the research problems, interpreting results and drawing conclusions.

My contribution to STUDY IV was relatively small – I carried out some of the data analysis and wrote the sections related to the integration of the Russian-language minority in Estonia.

STUDIES V and VI were co-authored from the very beginning – I was one of the designers of the research method and theoretical framework in collaboration with the leader of the research project, associate professor Maarja Lõhmus, as well as one of the coder-trainers. Through many theoretical and interpretative meetings with the working group, I was able to carry out data analysis for others as well for the present articles, also writing in conjunction with other authors.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I also warmly thank my family who patiently supported me on this long journey, my sons in particular have my greatest thanks – as a result of my studies perhaps they have been pushed into having to be more self-confident and independent than is usual. Thank you for your unconditional love.

1. INTRODUCTION

> No man is an island,
> Entire of itself.
> Each is a piece of the continent,
> A part of the main.
> If a clod be washed away by the sea,
> Europe is the less.
> As well as if a promontory were.
> As well as if a manner of thine own
> Or of thine friend's were.
> Each man's death diminishes me,
> For I am involved in mankind.
> Therefore, send not to know
> For whom the bell tolls,
> It tolls for thee.
> ...
>
> John Donne

The traditional structure of contemporary society seems to be breaking up. Growing global risks, the decreasing role of the nation-states, individuals' increasing uncertainty in relation to his/her environment and future, and individualization processes have been dealt with in the framework of dis-integration concept. Destruction, segmentation and fragmentation – these are key words of post- and late-modernity.

This diagnosis of contemporary society derives from a modernist world view, where development is equated to growth, improvement and acceleration. According to this dominant approach, social development is supported by unified values, standardized norms and social action conquered by rational goals. However, as the group of intellectuals known by the name of "the Club of Rome" argued in the 1970s, growth has limits.

Nevertheless, without going deeper into the discussion, do we see in society processes of development, decline or stagnation, can we raise the question – how is society being held together? What are the mechanisms behind this social arrangement?

Many scholars begin to answer the question by studying individuals. They attempt to detect latent patterns behind the actions of many people (Parsons 1938), in their everyday practices (Certeau 1988) and in the life-world context in terms of its influence on their actions (Schütz 1932), or even in common constructions of social reality and the individual internalizations of those constructions (Berger and Luckmann 1966). All of those approaches try to find general patterns, the ordering principles of sociality, and detect operational patterns in society by analysing individuals. Without doubt a person is

definitely worth studying in a sociological context, but if one starts with purely sociological research, one must acknowledge that today there are now more than 7 billion cases to study. In order to generalise these 'cases' we have to learn to 'cut' through this mass of data, and as a result the explanatory power of our models decreases significantly. This is the reason why the individual is not the central subject of the analysis studied in this dissertation, rather, I will approach integration via communication. Communication concept is equated not only to the individual subject.

In this dissertation, the assumed reply to the question "what is holding society together?" is that the preliminary condition for the constitution of a society is defined by the communicative bonds between different parts and levels of society. Here it should be noted that to a large degree, the communicative bonds between the different parts are supported by the mass media. Of course, there are other means of 'bonding' in society too, but the mass media (or journalism) plays a central role in that it allows for different parts of society to be mutually informed, both on the very broad scale and on different levels. The main question of this dissertation is thus: How is integration supported by media communication?

The answer to this question will not only be applied to its application on the level of society as a whole, but also in terms of individual subjects. In order to relate these two levels we will approach the role of the mass media from a systems theoretical perspective, from which a clear distinction between social systems and interaction systems is seen (see Luhmann 1997). The innovation of my research does not lie in the methods used, but in the innovative interpretation of results derived by traditional sociological methods.

Theoretically I will assume that the first pre-condition to 'integrated-ness' in contemporary society are the processes of fragmentation, which in traditional sociological approaches generally carries a negative meaning. I do not equate fragmentation with encapsulation, since I assume – in accordance with the theory on contemporary social systems (Luhmann 1984) – that social systems are simultaneously both open and closed. They are closed on an operational level, but open to external influences. If one does not take environmental influences into consideration – what results in the ability to learn – the result is the stagnation and/or collapse of a social system. On the other hand, if events in the systems' environment are made to fit the topic of communication, it will become a part of the society. It is not easy to study social phenomena in terms of systems theory on the empirical level in that we cannot describe that which we do not know – the distinction between system and environment is the *Leitdifferenz* that constitutes society. I will highlight this idea in more depth towards the end of this dissertation.

In essence, this text is based on studies carried out using traditional sociological methods. The empirical studies contained herein are not designed to analyse the integrative role of the mass media from a systems theoretical perspective, instead I will reinterpret empirical results, which are in fact the

basis on which the present study is built. This approach will allow me to indicate the complementarities of integration and fragmentation processes, which at first glance may seem to be a contradiction unto itself. I will hypothesise that fragmentation helps to deal with growing complexity in contemporary society, and that researchers can observe the related processes on the level of society as a whole and in terms of individual subjects as media communication plays important role on the both levels.

The term media communication refers to that part of communication which is mediated. In other words, in the meanings-construction processes two sides labelled as communicators do not interact directly. We base this concept on the definition of communication given by Niklas Luhmann (1984): communication is a 'thing' that is acknowledged as communication by the receiver. Communicators who define the content of mass media as media-communication can belong to both the individual and society. It is complicated to study the receivers' understanding of different processes in communication using sociological instruments, in fact, this kind of study would fall within the parameters of cognitive psychology. Equally, if we study the content delivered by mass media we cannot be sure that even one member of the audience has noticed this content. Nevertheless, we can recognize communication if we can show that a communication is followed by another. Media communication is an abiding, continuous process.

Mass media contributes to the over-societal communication systems and functions differently on the level of the system and on that of individuals. In this study I will first describe the integrative role of media communication, indicate its possibilities in terms of connected sociological studies and show the operational aspects of indicators of integration on the basis of two different research projects. Our view of integration on an individual level is defined as social integration (and here I will distinguish between its horizontal and vertical directions), while we view integration on the level of society as a social system is defined as system integration.

Social integration is studied and presented in the original publications N. 1, 2, 3, and 4; while system integration is looked at in the research focus of publications N. 5 and 6.

The dissertation is structured according to the levels of integration. In the first part, the theoretical background is given and the selection of a systems theoretical perspective is established. In chapter three the integrated model of the levels of system and individuals is outlined. Given that the integrative role of the mass media is studied in two separate research projects, which adopted different methods, the research projects are presented in different chapters. Chapters four and five begin by describing the methodology used, and then go on to present the main results. In the sixth chapter the discussion ends with conclusions and a critical assessment of the methodological elements. A summary of the dissertation (written in Estonian) is included at the end of the text.

2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND: CHANGES IN SOCIOLOGICAL PARADIGMS APPLIED TO INTEGRATION

The concept of integration has been used in two fields: in the political-normative field of everyday institutional practices and in social theory. In the first, this concept has been used as a basis for projects that attempt to adapt minorities (or weaker groups) to dominant societal values and norms[1]; while in the latter, integration has been treated as the mechanism that holds society together. I will not discuss the first application as the constructivist and communication-centred character of this dissertation does not aim to define social ideals or developmental goals and I do not wish to compare a reality that is based on an analytical approach with a self-formulated, idealistic model. Rather, I will favour an approach that is sensitive to the fact that we are dealing with social constructions. The observer is a part of the reality observed, yet in one's field of observation there will always be a part that one cannot observe – a blind spot, or "blind fleck" (Luhmann 1984). This means that right from the start, I need to be conscious of the incompleteness of my observations.

In this text I do not focus on the question "What should the situation be like?", rather I will explain the question "How are the processes and elements available for observation interrelated?" This dissertation is directed by a self-reflection (self-observation) on today's society and as such, it is a part of this self-observation / self-reflection (Luhmann 1984).

In social theory one can distinguish between two general paradigms used in the analysis of society – action-centred paradigms and communication-centred paradigms. Within the framework of the first, the patterns behind the social actions that constitute society are studied. In theory, this paradigm assumes that in society one finds clear-cut stable units – institutions through which individuals are socialised. Here I will label a summary of this theory as action-centred approaches. This approach is represented by the thinkers of the beginning and middle of 20th century: Durkheim, Parsons, Merton and Habermas, amongst others. They centred their research on the individual (also referred to as actors or agents), so as to feed into the core of their approach – the analysis of structures deriving from the interrelated / mutual / interconnected actions of individuals. Integration is thus treated as the individual's adaption to the social order through common norms; integration only comes to the fore as a question related to the effective 'transportation' of existing norms to the growing generations. In this action-centred approach the notion of communication is not unknown, but it has been defined as a part of social action (see

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[1] Economic interests usually lie behind this as it is generally assumed that economic activity is less prone to risks in a human collective with shared norms and values. "A common argument is that modern economic development necessitates cultural and linguistic homogeneity" (Muižnieks 2010: 19).

Habermas 1981a, 1981b), or the famous definition given by George Gerbner (1969): communication is "social interaction through messages". For the purposes of the dissertation, this concept would be limiting.

The representatives of the second paradigm come from backgrounds in post-structuralism, cultural studies and system studies, they focus on communicative processes involved in culture as those processes which connect different parts of human society through intercourse / transaction and permanently mutating social institutions (e.g. Archer, Lotman, Luhmann). In this paradigm, communication is not defined as a telic action that influences the environment and co-actors, rather it is seen as the autogenesis of bonds between societal elements and individual actors. Communication itself and communication derivation, or meaning surplus, entails endless potential for change / transformation (Luhmann 1984). In terms of this approach, integration means the permanent re-actualisation of a social system through communication and an episodic presence and participation in the communication flow. The goal of this approach is not to encompass / embrace the totality of the individual, here the question lies in the channels and ways in which the individual is connected to others and to the whole. Social institutions, with individual as the bonds, are not inflexible and free of transformations – in fact, they are constantly re-created through communication. For the individual, being integrated means that he/she has communicative bonds or ties to the social whole and to their parts and this allows the individual to contribute to the communication – to continue communicating. Whether there be consensus between different communicators or not, the system will go on if the process of communication does not end (Luhmann 1984). As observers, we can interpret this process as communication only if it is clear that other communications will follow.

In the next point, I will build up the framework based on the outlined paradigms so as to analyse the questions surrounding integration in contemporary society.

2.1. The aim of this study and research questions

The aim of this study is to answer the general theoretical question: what is the role of media communication in the light of integration in contemporary society? In order to answer this question, I will make use of our exhaustive theoretical legacy, earlier empirical studies on the topic and research projects carried out in the Institute of Journalism and Communication at the University of Tartu in Estonia. Since the integrative role of media communication obviously differs on the levels of society as a social system and on that of individuals, I will ask separate research questions related specifically to those levels. The studies carried out will also be presented separately.

Research questions:

1) How can we see the integrative function of media communication on the level of the society as a social system?
2) What reveals the integrative function of media communication on the level of individuals?

In order to answer the first question, our working group carried out a comparative content analysis of leading newspapers published over a long period of time in three different languages – Estonian, Finnish and Russia (STUDY V and VI). If we take into account the transformations the respective countries went through during the 20th century as a result of socio-political events in their home territories and in Europe, it can be shown how media communication provided a way of bonding for society as a whole.

In the analysis of the integration processes on an individual level, I will follow the media sociological studies carried out in Estonia during recent decades. In the original publications we analysed the media-use preferences of Estonian inhabitants to ascertain how and through which channels individuals conceive and externalise how they see themselves as being connected or linked to society as a whole. To gather the background knowledge we used questionnaires to ask the individuals who took part about their participation and trust in different institutions (STUDY I – IV).

From these two research projects, I will draw up a summary of the integrative role of mass media for the individual and for society as a whole. The previously mentioned empirical studies which can be found in the appendix of this dissertation were carried out over the course of the last decade and were designed according to traditional sociological models. To reinterpret the results within the framework of a social systems theory was therefore a great challenge.

In order to understand the changes in the theoretical paradigms of integration better, the theoretical, methodological, and the empirical context will be outlined in the next point. The publications presented in the appendix will be embedded in this framework.

2.2 Theory: integration and mass media

For sociologists who have gone to great efforts to create grand theories that explain social phenomena, the topic of integration has been a central topic for many years, but has now become more and more important in relation to the growing complexity of society. A scholar who thematised historical changes in human behaviour and customs – Norbert Elias (1939/ 1995) argues that greater integration of human societies was brought about by the process of civili-zation – integration is a result of wars and conflicts, which push towards the building of clearly divided units such as nation-states. Herbert Spencer believes that the main mechanism for integration is the market, in that it spontaneously

initiates integration, "but for Spencer the action orientations are not determined by the moral rules, but the effects of aggregated actions are determined by functional side-effects" (Habermas 1981b: 176). The dominant theoretical view is based on the connection of social institutions is directed by the actions of individuals, that in turn set clear boundaries or frame the social action. This view is the basis for the analysis of the co-operation of action vs. structure through what researchers identify in differently integrated groups. Society "displays a patterned conception of membership which distinguishes between those individuals who do and do not belong" (Parsons 1966: 10).

The role of the mass media within the framework of this structural-functionalist paradigm is to help individuals to adapting to existing institutional frameworks. The mass media do this through propagating respective ideologies and values (Lasswell et al 1980), standardising and unifying common norms (representatives of the Chicago school like R. Park 1922), cultivating a common world view (Gerbner 1969), constructing the social reality (Berger and Luckmann 1966) and imagined community (Anderson 1983), or by offering rationalised communication choices (Habermas 1981a, 1981b).

However, since the 1980's different voices have uttered that disintegration processes are acting on advanced capitalist societies (Münch 1984, Münch 1997, Heitmeyer 1997, Fuchs 1999) – this results in the weakening of social ties (Putnam 2000) and in the individualisation processes (Beck and Sopp 1997, Simonson 2004), which in turn fuel growing social inequality and a heightened potential for violence (Heitmeyer 1997). Indications related to the erosion of the binding 'mortar' of society are supported by the diagnoses of a rise in the 'risk society' (Beck 1986) or 'post-modernity' (Delanty 2000). "Postmodernism is the institutionalization of anomie" (Meštrovic 1991 cit Delanty 2000: 146).

Currently, the transformation of the role of nation-states gives us reason to talk about a weakening of established structures in the contemporary world: many demographic processes are no longer managed on the level of nation-states (Therborn 1995), a nation-state as a political unit is no longer an entity that necessarily corresponds to the boundaries of identities or communicative interaction (Held 1996). In this sense, global communicative connectivity leads us to speak of the world as a 'global village' (McLuhan 1962/ 1995), 'world society' (Wallerstein 1974) or 'network society' (Castells 1997).

However, this stand point – which equates a social group to the nation-state and to that which analyses values and norms (in sociology), legalised contracts (in law), social consensus and political public spheres (in the political sciences) or socialisation processes (in education disciplines) as the main integrative mechanisms (Vlasic 2004) – is too narrow to describe the processes that are taking place in today's world. Globalisation has brought with it the view that in the analysis of contemporary societies, territorial or institutional boundaries should not constitute the object of analysis, but rather, that more importance should be attributed to communicative boundaries (Movius 2010). Integration as a phenomenon is more complicated than ever and in order to analyse this

topic I would suggest that it is necessary to first deconstruct the concept in order to distinguish between different levels of integration and then describe the characteristics of these different levels.

2.2.1. Levels of integration

Three levels of integration have been handled for empirical purposes (see Lockwood 1964, 1971, 1999, Friedland and McLeod 1999, Vogelgesang 2002, Weiss and Trebbe 2003):

1) The level of the life-world – everyday interaction, encounters, attitudes and the habits of individuals' everyday lives are treated as **horizontal social integration**[2]. This level shows how identity is self-created through interaction with the here and now – I propose that this dimension could also be labelled as the identity dimension in integration;

2) Between the life-world and the system level stands the mediate level – labelled as the level of **vertical social integration**. This dimension mediates individuals on the system level through their participation in social institutions and in public communication systems. It describes common rules and norms in discussions regarding public issues and politics;

3) The level of the social system is independent from individual actions and the resultant effects – on this level **system integration** takes place (see Figure 1).

These levels are distinguished according to the encompassing structure that surrounds their reality. Similarly, political scientists have distinguished respective levels of participation (see Carpentier 2011a).

On the other hand, we can detect an opinion that expounds the theory that social and system integration differ in terms of the intentions behind actions – on an individual level, actions are intentional and goal-oriented, while on the level of system, integration just 'happens' and is simply the not-intended co-result of individual actions, as a 'side-effect' (Waters 1994, Friedland and McLeod 1999). "Integration of an action system is in the first sense achieved by normatively assured / secured or by communicatively provided consensus, in the second sense – by the non-normative steering of single decisions growing out from consciousness of individuals" (Habermas 1981b: 179). There is even find a group of thinkers who counter this thought by stressing the role of antagonism and conflicts instead of consensus as the power behind integration (Lockwood 1964), but they still distinguish the intended and not-intended parts of actions carried out by individuals.

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[2] To analyse empirically this dimension it is convenient if we have clearly distinguishable groups like Weiss and Trebbe (2003) analyse relations between Germans from Eastern and Western part of Germany after the reunification (*Wiedervereinigung*).
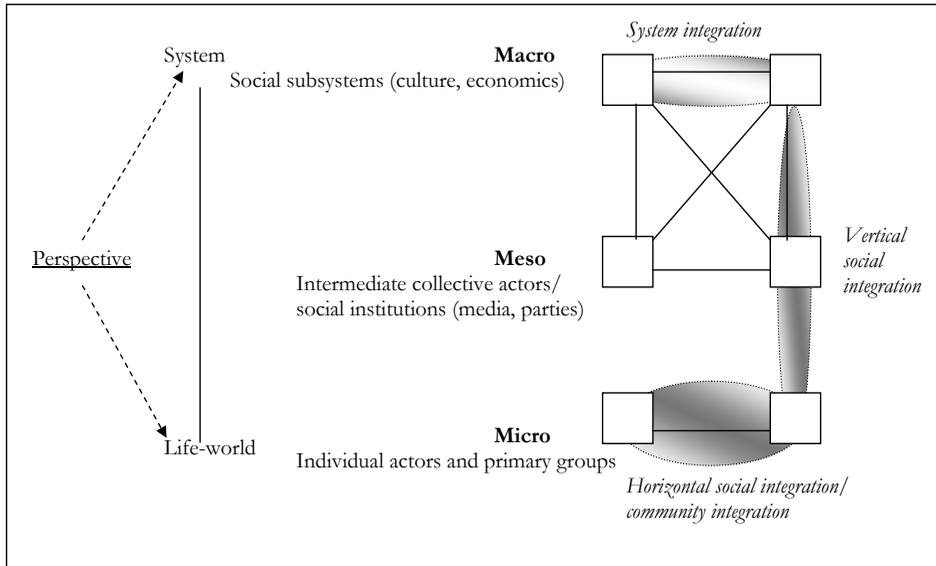
Figure 1. Integration levels and the research-perspective of the study (STUDY I).

Although Giddens (1984) uses concepts of system- and social integration in terms of a meaning that contrasts with the significance attributed by Lockwood or Habermas, he does highlight social action as a central category for sociological analysis. For Giddens, social integration is seen as a reflexivity, the result of face-to-face interaction, while system integration is played out by the mass media – it is achieved through the technologically mediated interaction: "System integration is defined as reciprocity between actors or collectivities across extended time-space, outside conditions of co-presence" (Giddens 1984: 377).

It is complicated to draw clear dividing lines between different integration levels using empirical analyses. Firstly, a sociologist does not always possess or have access to the instruments required to distinguish between the intended and non-intended parts of an individual's actions – retrospective reflection by an individual isn't necessarily a trustworthy source. Secondly, in order to classify the institutions according to particular levels (micro-, meso- or macro-levels) or separate integration processes in relation to vertical or horizontal levels is complicated in a 'measurable' reality. Thirdly, I will claim that social action is not a proper concept for a sociological analysis – it brings us back to the analysis of individuals – their motivations and behaviour, the psychological and biological backgrounds of their preferences and orientations – that part of the world which is not available to the observing researcher. Indeed, recent studies on human behaviour claim that for the most part, social action is not consciously intentional, but rather, is instinctive and unconscious (Kahnemann 2011).

To move beyond these difficulties I – like Niklas Luhmann (1984, 1997) and Juri Lotman (1984/ 2005) – will conceptualize society through the concept of communication. "For not action, but communication is unavoidably a social operation and at the same time an operation that is necessarily set in motion whenever social situations are formed" (Luhmann 2002: 157).

Communication cannot be reduced to a social action. The process should be defined independently from the intentions of a 'sender' or 'creator' of messages and the central importance in the process should be attributed to the closing phase of communicative act – that the 'receiver' recognises communication as communication (Berghaus 2003: 86) – "the communicative act is closed by understanding" (Luhmann 1984: 191). "By understanding, communication grasps a difference between the information value of its content and the reasons for which the content is being uttered" (Luhmann 2002: 157). An indication that someone wants to tell something with the help of symbols and signs, and that someone understands this endeavour, makes it communication. According Luhmann (1984), the 'receiver' is the pre-condition of communication. But then again – the receiver's understanding that something is communication is not as available to external observations as the receiver's action is. Defining something as communication in terms of the receiver only becomes possible if another communication follows the first.

Almost the only person who can rightly claim the ability of evaluating and 'understanding' communication, is the communicator himself. If we as researchers are sure that phenomenological pre-conditions of interaction are true (Schütz and Luckmann 2003), i.e. we as researchers belong to the human community and as humans, are similar to other participants in communication processes, we have no reason to think that other people see things differently. We can deal with texts, utterances and sign systems as communication, if we as researchers define these forms as communication.

As for integration, I will define the existence of communicative ties / bonds in very general and abstract terms. I will assume that "large-scale societal processes, which are estranged from personal experiences, can only can abstract themselves from the concrete social interactions of the actors," and "analysis should be done independent from the motives of actors in those processes" (Beyme 1991: 350–351). At the same time I will conceptualise that different levels of integration – social integration and system integration – exist in complex mutual interconnections. According Margaret S. Archer (1996, 2003) these aspects are "mutually constitutive", and "two constitutive components can be investigated dualistically" (Archer 1996: 76–77) – or complementarily, just as I will do. But, before I highlight the different bonds between levels, I will explain the specifics of these levels in more detail.

1) Integration on the level of the social system

Society as a social system is designated in time and space and is characterised by the ability / capacity for self-creation (*autopoiesis*) – the pre-condition for self-creation is self-reflection, i.e. the picturing of the 'self' and self-description supervened on one's ability to observe oneself. In self-reflection 'me' and 'not-me' are defined in every moment and this differentiation process is ongoing (Luhmann 1984)[3]. In communication, meanings are actualized and permanently highlight the system-environment differences.

Society creates order in / from the chaotic world (Luhmann 1984). With the growing complexity of society the more complicated principles of social order automatically grow – for example the division of systems into subsystems fulfilling different functions within the whole. This viewpoint is very different from that of Talcott Parsons (1938), for whom the principles of social order are included in his focus, but "for Parsons, the differentiation is equal to the *decomposition*, where an initially compact unit will be divided more or less purely into specialised units; for Luhmann the social differentiation is equal to *emergence* – differentiation into sub-systems is *Ausdifferenzierung*[4]" (Schimank 1999: 49–50).

Parsons and Luhmann look at the same outcome from different ends of the line – the first is viewed from an individual perspective, the second, from the viewpoint of society as a whole (see Elder-Vass 2007). If Parsons divides "the human action system into subsystems – social system, behavioural organism, the personality of the individual, and the cultural system" (Parsons 1966: 5), Luhmann claims that society came into being and exists, and that while more than 7 billion 'individual consciousness' contribute to society, they cannot be divided into action systems (they cannot be separated into parts, not even on a purely theoretical basis) (Luhmann 1984). Despite the fact that these approaches seem similar at first sight, we can highlight the central difference between them in the citation of a phrase by Juri Lotman (1984/ 2005): "In the same way as separate beef steaks cannot be put together to make a buffalo, but we can get beefsteaks by chopping up a buffalo, we cannot get a semiotic universe by simply joining up single semiotic units" (Lotman 1984/ 2005: 12).

To analyse the societal system as a whole one must look at more than the sub-systems of society. A system consists of parts and the relations, ties and bonds that link the parts. Dividing them into functional, equally weighted parts for the whole society, heightens the need for an analysis of the ties between the

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[3] Even if we use verbs that point to the knowledgeable actors in describing the social systems, it cannot be assumed that a system is necessarily a living organism. Whilst we do not have better words, we use verbs – the languages created by humans presuppose that only living organisms have a consciousness. (Kõuts-Klemm 2009: 876).

[4] Schimank (1999) refers to the fact that it was complicated to translate the word *Ausdifferenzierung* into English because of the dominance of Parsons' neo-functionalist view towards differentiation (Schimank 1999: 50).

parts. "As a result of the functional differentiation of modern society, interdependencies of functional systems increase, but integration of functional systems becomes a new problem" (Görke and Scholl 2006: 650). How can one guarantee that the functional role of different sub-systems will be fulfilled in relation to the whole? Which mechanisms allow for *autopoiesis* in society? Is the 'holding-together' of society carried out by a particular sub-system, as Parsons thought? Parsons (1938) claimed that in addition to the economical, political and cultural sub-system, there is a separate sub-system that fulfils the role of integration in society.

When one takes into account the self-understanding of politics, it is clear that politics play a leading role in society. "But here we can say that it is a lie that sometimes justifies the existence of politics and thus it is a self-caused problem, since politics should mainly acknowledge that all those declared endeavours ride for a fall" [5] (Schmank 1999: 58). An attempt has been made at managing the last economic crises in Europe and in the world with the help of international political contracts, but even political actors at the highest levels have little faith that this measure could be effective. (see i.e. reports of the World Economic Forum 2013). Luhmann shares this opinion, stating that politics cannot be the leading sub-system in directing the operations of others (Luhmann 1984).

More and more voices claim that the sub-system of the economy can be seen as a leading part of society (Drucker 2003, Blühdorn 2007, Dahlgren 2011, etc) – "not coincidentally, the economy has never been more anxious to emphasize that it is *serving the community* and *investing in people*" (Blühdorn 2007: 13). On the other hand, research shows that economic activity can exist on every institutional level, but it is not always the case that what appears to be pure economic activity can be calculated into units of money or economic profit (see Ostrom 2010).

Throughout the history of European nations one finds cases in which all-leading structures were consciously created as a practice in which the highest position in the hierarchy of political sub-system was achieved through the "exertion of power", repression and censorship mechanisms. We also know that in most of these countries this 'experiment' failed (Delanty 2000), but it does not mean that the future of democracy could be handled as a proven and changeless ideal.

> "At the end of the day, similarities [between self-descriptions of communist and western democracy – R.K.] make an impression. In both parties one can find insecure global perspectives in their view of the future that [they] should be capable of handling. In both parties the determining influence of the past is given up, and thus the whole was not treated as given by nature or creation, but rather as something to achieve or to generate. In both parties the greatest importance is given (nevertheless, in different ways) to the co-influences of politics and

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[5] Author's translation.

economy, but the other sub-systems are instrumentalised or upstaged. In both parties the dominant motive will be the look to the Other and conflict to ruling the world. But in the eastern block the over-emphasising of organisation and underestimation of functional differentiation brought to the collapse; this definitely does not mean that the system which survives can declare its self-description to be proven"[6] (Luhmann 1997: 1060).

Although societal transformations and actors active in transformations have been studied according to different transformation waves (see e.g. Merkel 1999), empirical analysis has not answered the question as to why contemporary society is not manageable in view of a well-advised and supported plan and why so many attempts have failed (Eisenstadt 2000). Could it be that human interventions in social transformations are not reflexive enough? If the condition for regeneration and change depends on the reflexivity of society, i.e. ensuring the mechanisms that can create an adequate self-picture of society, then a human being or even an organisation can probably not establish those mechanisms consciously. "Contrary to the fundamental assumptions of the philosophical tradition, self-reference (or 'reflection') is in no way a special property of thought or consciousness, but rather a very general principle of system information with particular consequences regarding evolution and the construction of complexity" (Luhmann 2002: 156). If the mechanism of self-reflection was consciously designed and kept moving, it would no longer be the result of emergence and would not be capable of reacting to self-operation. In other words, it would no longer be self-reflective. "Contemporary society cannot follow the example of a top-down planned and managed organisation"[7] (Schimank 1999: 52).

According to Luhmann (1984), today's societal sub-systems are independent from one another but connected to each other through 'structural coupling'. "The sub-systems fulfil different functions and those functions proceed on the same level, without being hierarchically ordered" (Münch 2004: 204). In analysing system integration, our focus should be on the question: which parts are connected and what kind of connections link them? As far as communicative ties exist and systems can operate independently, the ordering principle is determined by the system-environment differences and by the capacity of the system to react to changes in environment without collapsing. It is important that different parts of society are informed about each other, that they have communicative ties. In cases where social complexity arises, Luhmann (1984) has pointed to the importance of the dissemination-media /*Verbreitungsmedien*/ in the self-reflexive process of society – technological and institutional vehicles help to disseminate communication through complicated means and on a very large scale.

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[6]   Author's translation.
[7]   Author's translation.

From this point of view, integration has not been analysed empirically. Within the framework of existing social theories, the 'goodness' and 'strength' of social ties have been thematised. There is dominant opinion that integration "is as such a state of society, where all parts are strongly connected to one another, creating a whole which is clearly divided from outside. Societal subsystems fulfil particular functions as well – economy, politics, justice, science, medicine, mass media, or religion" (Münch 1997: 66). Macro-indicators related to the 'development' of particular nation-states or of large regions[8] have been used as empirical material for sociological analysis, but here we can claim that macro-sociology is only an empirical description of reality and does not allow one to draw conclusions in relation to co-operational ties in society as a whole – it is this last point that set the grounds for the present study.

2) Integration on the level of individuals

The positioning of individuals in society is studied far more than system integration, while efforts to generalise patterns behind the positioning of individuals on the level of society using empirical findings have also been made (Delhey 2005, 2007). Special attention is given to the groups in the weakest positions in society who are coping with the demands of majority groups. Dieter Fuchs (1999) hypothesized that in the study of social integration, the comparison of situations in different countries should consider that 1) the lower the inequality in the distribution of material resources between members of a society is, the stronger the social integration of the community will be; 2) where there is little discrimination between members of a society, the stronger the social integration of this community will be (Fuchs 1999: 158–159). According to his approach the factual macro indicators related to inequality are not determining factors, but the manner in which people perceive the situation – i.e. does inequality appear to be high, does discrimination appear to exist – is. Fuchs bases his hypothesis on the point of view offered by Habermas (1998: 92), which states that "if statistically ascertained inequality is not treated as [an] illegitimate [factor] or a problem [worthy] of special attention by community members, it has no consequences" (Fuchs 1999: 160)[9]. Sociologically speaking, inequality and exclusion should be topics that merit special analytical treatment. "Inequality sharpens especially if individuals are cumulatively excluded from increasingly societal sub-systems"[10] (Schimank 1999: 61).

According to the normative view, to be integrated means that an individual participates – and potentially in different ways – in social institutions; however if in reality this participation is structurally restricted, we should talk about the

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[8] Macro-statistics is the basis for the country reports collected and presented by the UNDP in respective *Human Development Reports* (available in: www.undp.org).

[9] Author's translation.

[10] Author's translation.

insufficiency of integration mechanisms or anomie in society. Proof of these mechanisms and the elimination of structural barriers is articulated in many specific documents (see integration programs and guidelines on the EU level[11]).

Normative integration ideals are sometimes linked to the problem that some individuals do not want to be integrated into one or another structure or institution (see e.g. Schrøder 2012). The grand narrative on individual identity has disappeared and the diversity of identities makes the normal building of relationships between the individual and the institution complicated (Servaes 1997, Eisenberg 2001). Braeckman (2006) claims that the main problem with social analysis nowadays is that it does not understand the changes in the inclusion-exclusion principles in a functionally differentiated society: "Individuals are basically situated within the *exclusion* domain of society, and thus cannot but partially be *included* within society's function systems and organizations" (Braeckman 2006: 65). "With the functional differentiation of society the regulation of the inclusion / exclusion relationships is transferred to the functional systems themselves"[12] (Luhmann 1997: 630).

Society as a social system is relatively independent from individual actions. An individual has no means of influencing or coercing changes in society through personal actions. Individuals can only contribute to one of the constituent elements in society – to communication. To be communicatively connected is the basic condition for being-connected, for integration. Social analysis observes the existence or absence of communicative ties and based on the resulting observations, draws conclusions that relate to a particular individual's potential capacity or incapacity to contribute. "Most people, most of the time, are not following news and current affairs. But when something develops that does call for their attention, they can and generally will pay attention – if they are 'connected'. Those who are 'disconnected' generally will not." (Dahlgren 2009: 47).

2.2.2. Mass media and communication-centred approach

In the present chapter I will summarise a theoretical approach to integration on the levels of the social system and the individual, as well as the role of the mass media on both of these levels.

Usually the mass media is defined according to its technological character, which is supported by the institutional form – media technology is supported by its orientation and organisation towards the dissemination of communication – it has been labelled as a journalistic system as well. "Journalism organizes and

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[11] For examples of different guidelines on the European Union level, see Council of Europe 2004 and European Commission 2010, while in relation to countries in which integration programs are available, for example Estonia, see: *State integration program in Estonia*; Muižnieks (ed.) 2010 on integration in Latvia; and a theoretical summary on the subject of politics in Vlasic 2004: 33–43.
[12] Translated by Braeckman 2006: 74.

structures the transmission / mediation of information" (Blöbaum 1994: 15). Empirical media systems analysis – alongside the traditional normative approach that classifies media systems in terms of media-society relations, which began with Siebert et al in 1956 – looks at the different roles of media communication in different societies, with the most recently discussed classifications being those formalised by Hallin and Mancini 2004, 2012 (see Jakubowicz 2010 on different classifications). "Press always takes on the form and coloration of the social and political structures within which it operates" (Siebert et al 1956: 1–2). But even here we can see how the influences of globalisation make media systems increasingly similar (Hasebrink and Herzog 2004: 136). Nevertheless, authors who have based their approaches on a systems theoretical basis do not agree as to whether the mass media system or journalism is an autonomous sub-system of society or not (see Blöbaum 1994, Luhmann 1996, Görke and Scholl 2006, Bechmann and Stehr 2011).

The mass media is a great machine that guarantees the ongoing process of communication. The efficiency of its functioning depends not only on the technological specificity of the various media involved, but also their institutional characteristics and organisational structure, relations to the other sub-systems and placement in society, and no less importantly, on its imagination of addressees in media communication. Vlasic (2004) identifies five integrative functions of mass media on the micro-macro-levels: "the offering of common topics and a basis for common knowledge to the individual; admitting of representation of individuals and their interests; constitution of (the political) public sphere; mediating of common norms and values; and construction of reality" (Vlasic 2004: 67). The topic of media integration has often been analysed from the perspective of media effects. All probable approaches to media effects have been thoroughly examined over the course of the last century, during which time the history of media research and numerous models have been theorised (see e.g. Rogers 1997, McQuail and Windahl 1981).

My opinion on this matter is that the integrative role of mass media differs according to the level of analysis, and for this reason I will represent the processes involved in these levels in more depth in the next section.

1) Role of the mass media on the system's level

Generally speaking, the first and main function of mass media for humanity is the dissemination of communication on the broadest possible societal level. The need for this function has grown in conjunction with the growing complexity of society (Luhmann 1984). Mass media enables information streaming in a significantly broader time frame and space than was previously possible through the face-to-face interaction of two communicators. The mass media has thus acquired a role which guarantees communication connectivity on the global scale. "The modern media are understood as technologies that enable reflexivity

on a social scale, as they produce and circulate meaning in society" (Jensen 2002: 6).

We can claim that as a result of the permanent process of communication, the 'semiosphere' is evolving (Lotman 1984/ 2005) – as a whole made up of single texts and mutually closed languages. The semiosphere is equipped with a complicated memory system and cannot operate without it (Lotman 1984/ 2005: 25). Communication that enables connectivity presumes that in every single communicative event one simultaneously looks to the past and towards the creation of future horizons (Baecker 2011). For Luhmann (1984) the memory of communication is understood as meaning surplus, that which is not required to actualize in each and every communication, but which is conserved as a probable potential for meaning actualizations[13]. "The societal function of the mass media is therefore not to be found in the volume of information produced, but rather in the memory generated, which allows for the possibility of communication" (Bechmann and Stehr 2011: 145).

By actualizing certain meanings and not others, media communication defines particular situation definitions and reality horizons in society (Luhmann 1984). As does every form of communication, as constituent elements of a social system, media communication also helps to create order in a social system. It happens "through constant re-actualization of the self-description of society and its cognitive world horizons, be this in a form marked by consensus or dissent" (Luhmann 2000: 103)[14].

Situation definitions structure the reality that is made available for ob-servations aimed at answering the questions "when?", "where?" and "what?" Order in a system is constituted by defining the state of the system through time and space categories and inner ordering principles. Time, space and topics are central categories for content analysis too (see Berelson 1952, Krippendorf 1980). Through these categories the state of system is defined and every new communicative event is located in the communication flow, in to the meaningful structure of the world.

Topics in the content of mass media refer to the differentiation of society. "Topics not only form the memory of the media, but also constitute the structural coupling to the areas of society" (Bechmann and Stehr 2011: 143) "and in doing this they are so elastic and so diversifiable that the mass media are able to use their topics to reach every part of society, whereas the systems in the inner social environment of the mass media, such as politics, the economy

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[13] Instead of the concept of 'memory', some authors use concepts of culture (see Jensen 2002 or Archer 1996), but Luhmann does not talk about culture – he claims that it is too fuzzy a concept and too strongly conditioned by the ethnic and national aspects of groups (Luhmann 1984).

[14] Luhmann is aware of impossibility to make absolute statements: "The mass media may not have an exclusive claim on constructing reality. After all, every communication contributes to constructing reality in what it takes up and what it leaves to forgetting" (Luhmann 2000: 103).

or law, often have difficulty presenting their topics to the mass media and having them taken up in an appropriate way" (Luhmann 1996: 28–29)[15].

Blöbaum (1994) assumes that the reflective role of journalism is needed not only in the fields of politics and economy, but also in the fields of culture and sports (since for those areas the editions have special sections), while other functional systems need them less (Blöbaum 1994: 299). Aguado (2009) proposed a model that relates to the operational coupling of the mass media system with politics, economy, and individuals, while the interconnections between subsystems of politics and journalism are treated in more detail elsewhere (Marcinkowski 1993). The role of journalism is not only to mediate, "journalism is as a mirror for those sub-systems" (Blöbaum 1994: 307) – it helps to see how others see them – based on this image, subsystems can adjust their identity to changing circumstances or situations. "The operational coupling of the mass media system and the systems of economy and politics in the spheres of consumption and public opinion constitute the base of a socially shared knowledge that supports the 'modern transcendental illusion of a global shared world'" (Aguado 2011: 72).

In order to better understand how different events become topics of media communication, it is necessary that one knows which selection principles are most commonly implemented in journalism. Luhmann (1996) claims that the main selection principle for mass media channels is the distinction between information / non-information, and goes on to describe a selection of topics adopted by news media that are based on well-known news value criteria (compare Luhmann 1996 and Eilders 1997). For Luhmann it is clear that this selection takes place on condition that the mass media is seen as a system unto itself. Luhmann's idea can be broadened and I assume mass media channels choose topics and events according to the imagined interests of the projected audience. "Interest is a communicational attitude that the mass media system attributes to its representation of the environment, or, more precisely, interest is the communicational attitude that allows mass media system to produce audiences as an internalization of its interactions with societal environment" (Aguado 2009: 66)[16].

Based on this viewpoint, when analysing mass media content one could ask "Which society emerges when it routinely and continuously informs itself about

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[15] Translation in Luhmann 2000: 12.
[16] Aguado (2009) criticises Luhmann's (1996) idea that the mass media system is built on the information/non-information difference. It seems that Aguado and Luhmann treat the scope of the mass media differently: for Luhmann the mass media system consists of the news media, entertainment and advertising, while Aguado limits his approach to journalism defined in the traditional sense. Aguado's perspective can be criticised – factors in news research show that journalism is motivated by many selection principles and not only interest/non-interest (see Eilders 1997).

itself in this way?" (Luhmann 2000: 76)[17]. I will assume that "the media texts form a sensitive barometer of socio-cultural processes, making them valuable material for researching social change" (Fairclough 1995: 52). "Mass media are not only a society's self-observation system, but a system derived from the self-observation of social systems" (Aguado 2011: 71).

On the level of the social system as a whole, the integrative role of media communication has not been studied much in empirical terms, and where this has been done, it has usually be contextualised in another theoretical framework (Vlasic 2004). In order to illuminate this role empirically, one must research long-term processes as societal transformations take place very slowly (Bell 1979)[18]. The other reason why analyses on the system level are rare is hidden in the positivist methodological tradition's tendency to analyze individuals because they are seemingly simpler and more available for research, and to generalize findings on the societal level.

2) Media use by individuals as a link to the systems level

The mass media mediates individuals on two levels: on the vertical level the individual is connected to the institutions (including politics, economy and others), while on the horizontal level of social integration the identity dimension is built up (since mass media helps to define 'here and now'). "The mass media system operationally couples with psychic systems (individuals) by producing artificial input environments addressed to reduce social complexity and to facilitate decision-making processes within the spheres of social interactions and especially involving consumption practices" (Aguado 2011: 72). The participation of an individual in society mainly takes place via communication, or via a contribution to the communication (but, of course, it does not mean that other forms of participation are not possible, e.g. physical participation in a work place in the subsystem of an economy, or through voting in elections so as to contribute to the subsystem of politics, etc.). Contribution to communication presumes the existence of ties between the media and the individual. "From the view-point of individuals, journalism has a function of structural coupling

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[17] Luhmann does not use the concept of integration. „Ein normativer, Integration fordernder oder doch gutheißender Begriff muss in Gesellschaften, die komplex werden, auf zunehmenden Widerstand stoßen. Wenn man ihn beibehält, sieht man sich zu paradoxen oder tautologischen, selbstimplikativen Formulierungen gezwungen. Um solche Überdeutungen zu vermeiden, wollen wir unter Integration nichts anderes verstehen als die Reduktion der Freiheitsgrade von Teilsystemen, die diese den Außengrenzen des Gesellschaftssystems und der damit abgegrenzten internen Umwelt dieses Systems verdanken." (Luhmann 1997: 603).

[18] This doesn't apply to transition countries, and especially those from the Eastern Block, such as Estonia during the 1990s, where changes took place rapidly according to the principles of "shock therapy", through which the dilemma of "simultaneousity" needed to be solved and all societal spheres changed at the same time (Offe 1994).

between subject and society" [19] (Blöbaum 1994: 334). Without discussing the exact ways in which one can participate in communication through consciousness processes (this is a question for brain researchers and cognitive psychologists), it is logical to assume that the contributions of individuals living in a highly complex society will also be complex and/or fragmented in relation to the different parts of societal communication.

The first factor that makes the contribution of individuals to societal communication possible is that of an individual's position in the 'field of influence' of a particular communication channel – it is the first link between the individual and society. "Journalism includes people as an audience to the journalistic functional system sometimes, even in great numbers and for a long time (for example via newspaper subscriptions – this occurs through a fixed contract)" (Blöbaum 1994: 308).

Whether this link is strong enough to facilitate the making of a 'real' contribution to media communication depends on different factors – the so-called 'intervening variables' in the mass communication process (Katz and Lazarsfeld 1955) – including exposure (product of technological, political, economic and voluntary factors), media type, content, and persons' predispositions. These factors refer to the fact that an individual understands that he/she deals with communication – communicators endeavours to say something. "In the long term, the societal task of the media is not the substantive production of information of and for the moment, but rather the creation of certain assumptions about reality, which actors draw on, but do not have to explicate, in social communication without feeling that they live in different, incommensurable world" (Bechmann and Stehr 2011: 145). Secondly, communicative contribution is specific to different individuals – based on his/her earlier contributions and based on what he/she is capable of talking about (e.g. to understand science communication it is necessary that one is either a scientist or that scientific communication is translated into the language of the humanities/non-sciences). However, it is not necessarily essential to study the knowledge-package or capability to contribution of each and every individual. Here, the mutual direction is assumed to exist because in order for an individual to contribute, at least some knowledge of the field is required. On the other hand, in order to contribute to communication in specific languages or by specifically coded means, the knowledge or ability to decode this language / code is required. Even minimal involvement assumes a respective disposition on the part of the individual.

It seems that any contribution by an individual to communication depends on many preconditions. Thus, an individual's following of a particular communication channel tells us a lot about his/her motivations to be connected or to participate. It is useful "to avoid using dichotomist terms in relation to participation and non-participation" (Dahlgren 2011), "sometimes participation

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[19] Author's translation.

is seen as mere presence, and people are seen as participating when they are simply being exposed to specific cultural products (such as watching television, visiting a museum or reading a blog)" (Carpentier and Dahlgren 2011: 8). In the next stage, the intensity of relations between individuals and media channels could be characterised not only through their use of this channel, but also in terms of their display of trust towards the channel too. Indeed, the correlations between channel use and trust have been the subject of many empirical analyses.

It follows that if we approach a complex society from the perspective of the individual, the continuity of functionally differentiated society presupposes that every part of that society can have different 'contributors', and therefore presupposes the existence of 'fragmented audiences'. Since a single individual cannot contribute to all parts of society, he/she must choose. It is logical to think that fragmentation is guaranteed if every individual contributes to many forms of communication – and could be related to diverse media usage (different channels and different contents and genres).

Contributions to the more complicated areas such as topics of common interest (politics), are related to a higher level of interest and more active approach on the part of an individual. This kind of a contribution is characteristic of the individual in different areas – active contributors to society are usually more active media users (Katz and Lazarsfeld 1955). However, the opposite is also true – individuals who are passive media users are generally passive in civil society too. "The reverse causal sequence, that active, well-integrated citizens maintain their loyalties to local media, is also a widely held belief" (Friedland and McLeod 1999: 197). For example in the case of media use reading, especially the reading of daily newspapers, presupposes some general active disposition on the part of the individual (the need and desire to read, knowledge of a reading code, etc). Empirical research has indicated the many 'benefits' accompanied by an active and participative attitude. "The data suggests that informational uses of mass media are positively related to the production of social capital, whereas social-recreational uses are negatively related to these civic indicators. Informational uses of mass media were also found to interact with community context to influence civic engagement" (Shah et al 2001: 464).

In terms of changing technological contexts and media use habits some researchers suppose that "if the social structure becomes more fragmented into segregated subgroups, without a larger unified core (mainstream), it becomes harder for media to address all the interests and communication needs" (Quandt 2012: 13). However, in the fragmented context different channels enable or require a different kind of use or participatory intensity from individuals in media communication, but here the opposite can be true as well – the fragmentation of audiences corresponds to the growing differentiation of society.

It is possible to be 'integrated' as a passive one-sided media communication consumer, as an intensively contributing individual who participates in civil society organisations or interactive communications in social networks, or to be 'in the picture' as an actor in media content. This said, Carpentier (2011) warns that "participation in the media and participation through the media" is not mutually correlated. "One should be careful to presuppose an automatic and positive relationship between participation in the media and participation through the media" (Carpentier 2011b: 355).

Based on these theoretical considerations, I will propose a model for empirical study and re-interpretation of data for the analysis of integration, in which my focus is centred on the connections created through media communication on different levels rather than actual communicative messages or media effects.

3. MODEL FOR THE ANALYSIS OF THE MEDIA'S ROLE IN THE INTEGRATION

On the level of society (which is understood here as the social system), media communication facilitates the evolution of recursivity, in that the essential implication for recursivity is the existence of a saved knowledge package – i.e. memory. On the other hand, memory enables communicative connectivity to the next communications. Besides, the 're-presentation' of the structure of society takes place in media communication too – society can thus acquire information about itself – defining situations and setting the cognitive world horizons within the realm of communication is the precondition for *autopoiesis* in the system. With the help of empirical analysis it is possible to illuminate social arrangement – the macro-structure of society – in media content according to particular categories: time, space and thematic areas. Departing from this level of system integration, I will now address the following research questions:

a) How is media communication structured by time and space?

b) How is media communication structured by topics?

On the level of individuals, I will also deal with communication – what individuals themselves say about how they are connected? However, it must be noted that individual actions in the life-world – those of social practice – are not necessarily informative in an analysis of social integration. As Certeau (1988) claimed, it is not easy to see general patterns in everyday actions. Society as a social system is independent of individual intentions and actions (Luhmann 1984; Baecker 2011). An individual has no means by which to influence transformations in society via goal-oriented actions. Individuals can only contribute to the constituting element of the society – to communication.

On the level of social integration I will move on from the approach that saw the individual at the centre of the analysis. In fact, a more fruitful form of a system-based approach stems from the question: Is an individual bound to society by communication and by which channels? In order to investigate possible answers to this question, I focused on the following research sub-questions from the perspective of social integration:

a) Through which channels are individuals connected in media communication?

b) How intense are the connections with media communication?

c) How are the intensity of media use and social participation related?

For the both levels I have chosen empirical indicators, which are presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Levels of analysis of integration function of media communication and respective empirical indicators

	On the level of the social system	On an individual level
Function of the media communication	Society's self-observation: self-description and cognitive world horizons	Connection of an individual to the media communications
Object of empirical analysis	Content of mass media	Contacts with mass media
Empirical indicators	Time and space references Topics	Diversity and intensity of mass media use Trust in media

It is possible to analyse these levels with the help of traditional quantitative sociological research methods that have been developed throughout the history of sociological research. These methods rely on the content analysis of media communication and standardized questionnaires for the analysis of media usage by individuals (Jensen 2002). Nevertheless, Luhmann believes the opposite to be true and claims that "conventional methodologies are not appropriate for 'hyper-complex' systems, since those methodologies presuppose tiny relations or are limited to the possibilities of statistics" (Luhmann 1997: 23). Indeed, it is not possible to know everything about society due to the limitations of socio-logical analysis, however the communicative connections between different parts can be highlighted.

The articles on which this dissertation is based (STUDY I – VI) deal with relations between mass media and integration from different viewpoints. Since the limitations of scientific publications in the journal format have not allowed us to develop many theoretical arguments in depth, I will do this in the present 'cover article'. I will integrate totally different research projects in order to answer questions regarding the integrative role of media communication. First I will describe the methods used, then I will look at the main outcomes of the studies, and finally I will reinterpret these results with the help of additional analysis (system integration) and theoretical considerations (social integration). The goal of this dissertation is therefore to show the complementary aspects of the processes on different levels.

4. ANALYSIS OF NEWSPAPERS' CONTENT – SOCIETY'S SELF-DESCRIPTION AND WORLD HORIZONS

Content analysis is a widely used method employed to study the constructions of time and space, and the changes in topics approached in media content (see Jensen 2002, Nordenstreng and Griffin 1999, Trumbo 2004). The main efforts have been made in analysing the constructions of different events and topics in a shorter time span, while problems related to the quantification of textual meanings are widely known and discussed (Lauf 2001). Content analysis has been used as an instrument in the evaluation of prejudice in media content, representations of different processes and social groups, value propagation, societal changes manifested in the content etc. (Trumbo 2004, Rössler 2012). In the present dissertation content analysis is used to highlight the macrostructure of society's self-descriptions based on time, space and topics approached in media content.

4.1. Method: Longitudinal structural analysis

In order to analyse self-descriptions of society, one must bring the respective 'world-looking-prism' – which is constituted by time, space and thematisation combinations – to light, while in order to highlight the macro-structure of media communication, an analysis of long term processes is required. On the other hand, if the goal is to generalize to a certain extent, comparative analysis is needed: "to be sensitized to variation and to similarity, and this can contribute powerfully to concept formation and to the refinement of our conceptual apparatus" (Hallin and Mancini 2004: 2).

I was inspired by Luhmann (1997) who claimed that there are clear differences in the ways in which capitalist and communist societies talk about themselves and the differences in their semantics. It is for this reason that three communicative spaces have been chosen for the analysis. Three countries on the Baltic Sea – Estonia, Finland and Russia, have all experienced the reality of a common institutional framework and of being independent states. As neighbors they share many intersecting characteristics in their experiences of being under a 'totalitarian' umbrella and of democratic state arrangement. I have visualized a trajectory of their common and separate statehoods by marking some breakpoints in Figure 2 below.

Figure 2 Common and separate periods of statehood in Finland, Russia and Estonia, according to a time scale (years)

At the beginning of the 20th century all three nations belonged to the Russian Empire. Estonia and Finland bordered on Russian territory and had some autonomy, but were still politically dependent on the central power of the Tsar's counsel. Finland became independent in 1917 and Estonia followed in 1918, however, while Finland has remained an independent republic ever since – and as a democratic country occupies high positions in terms of national press freedom (www.freedomhouse.org and www.pressfreedom.eu) – in Estonia, authoritarian tendencies became visible in the middle of 1930s, and in the years 1940–41 and 1944–91 the country belonged to the USSR, where Russian influences and interests dominated.

Russia was both the centre of the federal state and the core of Soviet ideology and during the 20th century the Russian mass media was strictly controlled by political powers through censorship institutions. The Estonian mass media was also controlled by the Soviet institutions during its period under domination. In Russia, democratic periods were few and far between during the 20-century history and the "role of journalism has in essence not changed even after accepting seemingly liberal journalism regulations at the beginning of 21th century" (Gladkov 2002: 55)[20].

The research hypothesis behind this comparative study is that society's self-descriptions differ according to the communicative space (national language spoken by the people) and secondly – according to an institutional framework (free democratic communicative space vs controlled authoritarian / totalitarian). This assumption is supported by the findings of content analyses presented in recent dissertations published in Estonia (see Kurvits 2010, Treufeldt 2012).

The present study is carefully designed to emphasise the different self-descriptions of society. In order to cover the entire time span of the 20th century and to minimize the influences of changes in media technology, the chosen medium used for analysis are daily newspapers which have been printed and distributed throughout the entire period. Every country is represented by a

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[20] In principal, press regulations from 1990 onwards did not change things much – the only difference is that the responsibility for the content is no longer on the shoulders of the censorship institution, but is owned by the edition (von Steinsdorff 1994, cit Gladkov 2002: 55).

'leading' newspaper – 'leading' in the sense that these publications have formed opinions, have held the highest position in the hierarchy of national newspapers or have been the most influential newspapers in circulation. In Finland this newspaper was the *Helsingin Sanomat*[21], while in Russia it was *Pravda*[22] and in Estonia *Päewaleht / Rahva Hääl / Eesti Päevaleht*[23].

The sample of articles was designed according to the four-year-step-selection beginning in 1901. Similar content analyses extended to somewhat longer steps – five- or ten-year intervals (see Mervola 1995, Barnhurst and Nerone 2001). The sufficiency of constructed weeks for a sampling of the daily newspapers is calculated by Riffe and colleagues (1993). The present project added the first and the last issue of the selected year to the sample in order to highlight the 'anniversary discourses' – hopes towards beginning year are constructed in the first issue and the main events of the passing year are summarised in the last issue – thus giving us a good basis from which to analyse cognitive world horizons (Kempf 1994).

In total 5941 articles from 27 different years were coded (2139 in Estonian, 2079 in Finnish and 1723 in Russian). Different samples in different languages are of different lengths as in certain, more complicated historical periods (like wars) these daily newspapers could not issue five or six times per week, but only three or two times.

Before I go deeper into the analysis, I will make the following theoretical decisions: samples in different languages will be treated separately (to see the political changes in the country's power system reflected in the media content) and I will present the results on a time scale divided into decades as this helps

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[21] *Helsingin Sanomat* was in print since the autumn of 1898 under the title *Päivälehti*, and from 1904 with its present name (Steinby 1963). This daily has the greatest circulation in Nordic countries and is the only newspaper in Finland with a national issuing area. Though Finnish media researchers point to the fact that *Helsingin Sanomat* does not represent Finnish-ness, it is without doubt the most influential newspaper in Finland published in Finnish language (*World Press Trends* 2010 pp 455–460, 472–479, 904–915, Salokangas 2000).

[22] *Pravda* was first published as the representative of the Communist Party's ideas after the Russian Revolution in 1917 (it was not regularly published and sometimes under different titles between years 1912–1914 – See EKP Keskkomitee … (1962).

[23] Selecting an Estonian-language newspaper was difficult as the criterion of continuity was complicated to follow. The most influential newspaper in Estonia at the beginning of the 20th century was *Päewaleht* (published between 1906–1940), but after the occupation of Estonia the edition was reorganised and renamed as *Noorte Hääl* – it was then the second most important newspaper after *Rahva Hääl*. This was the reason why the criterion of continuity was negated and the *Rahva Hääl* was selected to represent the Soviet periods. After regaining independence, the *Eesti Päevaleht* was selected again (it was re-created in 1995 based on three editions: *Rahva Hääl*, *Noorte Hääl* and *Hommikuleht*). Against the selection of the biggest daily today – *Postimees* talks fact, indeed, during the Soviet periods it was the local newspaper with a restricted issuing area (see Kivimägi 1984, Sinissaar 1976).

one to see the probable effects of historical events, as presented in the figure 2. The last decision is supported by statistical calculations, where data aggregation into decades could be used properly to bring out patterns on the macro-level (Snijders and Bosker 1999: 13). Using a metaphor, I would say that in order to bring self-descriptions of society to the light I am 'fishing with a net with a loosely woven mesh'. While social processes are inert and recursive (every communicative event is recursive – it incorporates / includes references to past communications and the potential of future communications) it is not possible to fix the moment of (the beginning or the end of) change with marking a datum or even an exact year.

In order to highlight the macro structures of society's self-descriptions, I will use the categories of time, space, and topics coded in the newspapers' content. In each of these categories, the analysis took place on multiple levels and every category is briefly described in the articles (STUDIES V and VI). In these articles the main changes in the coded categories are presented and have been related to their known historical contexts – in this way the categories are exhaustively described and can be used as the starting point for the next level of analysis. In addition, I will add to the descriptive level of the categories a generalizing pattern-seeking approach used in the present cover article (in following Lazarsfeld 1964). Categories are interrelated, the interrelations are analysed and the characteristic self-descriptions on the time scale are classified.

4.2. Results: Self-descriptions based on categories of space, time and thematisation

Journalism looks at the world "through the glasses of a system vs. environment distinction" (Marcinkowski 1993: 18) in every moment. The ongoing processes of demarcating limits in the system and self-descriptions based on the differing of 'we' and 'not-we' constantly take place. The defining of the 'here' and 'now' helps us to understand where the system is in terms of time and space and how far it is going in relation to the cognitive world horizon of the system. Topics in the content of journalism refer to those areas / subsystems that belong to society and to internal differentiations within the system.

4.2.1. Time and space constructions

An analysis of time and space as the structuring categories of these systems' self-descriptions is given in STUDIES V and VI.

As the first step, the time and space dimensions of cognitive world horizons in the articles were analysed – or rather, how usual it was to find accentuated notions of space and/or time in these newspaper articles. It could be assumed that these dimensions come into focus if the identity of social system is hesitant or when it becomes necessary to talk about this aspect and to specify the

placement of the social system in time and space for varying reasons. The space and time categories were then clearly verbalised in the articles. For example, in the category of time, the following claims could have been made: "we face especially complicated times at the moment" or "as a nation-state we are secure, but in the world, there we face insecure times"; the same goes for the category of space – "it is important that our culture becomes more visible in the nearest geographical areas", "we are conquering the space out there (in the whole world)" etc. For this analysis, initially it was not important to specify the scope of the horizons of space or time, only the fact that they were elected as topics / or thematized in media communication[24] was considered.

The quantitative occurrence of the categories was coded in the newspaper articles and in STUDY V we concluded that throughout almost the entire period analysed, the articles that accentuated space and / or time in the Russian-language sample far outnumbered those that accentuated these aspects in Estonian- or Finnish-language samples. In fact, the Russian national society's need for actualisations in space and time is clear and was probably motivated by the country's fragile national identity or by (the imagined) 'attacks' from the external world. The explanation given by H. Innis (1951/ 2006) could also be true – he proposed that this could have been the result of the national society's expansive endeavours to expand in time and/or in space (Innis related it to the 'bias's of the communication media'). Interesting counter-phase dynamics were also visible in the Russian-language sample – if in certain decades the category of time was emphasised in a large number of articles, space-actualizations were few and far between, and vice versa.

The articles studied in the Estonian-language sample featured the lowest number of time/space actualizations. Only in the 1960s–70s does one find more references to these respective categories. In the Finnish-language sample, at first glance the pattern of time/space actualizations was not clear, however it was noted that time and space were accentuated in a similar number of articles from different decades. The highest frequency was seen in the 1910s and the 1990s and this could be related to discussions surrounding Finland's sense of belonging. Indeed, at the beginning of the century Finland gained independence from Russian Empire, but at the end of the century the country joined the European Union and it could well be that these institutional events became the reasons behind the fact that space questions were more frequently actualized in public discussions.

Time in terms of the reach of the world horizons was analysed in more depth in STUDIES V and VI, in which time would be constructed through past- or future-references. We discovered that the lowest number of articles in which past and future were thematised was to be found in the Finnish-language sample. In the Estonian-language sample the past was more visible in the 1940s and the 1990s, while in Russian-language sample this was the case in the years

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[24] The Reach of time and space is analysed elsewhere (in Lõhmus forthcoming).

between 1970 and the Seventies. Nevertheless, in both samples the past was referred to less than the future – in fact, the future received more attention far more frequently. This fact differs from the reality encountered in results drawn from the study of US newspapers in 1914–1994, where "the most powerful trend was talking about the past" (Barnhurst 2011: 100).

The dimension of the future in the content of Estonian-, Finnish- and Russian-language media communication seems to relying on the "modern sense of time: linear, measurable and open to progress or reversals" (Adam 1999 cit Barnhurst 2011: 101). The time-constructions of advanced capitalist countries do not only belong to the modernist sphere – the communist regime also "tried to construct space and time based on the utopian visions of the communist ideology" (EiPsenstadt 2000: 197). In the present study it was shown that in the media content of the communist-period in Russia or Estonia, a normative, one-sided vision of the future was dominantly presented, while at the same time the democratic media communication system in Finland allowed for a diverse range of future visions and did not support any particular vision outright (STUDY V, VI).

4.2.2. Thematic structure

In the analysis of the thematic structure of Estonian, Finnish and Russian-language newspapers we were seeking references to the societal sub-systems studied in STUDY VI. We assumed that the internal arrangement of the society would also be seen in the media communication – "at the level of topics, other-reference and self-reference are constantly being coordinated in relation to each other *within the system's own communication*" (Luhmann 1996: 28). In the theory of social systems, the most widely held standpoint is that our imagination of reality is constructed by an autonomous journalistic system and society can be oriented towards that construction as 'real reality' (Bechmann and Stehr 2011).

The analysis of the thematic structure pointed to the significantly different structures encountered in the different samples during different decades (STUDY VI). Finnish-language media communication was very stable in most newspapers devoted to the topics of politics and administration throughout the 20th century – and this topic was a subject that would dominate the field in every decade. In fact, the topics of politics and public administration are of central importance to public discussion as these subjects deal with the agreements and rules that regulate everyday life and the function of societies, and are the basis on which individuals orient themselves in their everyday lives. It enables individuals to be integrated into the level of the system.

Similarly, in the Estonian-language sample – just as was the case in Finnish-language newspapers – the topics of politics and public administration are handled frequently in the periods when Estonia was an independent nation-state. The newspapers were filled with news provided to journalists by the political

sub-system. During the periods when Estonia's national society belonged to the Soviet institutional arrangement, the thematic structure of the Estonian sample changed noticeably.

If one attempts to find some clear tendency towards a thematic treatment of subjects in the changes seen in the thematic structure of the Estonian-language sample during the Soviet periods, or even in the Russian-language sample, it soon becomes clear that the only tendency is the lack thereof. Each decade seems to have new thematic preferences and figures to varying extents in the newspapers' content. In some decades the economic field gets more attention (in the Estonian-language sample this occurred in 1950s, while in the Russian-language sample it can be seen in the 1930s and the 1970s), while in others culture and education come into the spotlight (in the Estonian-language sample this is the case between the 1960s and the 1970s), and then topics of general interest also earn their quota (in the Russian-language sample this occurred especially in the 1960s and the first decade of the new millennium), while finally topics focused on human relations and values come into the picture (in Russian-language samples these topics feature from the 1940s until the 1950s and in the 1980s). Empirical material shows that the thematic structure of newspapers operating within the Soviet Union's borders changed very quickly, and supposedly in the accordance with general ideological directions. In the Soviet system, journalists were not allowed to freely select topics and events to talk about – the thematic structure of the particular channel was prescribed according to the ideological importance of the channel (Vihalemm and Lauristin 1997) and the calendar of political-ideological events (Veskimägi 1996).

Despite the fact that during the Soviet period Estonian- and Russian-language newspapers were controlled by the same censorship authority, empirical analysis revealed fewer clear similarities in the thematic structure of these two nations' samples than was expected. This is probably explained by the fact that in the Soviet media system journalistic content was differentiated in relation to its controlling power and ideological importance to the Communist Party. The Russian-language daily *Pravda* fell under the strongest level of the censorship system (*Pravda* had the 'privilege' of writing about international relations and affairs or to construct the official version of history), while at the same time, the most important daily newspaper of Estonia – *Rahva Hääl*, which was even published in Estonian, was subject to a lower level of censorship and as a consequence the topics chosen were allowed to be less official/ dictatorial (like economy, statistics, local party organisations, etc). In addition, national languages other than Russian allowed for some ideological discrepancies and 'reading between the lines' (Vihalemm and Lauristin 2004: 5). It has been argued that different media channels have played different roles in the system: "Under the Soviet regime the media had a double-faced character: the official press was an important part of the totalitarian state's machinery (ideological function); the press in national republics was an important part of the national

cultural sphere and carrier of cultural opposition to the Soviet system (cultural function)" (Vihalemm and Lauristin 1997: 103)[25].

4.2.3. Macro-structure of self-descriptions

The previous analysis did not indicate the pattern that I had formulated in the hypothesis and had tried to find in the empirical analysis. To identify specific combinations of the categories of time, space and topics in different decades and in different samples, I analysed relations between those categories with supplementary statistical methods. I will call the macro-structure of these categories the self-description of society. Since the macro-structure has definitely been non-changeable during the 20th century, I supposed that I would find different self-descriptions in the material.

For the additional statistical analysis I chose the following categories, already described in the original publications (STUDY V and VI):
1) Proportion of the articles containing space accentuations in the sample decade;
2) Proportion of the articles containing time accentuations in the sample decade;
3) Proportion of the articles containing references to the past in the sample decade;
4) Proportion of the articles containing one clear (positive, hopeful) vision of the future in the sample decade;
5) Proportion of the articles containing one clear (negative, frightening) vision of the future in the sample decade;
6) Proportion of the articles containing differing visions of the future in the sample decade;
7) Proportion of the articles containing the main topic of politics and public administration in the sample decade;
8) Proportion of the articles containing the main topic of economy in the sample decade;
9) Proportion of the articles containing the main topic of culture and education in the sample decade;
10) Proportion of the articles containing the general interest topics in the sample decade;
11) Proportion of the articles containing the general interest topics in the sample decade;
12) Proportion of the articles containing the topics of human relations and value questions in the sample decade.

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[25] We have analysed the function of socialization in culture based on the same data elsewhere (see Kõnno et al 2012).

The samples of articles in different languages were treated separately and every decade was defined as a different 'case' (11 decades and 32 'cases' in total[26]). The purpose of the study was to find patterns in the articles' related to each national media space – or the macro structure of all of the articles' content based on the aggregation of particular categories found in all of the texts. Although the observed variables contained in journalistic texts cannot be treated as 'hard numerical data', where it is possible to construct analytic multimodal models and highlight the existence of relations between those variables (Taagepera 2008), the presence or non-presence of communicative events in media communication can be treated as indicators that point toward something that we are looking for (Lazarsfeld 1969, Esser and Hanitzsch 2012).

To bring out the self-reflections of society in media communication I decided to adopt the cluster analysis method as it is suited to the purpose of highlighting the latent structure behind measured variables (Smith et al 2011, Hayduk and Littay 2012). By using different algorithms and evaluating the solidity of the models, the best model (both statistically and theoretically speaking) was calculated by the K-Means method with six pre-given clusters[27]. I will label the distinguished clusters as different self-descriptions, since they combine the categories of time, space and thematic structure in different ways (see the centres of the final clusters in the table 2)[28].

In the composition of the clusters (and based on ANOVA-analysis) we detect that the strongest influence in cluster composition contain the following variables: the proportion of articles on politics and public administration; time and space accentuations; and the number of articles with a positive vision of the future. According to the integration levels model, this indicates the different relations on a system level (via topics of politics and public administration), the strength of identity construction (presence of time and space categories) and the ideological normativity or diversity / pluralism deriving from the treatment of future visions.

The trends identified in Table 2 are seen again in Figure 3, and lead to an understanding of when and where the different trends featured in media

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[26] Not 33 cases – since the first coded decade of Russian-language samples dated to the decade beginning in 1910 and not to the first decade of the 1900s as the Estonian- and Finnish-language samples did.

[27] One has to remember that the cluster analysis is rather experimental and it is not possible to verify different interpretations (Snijders and Bosker 1999), the method is used rather in a heuristic function here.

[28] The standardised variables were used for the cluster analysis. The K-means method calculated Euclidean distances between different cases to collect the similar cases into one cluster. Based on the ANOVA-Analysis it can be concluded that differences between clusters are higher than differences among the clusters (the F-Test tells us that the solution was given based on the principle to maximize differences between clusters, all differences are significant in the level 0.000).

communication. At this point, the main differences between self-descriptions are described and interpreted.

Table 2 Final cluster centres[29]

	1. cluster	2. cluster	3. cluster	4. cluster	5. cluster	6. cluster
Topics of politics and public administration	25	18	**43**	**31**	**52**	**33**
Topics of economy	22	**31**	21	**32**	18	23
Topics of culture and education	10	13	16	**22**	17	**24**
Topics of general interest	**19**	13	11	13	10	**15**
Topics of values and human relations	**23**	**24**	8	3	3	5
Articles containing space accentualisations	**82**	**91**	**62**	**17**	23	48
Articles containing time accentualisations	**76**	54	**56**	22	36	43
Articles containing references to the past	7	8	4	**12**	**12**	7
Articles with positive future visions	21	19	18	**38**	23	**37**
Articles with negative future visions	4	2	10	5	9	5
Articles with differing future visions	9	**3**	**33**	16	23	14
Cases in the cluster	Rus40 Rus80 Rus90 Rus2000	Rus20 Rus30 Rus50 Rus60 Rus70	Fin10 Fin20 Fin40 Fin50 Fin60 Fin70 Fin80 Fin90 Fin2000	Est10 Est20 Est30 Est40 Est50 Est80	Rus10 Est1900 Fin1900 Est90 Est2000	Fin30 Est60 Est70

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[29] Abbreviations: Est – Estonian-language sample, Fin – Finnish-language sample, Rus – Russian-language sample; the number after the abbreviations refer to the respective decade, i.e. Fin70 – Finnish-language articles from the 1970s.

1.cluster – Identity-focused and depoliticised self-description. When compared to the other clusters, one of the main characteristics of this cluster is an intensive focus on time- and space actualizations – and the construction of identity. I label this cluster as depoliticized as in comparison to other clusters, during these decades one notes a significantly lower number of articles dealing with the topics of politics and state administration, while the number of articles dedicated to culture and education is also relatively low. However, in this cluster we find decades in which topics related to values and human relations are more present in the newspaper content. This cluster is only characteristic of the Russian-language sample and bunches articles from the 1940s and the period between 1980 and 2005.

2. cluster – Space- and economy-centred self-description. Again, this cluster was only found in the Russian-language sample – it was present between the 1920s and the 1970s (with one exception – the conflict filled decade of the 1940s which belonged to the first cluster described above). In the cases collected, the number of articles on the economy and related areas was higher than in other clusters, while topics of value questions and human relations were also present. The percentage of space-actualized articles is the highest amongst all clusters; time-actualisations are less present than in the previous cluster, but still high compared to the clusters that will follow. This is especially noticeable in the period between the 1920s and the 1970s and is characteristic of endeavours in the geographical expansion of the Russian national society (this conclusion is supported by historical knowledge: The Soviet empire grew steadily during these decades – see Therborn 1995).

3. cluster – Politics-centred pluralist self-description with identity-actualisations. The decades belonging to the third cluster are characterized by a large number of articles on politics and state administration; clearly verbalized space- and time categories and the presence of different possibilities in the narration of future developments. In the decades from this cluster, the inclusion of issues and questions related to common rules and norms (politics and public administration) in the newspaper content shows how system integration is supported by media communication. The importance of space- and time-categories points to the visibility of identity-constructions. Another characteristic of this cluster is a low level of normativity and high openness to different viewpoints. This is the reason I labelled this cluster using the terms politics, identity and pluralism. Since this self-description is also present in the Finnish sample throughout almost all of the period analysed, except in the 1900s and the 1930s, one can conclude that the Finnish national society was indeed very stable during these years.

4. cluster – Normative self-description without clear dominance or identity.
When compared to other clusters, the cases classified by the K-Means method in this cluster have significantly lower means in almost all of the categories analysed. We do not find dominating thematic areas in the newspaper content (only the number of articles on economic questions is a little higher than average), while the identity categories of time and space are not actualised. Only the concept of normativity, represented by one clear future vision, is significantly higher than in other clusters. This combination refers to the weakness of system integration and identity constructions. Integration only took place through one pre-given future goal, via normativity. This self-description was characteristic of Estonian media communication from the 1910s until the 1950s and of media communication from the 1980s.

5. cluster – Politics-centred self-description. The fifth cluster is exceptional compared to the four previously described clusters. It classifies cases from all three languages and even some cases from the same period. Based on latent patterns of media communication, cluster analysis classified cases from the beginning of the 20th century in the fifth cluster, which means the media communication related to the period of the 1905 Russian revolution. However, this cluster also consists of Estonian-language material from the 1990s and the first decade of the new millennium. This cluster is characterized by the highest number of articles that dealt with politics and public administration. I interpret this pattern of media communication as a case in which media communication integrates the communicators of the impact area through the system level. Time and space are not highly actualized in the cluster and the normativity characteristic in relation to the future is rather low. The future is also not constructed in pluralist way – it is rather absent in the media communication.

6. cluster – Normative self-description with moderate identity actualisations. The sixth cluster is rather similar to the fourth (labelled as the "normative self-description without clear dominance or identity"), but differs from the fourth in terms of its more clearly expressed identity dimension, however the normativity concept is also prevalent. This pattern was visible in Estonian-language articles from the 1960s and1970s and in Finnish-language articles from the 1930s. If compared to the other patterns found in Estonian-language articles, the present cluster differs through the presence of clearer time- and space-actualisations, while in the Finnish-language articles this difference is mainly seen in a greater degree of normativity and decreasing identity and system integration categories. It is possible that this indicates endeavours to overcome the world's economic crisis and international insecurity through ideological means.
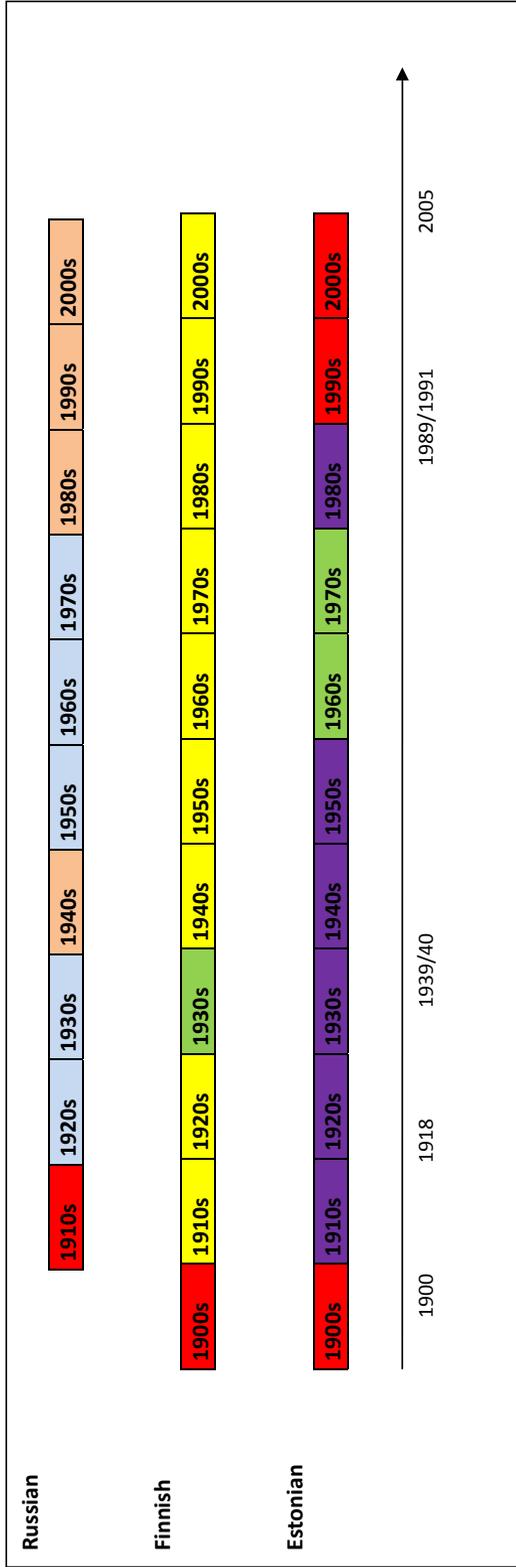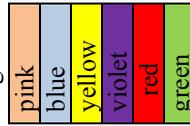
Figure 3 Self-descriptions of Estonian, Finnish and Russian media communication in the 20th century on a time scale (1905–2005) based on the cluster analysis of topics, time and space categories in the newspapers' content.

I will summarise the findings according to national societies in terms of the time scale presented in Figure 3.

- Since all material from the beginning of the 20th century was collected in one cluster and only later were different media communication cases divided into separate clusters and classified according to a division between the nations involved, we can see the structural changes that originated in the revolution of 1905 in Russia. The same can be concluded in the case of Estonia during the years 1990–2000, and the structural transformations are still taking place nowadays.

- In Russian-language media communication, the self-imaging of society is strongly identity-based (this is seen in the low frequency of political topics and high frequency of time-space actualisations) and the receivers of media communication are integrated mainly on the basis of the 'we' defined in terms of time and space. Integration into the system level does not take place in Russian-language media communication. This could explain the different perception of democracy in contemporary Russia when compared to that of 'advance capitalist countries' – we can find the 'managed democracy' there (Beer 2009, Roberts 2012) – "somewhat confusing mix of democratic institutions, but also the lack of tolerance for adversarial politics, the uncertainties of competitive elections and for some representatives of the political opposition" (Roberts 2012: 338) where "third sector organisations absorb and negate civil society's political potential and in return are rewarded by the state with cooperation (Ljubownikow et al 2013: 163).

- The patterns illuminated in Finnish-language media communication have not changed significantly during the 20th century – integration on the system level, identity actualisation and plurality are all characteristic of the self-description of Finnish national society. The only differences in the macro-structures of media communication can be found in the 1900s and the 1930s, when external influences on national society were strong. In the first decade of the 20th century the structural transformation that derived from the Russian revolution was present in the mass media content, while in the 1930s the authoritarian tendencies in all of Europe also touched Finnish national society – this is indicated through higher normativity, lower system integration and the decrease in identity actualisations.

- In media communication in Estonian language, weak system integration and low identity actualisation go hand in hand with high normativity. The clearest endeavours to integrate the national society on the basis of identity were made in the 1960s and the 1970s, through actualisations in time and space. In writing on Estonian history, this period is labelled as a period of growing cultural consciousness (Kuuli 2002, Veskimägi 2005), but even this period is characterised by normativity and low system integration. A picture of Estonia's national society could probably be characterised using the words of social scientists Lagerspetz and Vogt (2004), who claim that "there

is controversy between identity politics, carried by people, and institutional politics, indicating to the actual policy-making" (Lagerspetz and Vogt 2004: 69, 72).

In summary, I conclude that the comparative content analysis of newspapers in different languages provided an instrument that was well suited to its role of highlighting the self-descriptions of different national societies in different periods. First I tried to find a solution in which empirical material could be classified according to theoretical assumptions and political systems – classified along the lines of the free democratic and censored authoritarian self-descriptions of societies, like some other philosophically oriented approaches sometimes claim (see Dzhaloshinsky 2006). This did not work. I could not verify that in the self-description of society the political system has any central importance. The analysis revealed that 1) language / culture owns the central meaning in constituting a particular / specific reality-touch, as Habermas has already indicated (1981); and 2) that some (transnational) events which have a broad scope will be embedded into the different communicative contexts and this is why the influences of outside-events are not always similar in different national societies.

5. ANALYSIS OF MEDIA USES –
MULTIPLE OPTIONS TO BE CONNECTED

Media communication creates background-reality not only for the society and its sub-systems, but for individuals as well. Individuals can in turn orient themselves to this 'commonly known reality' (Luhmann 1996) and on this basis, can make their contributions to communication. Supervened by the differentiation of society, the mass media system is fragmented too. Some researchers argue that the segments of audiences divided between numerous content providers can be encapsulated and that their contact possibilities decrease (see Tewksbury 2005). Fragmentation of media use seems to be a process with a clearly negative impact on social integration as commonly shared knowledge can be more limited. To date, analysis of the common parts of media usage have not supported this fear, while scholars think that the evolution of enclaves is less probable in view of the evolution of a 'massively overlapping culture' (Webster and Ksiazek 2012: 51).

In this chapter I will show that fragmentation processes in audiences can be treated as being complementary to that of social integration in contemporary society. The growing complexity of society and differentiation into autonomous parts with clearly different functions presupposes the diversification of media usage by individuals – this is why the new approach of 'media repertoires' is evolving in the study of media audiences (Hasebrink and Domeyer 2012). Diverse media use guarantees the diversity of bonds to different parts of society and societal interconnections. Media use is divided according to 1) media channels and -content, 2) individual needs and interests, and 3) used communication language. When analysing audiences from different perspectives we see different patterns. Indeed, we can distinguish groups that are more clearly integrated into the system level (by their following of political discussions and topics discussed in mass media content) and groups where the bonds relate them more clearly to the individual level on the vertical axis (through civic participation, institutional and professional ties) or on the horizontal axis (by their use of social networking sites and communication with informal groups).

In the following section I will present the main findings taken from the representative survey used in the original publications to explore different aspects of the links between integration and media use (STUDY I – IV).

5.1. Method and datasets utilised

In order to relate the media usage and the social and political participation of an individual, I analysed the different data sets of a representative survey carried out by the Institute of Journalism and Communication at the University of Tartu. In the regular surveys carried out under the name "Me, World and the Media" the respondents give information regarding their media use preferences

and usage habits. The media usage patterns are also supplemented by additional information that the respondents gave in relation to their interests, preferences, life-styles, values, political and social activity, etc. Since the survey was regular, it allows us to follow the main changes in all of the interrelated aspects and identify changes in the answers. For the present dissertation I used surveys from the years 2002 (STUDY I), 2005 (STUDY III) and 2011 (STUDIES II and IV).

Every survey involved around 1500 respondents – a socio-demographically representative sample of the Estonian population. Questionnaires from the various years are partly overlapping (about ½ of the questions are the same) and similar questions in different years are comparable (see the indices used in the Table 3).

Table 3 Indexes used for the empirical analysis of social integration

Year of survey	Variable / index	STUDY
2002	Evaluation of social changes	I
2002, 2011	Trust in state institutions	I, II
2011	Trust in the media	II
2002, 2011	Generalized trust (trust in other people)	I, II
2002	Identification with a political party	I
2002	Political engagement	I
2002, 2011	Participation in the organisations of civil society/ in civic actions	I, II
2002	Liberal orientation	I
2002	To be an opinion leader	I
2002	Self-positioning in the social strata	I, III
2002, 2011	Newspaper reading	II, III
2011	Radio listening	II, IV
2011	TV viewing	II, IV
2011	Internet use	II, IV
2011	Following news portals	II, IV
2005	Following of the TV-news	III, IV
2005	Use of broadcasting channels / programmes on the internet	III
2011	Use of the social network websites	IV

In each of the original publications (STUDY I – IV) the use of indexes for particular purposes is explained. Different studies indicate that the main socio-demographic characteristics differentiating media use patterns in the Estonian population are age and nationality, and to a lesser extent, the respondents' educational level (see Estonian Human Development Report 1999, 2003, 2004;

Lauristin and Vetik 2000, Lauristin and Vihalemm 2010). This is rather similar to the media usage patterns seen in other European countries (see Hasebrink and Herzog 2004). Dividing individuals into different socio-demographic groups enables one to analyse the differences and any overlapping in their media use habits, which when viewed in a broader context, gives us information about the society's communicative borders – which probably do not overlap with the institutional borders of (nation)-state. Additionally, by referring to the different combinations of media channels /-content, we can refer to the potential consequences of those combinations in terms of social or system integration.

5.2. Results: fragmented media usage in the Estonian population

In STUDY I, I comprehensively tested the dimensions of social integration based on survey data gathered in 2002. In view of the changes in the Estonian nation-state and society, one could claim that this was a study of a transition society (Lauristin and Vihalemm 2010), in which the focus lies in the adaptation of individuals to a rapidly changing social and political environment. The respondents' clear political preferences were related to their trust in the institutions and supportive attitudes towards social changes, which is relatively usual in Estonia following the re-acquisition of its independence. Additionally, supportive attitudes towards changes were related to the individuals' positions in the social hierarchy and to their social-political activity, and it is noted that groups with active and supportive attitudes are rather better socially integrated on the vertical axis (into institutions). Communicative differentiation between the 'winners' and the 'losers' took place when the social transformations were evaluated as being more problematic by the elderly, less educated and Russian-language respondents.

In the first article (STUDY I) I also reveal that the vertical and horizontal levels of social integration are closely connected to one another – if a person has many bonds to the first one, he/she will also have many bonds to the latter. The transition from the Soviet Republic to the independent Estonian nation-state gave active individuals in Estonia many new opportunities – the transition to the democratic state system gave them the possibility to use their new freedom of action to participate. It seems that more time for adaption to the new rules and possibilities was needed by people who lived in the Russian-language media-space (Jakobson 2002) – the communicative support given in this space was not enough to cope with the change over into the Estonian national society and nation-state.

Relations between social integration and media use were checked in STUDY II. The analysis indicated interconnections between vertical social integration and media usage – diverse and intense media use stands out in the correlation with the more active social and political participation, as is concluded elsewhere

(Carpentier 2011b). In the process of audience fragmentation, not only active and passive groups were identified, but also groups with diverse or mono-usage preferences. The thematic interests of the groups are also shown to be quite different (STUDY II, III and IV). The individuals can be classified into different groups based on their interest in the news and information needs, but this is not directly reflected by their channel preferences. "Media users combine a specific range of different media, genres and content and in doing so construct an overall pattern of use that make sense to them" (Hasebrink and Domeyer 2012: 776). Nevertheless, in the empirical analysis individuals with a more active attitude (readiness) towards participation in social institutions and in society in general clearly manifested their interests towards socio-political information in their everyday media usage.

I will interpret the analyses presented in the original studies (STUDY I – IV) in the context of an integration model (see Figure 1 on the page 15), although it must be made clear that the fragmentation of media audiences is not a simple, single-level or one-dimensional process. By looking at the process through 'systems theoretical glasses' one sees that fragmentation manifests itself differently if one takes into account the channel-preferences, thematic interests, usage needs or preferable communication language of the individuals involved. The picture we see resembles a scattering of stars in the night sky – depending on which perspective one observes it from (from the Earth or from the Gliese 581) one sees stars grouped into different groups – like zodiac constellations. I will label grouped information regarding individuals' relations to the media from similarly differentiated perspectives – as (audience) constellations.

In terms of the concrete individual, he/she can be related to the different constellations in different ways – depending on how he/she declares his/her channel preferences, interests and usage needs. Thus, given that the questionnaire only gives the possibility to learn what an individual tells us about him/herself, we cannot go further in our conclusions and cannot make claims about individual identity, communicative attitudes or communication reception. We cannot even to talk about media effects as this cannot be the goal of an analysis carried out from a systems theoretical perspective.

I now move on to collocate the knowledge of audience constellations derived from the published studies (STUDY I–IV): 1) constellations based on individuals' channel preferences, 2) constellations based on the individual's usage needs and thematic interests, and 3) constellations based on the individuals' communication language.

5.2.1. Constellations based on media channel

This constellation reveals the different groups of users in answering the question "Which channels do the individuals claim they are related to?" Nevertheless, knowing only the channel preferences of the individuals it is not possible to draw lines between their preferences and integration levels. Indeed,

it is important to bring out the patterns of channel preferences. Usage of diverse channels can be interpreted differently from usage of only one channel – bonds between an individual and his/her environment which evolve from media communication are probably significantly narrower in the latter variant.

In this respect, media researchers have already dealt with the question: What are the main news channels for audiences? (The Pew Research Centre 2012). In analysing user groups of public service media or news channels they 'detected' groups that are integrated to the system level through 'serious' content. Of course, this depends on the media system and channels available to users; thus it is important to know the character and/or type of media systems available. For Estonian users the media system changed significantly during the 1980s and 1990s and new possibilities for usage patterns were created (STUDY III and IV). However, in line with the technological changes of the mass media, the preferred news channels have also changed – in the beginning of the 20th century the audiences accessed news through printed newspapers, in the 1950s, newspapers were substituted by the radio and in the 1970s by the television, while today the most widely used news medium is the internet (McQuail 2000). The latter is not necessarily the mostly trusted, but it is the quickest information deliverer and in European countries is also the most widely available source (Seybert 2011).

Using the internet as a 'contained medium' (McLuhan 1962/1995) still requires deeper research. Without knowing what kind of content users follow on the internet, we cannot verify information regarding the potential of the internet in terms. The internet can satisfy different needs as it combines not only content provided by traditional content providers like print-journalism and broadcasting, but also the opportunity for interpersonal communication and interaction systems. "Decrease in the circulation of newspapers and in reading does not mean that the audience is less included. Relations between an audience and a single medium can become looser, but it does not mean that the need to have the journalism as a selection mechanism of actual information and as a means of transforming information into public communication disappears" [30] (Blöbaum 1994: 308–309). As indicated in my original publications, there is a significant group – made up of less than one third of the Estonian population – that still prefers to receive information from single source, while the other respondents recount how they try to find information through different channels (STUDY II).

Active media users combine reading newspapers, listening to the radio, watching television and internet usage. A similar conclusion was drawn from the media repertoires study in Germany – media channels and content will be combined (Hasebrink and Domeyer 2012). In the Estonian population we distinguished between 1) the media repertoire of the 'multi-active' media users (23% of respondents) that belongs to all possible media channels; 2) 'active

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[30] Author's translation.

traditional users' (17%), who combine reading newspapers and follow of different broadcasting channels and stations; 3) 'reading-oriented moderate new media users' (13%), who are interested in audiovisual media channels to a lesser extent; 4) 'moderate TV and internet users' (18%), who combine internet content with television viewing; and 5) 'passive public broadcasting users' (29%), who's media usage is limited to the public radio or television service (STUDY II). Only the last group consists of respondents with a single channel interest, but on the other hand, even they (the fifth group) are probably not poorly informed, since the content of public service media is diverse and enables integration on different levels.

Why some channels are preferred and others are not is a burning question, and the concept of trust has often been used in the search for an answer. In most of Europe, the 'traditional' channels are more trusted than the internet, broadcasting is more trusted than print media and the state broadcasting service is more trusted than commercial media (Piirto et al 2011). However, trust is a multilayered concept that is not easy to analyse using an empirical approach (Sztompka 1999). Trust in the media channels evolves from specific social contexts and indicates specific relations between an individual and the media. Comparative studies in Europe show that "trust in radio, the press and the internet increases in line with respondent's level of education /…/ The opposite is true as regards television: the least educated respondents are more likely to trust it" (Media Use in the EU – Autumn 2011).

I was also interested by this question, and especially by the question as to how trust in a channel and in its use are related – can we talk about procedural or symbolic trust (Sztompka 1999)? In answering the survey questionnaire the respondent could reflect on how much he/she trusts different channels. From the analysis of given answers it seems that the declared trust and use of channel are rather 'culturally specific' – for example, Estonians said that they trust public service channels, but amongst them, the number of followers is significantly lower; Russians living in Estonia use and declare trust in a single channel – PBK[31], which is the most used television channel and has the highest audience share among them (STUDY II and IV).

Additionally, one of the findings showed that declared channel preferences differ according to age groups – if the oldest respondents tend to prefer 'traditional' media like television and printed newspapers, younger respondents prefer the internet, which in turn contains the content found in all traditional channels. It is important to study what kind of content this last group uses on the internet. In this respect, no big differences between Estonian- and Russian-

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[31] *Pervõi Baltiiski Kanal* (PBK) is not a channel from Baltic States, it is a part of a Russian television network. Since PBK produces newscasts for Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania and has local advertising, the viewers do not see signs of this in the content and are generally not aware of the fact that it is not a channel of Baltic origin.

language groups can be found. Age is a stronger 'intervening factor' than the chosen communication language in preferences between different media types.

5.2.2. Constellations based on communication needs and thematic interests

This constellation reveals the different groups of users in answering the question "With what needs and interests do users turn to which channels?" Channel preferences are not reflected directly in thematic interests or in usage needs. Since the content provided by one channel/media type can vary greatly – from fictional to non-fictional, from information to entertainment – the fragmentation of audiences is characterised by different constellations of thematic interests and declared needs.

Media channels are frequently classified by media researchers in terms of the channel's orientation, but if we look at the typologies presented from the users' point of view, this doesn't necessarily reflect why these individuals choose that specific channel. It is not possible to claim that entertaining content cannot be informative or vice versa – informative content may not be entertaining for someone else (Meyen 2004: 112–117, Hasebrink and Domeyer 2012).

In an analysis of internet usage it is especially important to know for what purpose the medium is used. Different internet usage practices are differentiated according to the curve seen in the 2011 survey (STUDY IV): uses for 1) e-services and everyday practical information: 2) consumption of culture, media and entertainment; 3) work-related communication; 4) creative self-expression; 5) personal information; 6) communication with friends; and 7) public participation (see also Runnel et. al. 2009). The different motivations behind individuals' use of 'traditional media' are also analysed in the same article. With the help of cluster analysis we differentiated between 1) groups who are interested in TV newscasts, debates and documentaries, and 2) groups who are more interested by entertaining content (STUDY IV p 42). Even if we identified two big groups, we cannot deduce the "distinction between informed elites and entertained majorities" – which has been warned against by some media scholars (see Dahlgren 2009: 44). Our analyses indicate that "education plays an important role in broadening the scope of interests" (STUDY IV p 41). Individuals with the higher educational levels are often characterised by an interest in socio-political topics. We can conclude that they probably have greater communicative bonds to the system level.

Again, and according to our studies, interest in socio-political topics is not related to the main language used for communication. Even if the Russian-language population living in Estonia lives in the media space of the Russian Federation, and even if they are less interested in politics and social and cultural topics of Estonian national society (STUDY IV), we cannot draw conclusions that they are fewer than Estonian-language respondents interested in political

information as we did not ask them clearly about their interests in Russian or in other countries' politics.

As has previously been shown (see Rosengren 1994), if we look at interests in different areas of life, slight differences in preferences between male and female respondents can be still seen (STUDY II).

Within the framework of the integration concept it is important that we find a connection between the respondents' preferences for 'serious' content and diverse media use in empirical material. Besides, active and multiple media use characterises individuals who are more socio-politically active (STUDY I and II), and it is this group that has greater potential in terms of integration on the vertical level with institutions and society as well as with the system level through media communication. The social and civic activities of an individual are therefore correlated.

5.2.3. The role of the communication language

This constellation reveals different groups of users in answering the question "In what languages are certain channels used?" In introducing both of the constellations presented earlier, the question of a common/unifying core of respondents communicating in everyday life using different languages is raised, however, the answers found differ to those given in relation to channel preferences or thematic interests.

Taking channel preferences into account, studies have revealed that the Russian-language population in Estonia lives in a different 'media-space' from Estonians. This has actually been the case since the 1940s (Vihalemm et. al. 2004; STUDY III, Vihalemm 2008). Today, the reasons for this include easy access to numerous television programs from The Russian Federation and a scarcity of Russian-language content in Estonian media programs. To the repertoire of Russians in Estonia, one adds the content of Russian-language public service radio program *Radio 4*, the Russian-language TV news broadcast (about 10 minutes per day in public service television programmes), as local Russian newspapers in Russian language and internet news portals frequently designed for niche groups (like cultural organisations) are not always trusted due to their changeable nature and mixed quality standards (here we do not include the two biggest Russian-language information websites *delfi.ru* and *Postimees.ee*). This is definitely not enough if one needs different information about Estonian society and the world. Based on the analyses of channel preferences one can conclude that the "information space of the Russian-language population in Estonia is not homogeneous – one third of them regularly uses Estonian-language media too" (Vihalemm 2008: 80). The code for communication given by the individual's mother tongue is one prerequisite for the use of a certain media channel or specific content. Cases in which the individual's communication space is limited to only one linguistic system, where a diverse selection of channels/contents is not available, could be treated

in terms of the 'global village' as being complicated. In Estonia's Russian-language population one finds quite a large group that does not understand Estonian language at all (17%), or another that can understand some words but cannot speak the language (20%) and those who only speak to Estonians in Russian (40%) (Vihalemm 2008: 65).

Our analysis showed that even the communication space of the Estonian- and Russian-language population in Estonia is limited to the respective languages, while a sufficient knowledge of other languages enables them to broaden the communication space (STUDY IV). It opens the perspective of media use to other languages, but doesn't guarantee its use. Thus, internet and social networking sites cannot be seen as a 'panacea' in improving relations between different ethnic groups. Additionally, knowing a linguistic code and an individual's motivation to use this code is a prerequisite for this process. In our study we noted that on the horizontal level of integration, the possibilities for communication are especially clear on the part of the Russian-language population – and it is in this group that we found more respondents who declared their use of social networking sites in Estonian language (STUDY IV). We can draw the same conclusion if we analyse the thematic interests of the different populations – the thematic interests of the Estonian- and Russian-language population are similar – they are interested in topics such as travelling, nature and the environment and everyday subsistence, while politics and general questions of social arrangement appear to be less appealing (Lauristin and Vihalemm 2010: 161).

Hence it can be concluded that the borders of communication are not the same as the institutional borders of a nation-state. The Estonian- and Russian-language population living on the territory of the Estonian Republic are integrated into different communication spaces and the common area of the communicative part has grown very slowly. In fact, we can see potential for integration between both groups on the level of social integration (common topics, participation in institutions and organisations) and less on the level of system integration (relations to the Estonian nation-state and politics).

5.2.4. Summary: Complementarities of fragmentation and integration

Fragmentation of audiences based on the media use of audience members can be described from different viewpoints. If we look at the fragmentation processes on the level of channels, thematic interests and information needs or from the viewpoint of communication language, we see different groupings of audiences – or constellations. If I used the results described to create a general map of those constellations and show how particular individuals are related to those constellations, it would be a multilevel and multidimensional map, on which many overlaps and sectors with different sizes would be visible. The

reason I will not draw this map is simple – I still do not have enough knowledge on the multidimensional relations of these constellations.

Standardised questionnaires presented to a representative sample enable us "to analyse the distribution of certain patterns of media use within the total population and within different social milieus" but they do not enable us "to identify comprehensive patterns of media use including relational aspects between the components of these patterns" (Hasebrink and Domeyer 2012: 764). This ambitious task could be the purpose of further studies.

Taking into account the limits of analysis, I will summarise some conclusions that can be drawn from the analysis.

In a hyper-complex society, subsistence with complexity can be facilitated by structuring this complexity through individuals' diverse media use – that are, in very different ways, connected to media communication. Some media use combinations indicate more visible connections on the system level, while others point to a potential for social integration. Integration into the system is performed by media communication in that group of individuals who are active and follow the media content of socio-political topics. For those individuals who are more oriented towards interaction and interpersonal communication, their media repertoire is probably more limited to interactive channels like social networking sites on the internet.

Nowadays, the new media technology that is generally available in modern societies broadens one's possibilities of following different media content through a single technological vehicle. Media use is limited by the individual according to his/her special interests, communication needs and individual capacity in following the communication code.

6. CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

The purpose of this dissertation was to analyse the integrative role of media communication both in society as a whole and on an individual level. I based my analysis on research projects carried out using traditional sociological methods, only to (re)interpret their findings from a systems theoretical perspective.

   The answers to the research questions are thus given separately in relation to society and to individuals.

I How can we see the integrative function of media communication on the level of society as a social system?

Self-descriptions of society are visible in media communications, and are structured according to the categories of time, space and topics. By comparing their specific combinations in different newspapers during different periods, it is possible to see the macro-structure of self-descriptions for given national societies. They connect the addressees of communication differently to the system or to the horizontal and vertical levels of a given social arrangement.

- Though the self-description is usually specific to specific national societies, self-descriptions in different channels of media communication can be similar if powerful external events are taking place.
- In the Finnish-language media communication the self-description of society has almost remained unchanged throughout the 20th century – I labelled this phenomenon as 'politics-centred pluralist self-description with identity-actualisations'. A stable combination of time, space and topic-based categories indicated the clear connections to the system level and actualized identity in media communication, however an important characteristic of this self-description is a pluralist approach and the absence of normativity.
- In Russian-language media communication, the nature of self-description has changed a lot over the course of the 20th century and it is clear that at both the beginning and the end of the century, this national society differed significantly. If the self-description highlighted in the middle of the century was labelled as 'space- and economy-centred self-description' it would later be transformed into an 'identity-focused and de-politicised self-description'. However, a stable characteristic in the self-description of Russia's national society is the fact that media communication has not integrated into the system level, rather, the centre of integration has been the actualisation of identity.
- In Estonian-language media communication abrupt changes and transformations are more visible than they are in the other countries analysed. Estonian national society experienced many changes during the 20th century – from the second decade of the century until the 1950s and during

the 1980s, the self-description of this society was labelled as 'normative and without clear dominance and identity-actualisations'. The other self-description that characterised the society during the 1960s and 1970s – 'normative self-description with moderate identity actualisations' – was also common to Finnish media communication during the 1930s. The third variant of self-description appeared in Estonian media communication at the beginning (1900s) and at the end of century (in the 1990s and in the first decade of the new millennium) – 'politics-centred self-description'. This last description was also common to Russian and Finnish media communication at the beginning of 20th century – with media communication being strongly integrated into the system level. Self-descriptions found in the Estonian sample are more normative compared to the Finnish and Russian samples, while the changes of last two decades can be interpreted as references to the structural changes in Estonian national society.

- The analysis of media content indicated that in the periods of change, media communication becomes more pluralised, with intense discussions and more frequent references to the past and future.

By illuminating the macro-structures of journalism content I have shown that media communication can offer self-descriptions of society and cognitive world horizons for the system level. Self-descriptions are structured according to the categories of time, space and topics. It is not necessary to remain stuck on the idea that one should not to ask about the 'objectivity' of the self-descriptions – "even if they wanted to, the media cannot create any point-by-point correspondence to their environment: this would mean that individuals, and above all the system itself, would be unable to distinguish themselves from the environment" (Bechmann and Stehr 2011: 144). Society reacts to the reality offered by the mass media – "reflection on social processes (theories, and observations about them) continually enter into, become disentangled with and re-enter the universe of events that they describe" (Giddens 1984: xxxiii).

Based on the Finnish example I would conclude that if the mass media can operate as an independent system in society, the most important element in a functionally differentiated contemporary society is the discussion surrounding the rules and norms that hold us/society together. This means that more attention is given to the political topics by mass media content. In this way, the possibility for the addressees' integration with the system level is opened up. This pattern is visible in the *Helsingin Sanomat* newspaper, which granted the topics of politics and public administration a role of central importance throughout the 20th century, and this is probably why the newspaper is sometimes labelled as 'elitist' (Salokangas 2000).

Changes in society are often visible in the media communication of an autonomously operating media system. In analysing single content categories (like topics for example) it would seem that changes in the treatment of topics are caused by changes in ideological interventions. This said, when analysing

the macro-structures of media content, the relative stability of self-descriptions that covered many decades also appeared in the journalism of Soviet institutional system. If the mass media system cannot operate independently, basing its activity on the selection principles established by itself, and the political subsystem intervenes in the content of media, discussion about the political system is not allowed and the political system eliminates any means available for self-reflection – and thus *autopoiesis* doesn't occur.

I would like to draw one last conclusion from this analysis. Namely, when discussing the possible existence of a 'world society', like Luhmann (1984) and others have argued, we should reserve or express at least some scepticism. The analysis of media communication indicates that the borders of any linguistic system simultaneously form, if only to some extent, the borders of communication. Talking about the self, the semantics of a society are rather strongly correlated to national society, while external influences/ interventions are translated into a form of communication that is based on the factors behind the national society.

II What reveals the integrative function of media communication on the level of individuals?

I have used a systems theoretical approach to assume that the mass media provide a background-reality, according to which individuals can orientate themselves. Individuals can contribute to the society through communication – this presupposes that the individual is 'connected' if he/she follows different media channels and -content. If an individual also declares his use of media, he/she declares that he/she understands that it is communication at the same time.

Basing my opinion on empirical analysis, I can conclude that:
- Media use by individuals depends on the offerings of the media system – on the diversity of channels and content, and on the ability of individuals to follow channels in other national languages.
- Different bonds to media communication can be explained by individual content and channel preferences, their informational needs, thematic interests and knowledge of a communicative code – or language. Different media channels and content have different potential for integration – to be connected on a system level enables social-political content and channels. Diverse and active media use is usually related to active political and civic participation.
- An increase in the shared part of the communicative space of the Estonian- and Russian-language populations can take place according to current media use patterns and thematic interests on the level of social integration. At the moment, media use preferences by the Russian-language population do not allow us to forecast their integration into the system level of Estonian national society.

I would not treat audience fragmentation as the encapsulation of some media channels and/or –content. Different individuals, who are characterised by different interests, preferences, needs and skills, are based on the combinations of those aspects connected to the different media channels and -content. Depending on our observation-perspective, we as observers view their media use patterns as audience constellations in different ways. To give a multi-dimensional description of the picture is still the challenge.

It is hard to evaluate the directions that audience fragmentation can take. Some authors claim that due to internet media and social networking sites, audiences will become increasingly fragmented (Webster and Ksiazek 2012: 52), but it is still too early draw conclusions as internet communication has not opened up the whole spectrum of possibilities yet. The role of the social networking sites in social integration is probably the clearest function of internet content. 'Traditional' media channels are still working out the cross-media/trans-media strategies which would enable connections of individuals to the system and other levels. On the other hand, individuals' media use patterns on the internet are also undergoing transformational changes. For example, the role of internet-media communication is questionable in terms of the connection of individuals to the system level, since it is rather unusual that individuals are ready to pay for quality content on the internet.

From the systems theoretical perspective it seems that fragmentation of media use is a strategy suitable for application to a hyper-complex society – it enables individuals to be connected to media communication in diverse ways. If individuals are connected via different channels, those who are connected can realise this in terms of their participation in specific moments (Dahlgren 2009). It is also important to know how well the media content provided satisfies the needs and interests of individuals. If communication in one's own national language does not satisfy an individual's needs, he/she will follow media content in other languages.

In an attempt to answer the question "what is holding societies together" philosophically, I would borrow the words by Dirk Baecker (2011): "it is the question itself that keeps society together" (Baecker 2011: 17).

6.1. Critical remarks about the methods used and future research perspectives

The theoretical framework laid out in this dissertation and related empirical studies shows the possibility of using the systems theoretical approach in analysing integration processes in society, however Braeckman (2006) affirms that "the systems theoretical apparatus on the empirical level apparently does not have the same surplus value with respect to analytical clarity and acuteness, as it has on the theoretical level" (Braeckman 2006: 83). Yu Cheng Liu (2012) suggests that abstract systems theory "can be complemented and reformulated

with the ethno-methodological method of displaying and applying its practical logic to sociological enquiries, and also to escalate the analytical level when addressing the social phenomenon" (Liu 2012: 593). That's right, "the task of empirical analysis cannot be that it describes reality in the 'right' way" (Luhmann 1997: 37) and this is why one should read and interpret the present dissertation as a contribution to the self-description of contemporary society.

Having presented the conclusions drawn from the results of empirical analysis, we now need to answer the question as to how suitable the content analysis and survey data for the analysis of integration levels was. Of course, a perfect observation based on both methods is not possible. In any analysis there is always a 'blind spot', since the observer is part of that what he/she observes (Luhmann 1984). Is it possible to design a survey in such a way as to minimise the 'blind spot' as far as possible and still be aware of that what we don't know? In the following section I will reflect on which aspects of sociological analysis should be taken into account in the designing of a study according to a systems theoretical approach.

Since the social system defines itself by distinguishing between "the me" and "the not-me" (Luhmann 1984), one can suppose that everything that exists in communication is part of the self-picture of the system, even if it is clearly articulated as 'it is not society' or 'it is not part of our organisation'. The systems bring this differentiation into the system – in a re-entry. Thus, it is really complicated to analyse where the borders of the system lie. As human beings, once we begin to talk about something, we transform it into a part of the social system. I would suggest that the first principle that should be built up through a systems theoretical research is that all that which we can thematise belongs to society as the social system. We cannot say what the system is not. In the summary of his article, Blühdorn (2007) – who proposed an alternative view on the analysis of social movements – concludes that "the suggested interpretation of late-modern society's discourses can only be measured against the criteria of theoretical plausibility and explanatory usefulness" (Blühdorn 2007: 16). In other words, the quality/soundness of a theoretical framework can be only 'tested' against other observations.

Since contemporary society is qualified as a hyper-complex social system – or even as a *polycontectural* entity, as Luhmann (1997) says – it allows for many descriptions of its complexity (Luhmann 1997: 36) – and thus, any analysis should cover different levels and different parts of the system. In this dissertation, the levels of organisational and interactive systems are not studied. Usually sociological analysis deal with an 'excerpt' of 'reality' – one of the strategies employed to reduce complexity –, but highly developed statistical analysis methods actually allow for a more complex treatment. In the field of media communication it is not enough to limit the analysis to one single media type, more different channels are needed to analyse and illuminate the macro-structure of media communication in exhaustive detail. I agree with Hasebrink and Domeyer's statement (2012) that "there should be efforts to develop items

that can be used in standardised surveys" and "it turned out to be helpful to reduce the complex analytical framework to a set of categories that seem to be most important" (Hasebrink and Domeyer 2012: 777). It therefore seems that a more elaborate theoretical approach is required in order to decide which aspects are the most important.

Bechmann and Stehr (2011) suggest that we use the strongest points of Luhmann's approach to build up a media study. These include, for example, presumptions regarding the mass media which state that "each individual piece of information may be wrong, but the topic itself structures public communication, providing structures for further communication" (Bechmann and Stehr 2011: 146), and here it should be noted how structuring the role of the topics was also part of my analysis. Secondly they indicate the importance of the media in order to "organize information flows and ensure novelties" (Bechmann and Stehr 2011: 146) – and how novelties in communication can also be studied empirically.

Content analysis is the most suitable instrument for the analysis of time and space dimensions in media communication, but not all communicative ties or the inner structuring of society can be illuminated by analysing media communication alone. The borders of society's sub-systems are found where structural coupling takes place and sociological analysis should deal with these too, however they are not always articulated in media communication.

In the planning of an empirical study I suggest that one start by defining the concept of communication and find an empirical equivalent for it – communication is the constituent element of the social system. It is definitely too restrictive to limit the concept of communication to a whole article published in a newspaper, as I did in the present study. Rather, media communication should be defined in terms of a sentence or meaningful unit of text as this approach increases the amount of analytical units significantly. To treat the newspaper article as a communicative whole is a violent generalisation.

Society is also related to individuals, and thus, in order to learn about these relations one could ask individuals to analyse their communication habits. Nevertheless, Luhmann is critical of these efforts: "The favouritism of methodological individualism that asks the individual what he/she knows or think and bases a statistical analysis of the respective data on this basically doesn't take into account the phenomenon of communication, since communication finds its outcome normally in not-knowing /.../ it is totally unrealistic to presuppose that an individual knows what he/she doesn't know"[32] (Luhmann 1997: 39).

The role of the mass media is not that of guaranteeing the reception and understanding of a message. Media "creates degrees of freedom between viewers and the media /…/ any piece of information can be accepted or rejected, creating the possibility of bifurcation in further communication" (Bechmann

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[32] Author's translation

and Stehr 2011: 146) and it is from this last point that my original publications derive their importance as they aimed to analyse whether individuals are related to the media communication and through which channels. The standardized questionnaire is a somewhat limited instrument due to the array of closed/ fixed answer variants. It would be more fruitful to use the principles adopted by Hasebrink and Schmidt (2012) in the analysis of media repertoires, through which they posed open questions "what are the three most important sources for their general information behaviour and to specific informational functions like getting news about one's own region etc" (Hasebrink and Domeyer 2012: 777). Indeed, the individual's capacity for self-reflection should not be doubted entirely (see Archer 2003).

Society is intrinsically related to the existence of individuals and to their ability to communicate, and the role of the mass media in society is mammoth. As Aguado (2009) states: "the mass media system is the bridge between the operations of the systems of politics and economy, on one side, and individuals or psychic systems, on the other. This capability to weave consumption practices and the public sphere into the constitution of individual identities in complex societies points to the crucial role played by mass media in social systems and poses a significant and defying horizon for the development of a systemic understanding of the mass media" (Aguado 2009: 72–73). Despite this – and hand in hand with the development of technology – society has become increasingly independent from interaction systems, however, given that media communication does not only happen between machines, the role of the individual remains. This is where the quality of individual contributions to communication becomes a deciding factor. For the next empirical study I would like to raise the hypothesis that a hyper-complex society can only be managed through the communication of well-educated individuals.

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SUMMARY IN ESTONIAN

Meedia kaudu seostatud ühiskond: meedia sisu ja kasutusmustrite analüüs süsteemiteoreetilisest perspektiivist

Kaasaegse ühiskonna traditsiooniline ülesehitus näib olevat lagunemas. Globaalsete riskide suurenemine, rahvusriigi tasandil protsesside juhtimise võimaluste vähenemine, inimese ebakindlus oma keskkonna ja tuleviku osas ning individualiseerumine on leidnud käsitlemist desintegratsiooni kontseptsiooni raames. Selline diagnoos lähtub modernistlikust maailmakäsitlusest, kus areng on võrdsustatud kasvu, parenemise, kiirenemisega. Valitseb seisukoht, et unifitseeritus väärtustes, standardiseerimine normides ja inimtegevuse allutamine ratsionaalsele eesmärgile võimaldavad ühiskonna arengut. Kui aga tänapäeva ühiskonnas on need pidepunktid kadunud, siis mis hoiab ühiskondi endiselt koos?

Traditsiooniliselt on alustatud sellele küsimusele vastamisel inimeste uurimisega, et avastada ühiskonna toimimismustreid. Viidatud on võimalusele, et ühiskond püsib koos tänu selgele struktuurile ja väljakujunenud institutsioonidele, ühiselt jagatud väärtustele ja kultuurile, lisanduvate ühiskonnaliikmete tõhusate sotsialiseerimismehhanismide olemasolule ja paljule muule, mis on otseselt seotud inimtegevusega. Hakates aga uurima inimest ja tema elumaailma, peame tõdema, et elumaailmu ongi nüüdseks üle 7 miljardi, tegutsemispraktikaid samapalju ning mingisuguseid mustreid kokku võttes ja üldistades tegeleme vägivaldse lihtsustusega, mis üldistustaseme kasvades kaotab seletusvõimes.

Sel põhjusel on käesolevas töös valitud ühiskonna integratsiooni küsimusele vastamiseks vaade üldisemalt tasandilt – sotsiaalsete süsteemide teooria, mille keskmes seisab ühiskonda rajava elemendina kommunikatsioon. Niklas Luhmanni (1984) mõtetele tuginevalt kontseptualiseeritakse kaasaegset ühiskonda kui hõlmavat kommunikatsioonivõrgustikku, mille üheks olulisemaks käigushoidjaks on massimeedia. Käesoleva töö uurimisprobleem – massimeedia roll integratsioonis – ei ole uus. Uus on aga sellele küsimusele vastamise perspektiiv – integratsiooni süsteemiteoreetiline käsitlus.

Käesoleva töö teoreetilises raamistikus on integratsioon üldiselt ja abstraktselt defineerituna kommunikatiivsete sidemete olemasolu. Üheks ühiskonna toimimise oluliseks tingimuseks on ühiskonna erinevate osade ja tasandite kommunikatiivne seotus. Kuna inimeste omavaheline läbikäimine ruumis ja ajas on kaasajal võrreldamatult suurem kui varasematel sajanditel, see ulatub sageli kaugemale inimesele füüsiliselt kättesaadavatest piiridest, täidab just kommunikatsiooni vahendav mehhanism – meedia – tänapäeva ühiskonnas väga olulist rolli ühiskonna erinevate osade kommunikatiivsel sidustamisel. Meediakommunikatsioon võimaldab ühiskonna erinevate osade vastastikku informeeritud olemist ulatuslikult ja erinevatel tasanditel. Käesoleva töö

eesmärgiks on leida vastus küsimusele: **kuidas meediakommunikatsioon toetab integratsiooni?**

Sellele üldisele küsimusele empiirilise vastuse leidmiseks vaatan meediakommunikatsiooni integreerivat rolli erinevatel tasanditel ja dekomponeerin integratsiooni mõiste varasemate käsitluste (Lockwood, Friedland ja McLeod, Vogelgesang, Weiss ja Trebbe) eeskujul kaheks tasandiks:

1) ühiskonna kui sotsiaalse süsteemi tasand, mis on indiviidide kavatsuslikust tegevusest suhteliselt sõltumatu (süsteemiintegratsioon);
2) indiviidide ehk sotsiaalse integratsiooni tasand, mis kirjeldab indiviidide suhet kahes mõõtmes:
   a. elumaailma mõõde – indiviidide interaktsioon ja igapäevakohtumised ning indiviidi hoiakud ja sättumus ümbritseva suhtes (seda on nimetatud ka horisontaalseks sotsiaalseks integratsiooniks). Interaktsioonis teistega ja enese siin ja praegu määratlemise alusel kujuneb identiteet – seega võime seda nimetada ka identiteedi dimensiooniks integratsioonis;
   b. indiviidile vahetult kättesaadavate institutsioonide mõõde – indiviidide osalus erinevates institutsioonides ja avalikus kommunikatsioonis (seda on nimetatud ka vertikaalseks sotsiaalseks integratsiooniks); vertikaalne tasand vahendab indiviidile süsteemi, mis on eelkõige ühiselu reeglite, riigikorralduse ja selle toimimise kokkulepete ehk poliitika pärusmaa.

Süsteemiintegratsiooni fookuses on küsimus, milliste ühiskonna osade (osasüsteemide nagu nt poliitika, majandus, haridus, jt.) vahel on olemas kommunikatiivsed seosed ja millised need on. Selle lähenemise valguses tähendab integratsioon ühiskonna kui sotsiaalse süsteemi pidevat re-aktualiseerimist kommunikatsioonis ning indiviidide episoodilist kohalolemist ja osalemist kommunikatsioonivoos.

Indiviidi tasandil ei ole meediakommunikatsiooni eesmärgiks indiviidi totaalne hõlmamine, küsimus on kanalites ja viisides, mille kaudu on indiviid tervikuga ja teistega seotud. Integratsioon tähendab, et indiviidil on kommunikatiivsed seosed ühiskonna kui terviku ja selle osadega ning nende seoste olemasolu võimaldab indiviidil anda kommunikatsiooni oma panus – kommunikatsiooniga jätkata.

Sellest vaatepunktist ei ole ühiskonna integratsiooni varem empiiriliselt uuritud. Kuigi väitekirja aluseks olevad uuringud on läbi viidud klassikalisel sotsioloogilisel viisil, seisneb töö uudne panus nende uuringutulemuste ümbertõlgendamises süsteemiteoreetilises kontekstis.

Ühiskonna kui sotsiaalse süsteemi tasandil toimuvate terviku 'kooshoidmise' protsesside analüüsiks on läbi viidud kolmes keeles ilmunud – eesti, soome ja vene keeles – juhtivate päevalehtede sisu võrdlev pika perioodi uuring (uuringud V ja VI)[33]. Võttes arvesse nende kolme maa omavahelisi tihedaid kokku-

puuteid ja nende elukorralduses nii välistel kui ka seesmistel põhjustel toimunud muutusi 20.sajandi jooksul, võimaldab uuring näidata, kuidas on meedia-kommunikatsioon ühiskonda kui tervikut sidustanud.

Indiviidi tasandi integratsiooni analüüsil lähtun Eestis viimasel kümnendil läbiviidud meediakasutuse hõlmavatest uuringutest, mis on selgitanud, milliste kanalite kaudu ja kuidas arvavad indiviidid end olevat ühiskonnaga seotud. Tegemist on esinduslike standardiseeritud küsitlustega, milles on lisaks meedia-kasutusele küsitud ka indiviidide osaluse kohta poliitikas ja kodanikuühis-konnas ning usalduse kohta institutsioonide ja teiste inimeste vastu (uuringud I–IV)[34].

Töö uurimisküsimused on püstitatud ja vastatud nende kahe analüüsitasandi lõikes.

I. Milles seisneb meediakommunikatsiooni integreeriv funktsioon ühis-konna kui sotsiaalse süsteemi tasandil?

Meediakommunikatsioonis on esitatud ühiskonna enesekirjeldused, mis on struktureeritud aja, ruumi ja teemade kategooriate abil. Võrreldes nende kombinatsioone – makrostruktuuri – erikeelsetes ajalehtedes erinevatel perioodidel, saame esile tuua ühiskonna enesekirjelduste laade.

- Kuigi valdavalt on ühiskonna enesekirjeldus keele-/ kultuurispetsiifiline, võivad eri keeltes enesekirjeldused olla teatavate väliste muutuste perioodidel erinevates keeltes sarnased (nagu nt 20.sajandi alguse Eesti, Soome ja Vene ajakirjanduses).
- Soomekeelses meediakommunikatsioonis on ühiskonna enesekirjeldus olnud kogu 20.sajandi jooksul suhteliselt muutumatu – nimetasin selle poliitika-dominandi ja aktualiseeritud identiteediga pluralistlikuks enesekirjelduseks. Aja ja ruumikäsitluse ning teemade struktuuri suhteline stabiilsus osutas tugevale integratsioonile süsteemi tasandiga ning identiteedi aktualiseeri-tusele meediakommunikatsioonis. Sellise enesekirjelduse oluline element on olnud ka normatiivsuse puudumine ja pluralistlik tulevikukäsitlus.
- Venekeelses meediakommunikatsioonis ilmnenud enesekirjeldus on läbi teinud olulise muutumise ning võib väita, et 20. sajandi alguses ja lõpus on tegemist erinevate ühiskonna refleksioonidega. Kui sajandi alguse enese-kirjelduse nimetasin selle spetsiifilise aja-, ruumi- ja teemadekombinatsiooni alusel 'ruumi ja majandusdominandiga enesekirjelduseks', siis 20. sajandi

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meetodi väljatöötamise etapist alates (meetodi väljatöötamine, kodeerijate treening, tulemuste analüüs, uurimisgrupi teoreetilised seminarid ja tulemuste interpretatsioon, artiklite kirjutamine).

[34] Aluseks on TÜ ajakirjanduse ja kommunikatsiooni instituudi esinduslikud ankeet-küsitlused aastatest 2002, 2005, 2008 ja 2011. Nende uuringute põhjal kirjutatud ühis-artiklites on töö autori roll olnud andmete analüüs (uuring IV) ning ka teoreetilise raamistiku seadmine (uuringud II ja III).

lõpu ja 21. sajandi alguse venekeelses ajakirjanduses tõin esile identiteedi-keskse depolitiseeritud enesekirjelduse. Muutunud ei ole aga see, et vene-keelne meediakommunikatsioon ei ole püüdnud oma adressaate integreerida süsteemitasandiga, vaid integratsiooni keskmes on olnud identiteedi aktuali-seerimine.

- Eestikeelses meediakommunikatsioonis eristusid samuti erinevad ühiskonna enesekirjeldused, osutades sellele, et Eesti ühiskond on teinud 20.sajandi jooksul läbi mitmeid suuri muutusi. Ainult eestikeelsele valimile oli omane selge dominandi ja identiteedita normatiivne enesekirjeldus, mis ei integreerinud süsteemitasandiga ja ei aktualiseerinud aja- või ruumikate-gooriaid (oli iseloomulik perioodile 1910ndad–1950ndad ja 1980ndad). Teine enesekirjelduse laad oli eestikeelsele meediakommunikatsioonile (1960ndatel–1970ndatel) ühine soomekeelsega (1930ndatel) – selge domi-nandita normatiivne enesekirjeldus, mille puhul on eestikeelses meedia-kommunikatsioonis ilmnev identiteedi aktualiseeritus tugevam. Kolmas laad, mida leidus eestikeelses materjalis, iseloomustab ühiselt venekeelset (1910ndad), soomekeelset (1900ndad) ja eestikeelset (1900ndad ja 1990ndad ja 2000ndad) valimit – 'poliitikadominandiga enesekirjeldus', kus meedia-kommunikatsioon integreeris adressaate väga selgelt vaid süsteemitasandiga. Eestikeelses meediakommunikatsioonis nähtav enesekirjeldus on seega läbi 20.sajandi olnud kõrgelt normatiivne, kuid viimase kahe kümnendi muutu-sed, mis paistavad ka analüüsist, osutavad struktuurimuutusele.

Kokkuvõttes näitasin ajakirjanduse sisu makrostruktuuride ilmutamise kaudu, kuidas saab meediakommunikatsioon süsteemi tasandil pakkuda ühiskonnale selle enesekirjeldust ja kognitiivseid maailma horisonte, millega on võimalik erinevatel viisidel suhestuda ka meediakommunikatsiooni adressaatidel – indiviididel. Ühiskonna enesekirjeldus on struktureeritud aja, ruumi ja teemade käsitluse kaudu. Võimalikud on variandid, kus meediakommunikatsioon pakub selle adressaatidele alust süsteemitasandiga seotuseks, aktualiseerib identiteedi mõõdet või siis seostab puhtalt normatiivsete võtetega. Erinevatel aja-perioodidel ja erikeelses meediakommunikatsioonis on aktualiseeritud erinevad integratsiooni mõõtmed.

Juhul, kui massimeedia saab toimida ühiskonna autonoomse osasüsteemina, on tänases funktsionaalselt diferentseerunud ühiskonnas esmase tähtsusega arutelu kooslust kooshoidvate ja ühiselt otsustatavate toimimispõhimõtete üle – poliitikateemad saavad suurema tähelepanu kui teised teemavaldkonnad. Sel moel integreerib meediakommunikatsioon selle adressaate süsteemi tasandiga. Ajalehte *Helsingin Sanomat*, mille sisus on kogu 20. sajandi jooksul hoitud esiplaanil ühiselu reegleid ja korraldust käsitlevaid teemasid, on nimetatud just poliitikavaldkonna teemade suure kajastamise osakaalu tõttu elitaarseks (Salo-kangas 2000), mis omamoodi viitab ka selle väljaande olulisele rollile ühis-konna kui sotsiaalse süsteemi stabiilsuse ja muutustega kohanemise toetamisel.

Autonoomselt toimiva meediasüsteemi kommunikatsioonis on selgelt näha ka ühiskonna muutumise perioodid – siis muutub teemakäsitlus mitmekesisemaks ja laiemaks muutuvad ka aja ja ruumi horisont. Üksikkategooriate tasandil näib, et poliitikasüsteemi poolt domineeritud süsteemis on muutunud nii aja, ruumi kui ka teemade struktuurid vastavalt ideoloogilistele suunistele, kuid teksti makrotasandil ilmnes siiski ühiskonna enesekirjelduste suhteline püsivus mitme kümnendi jooksul ka nõukogude süsteemi ajakirjanduses. Kui massimeedia süsteem ei saa toimida vabalt, iseenda kehtestatud info valimise printsiipide alusel ja poliitiline funktsioonisüsteem suunab meediakommunikatsiooni sisu, ei esine meediakommunikatsioonis arutelu selle poliitilise süsteemi enda üle, mis elimineerib võimaluse poliitilise süsteemi enesereflektsiooniks.

Arutledes nüüd Luhmanni (1984) ja mõne teise väljakäidud mõtte üle, et tänapäeva maailmas on vaid üks – maailmaühiskond, mis seob kommunikatiivselt väga erinevates piirkondades toimivaid süsteeme, tahan sellele siiski vastu väita – meediakommunikatsiooni pika perioodi analüüsist ilmnes, et keelepiirid on mingil määral ka kommunikatsioonipiirid. Enesest rääkimise semantika, ühiskonna enesekirjeldus on käesoleva töö tarbeks läbiviidud analüüsi põhjal otsustades üsnagi selgelt seotud keeleruumiga ning ka välised mõjud ja sissetungid/ ähvardused tõlgitakse sellesse keeleruumi lähtuvalt 'kultuurilistest'/ sotsiaalpoliitilistest teguritest.

II. Milles seisneb meediakommunikatsiooni integreeriv funktsioon indiviidide tasandil?

Indiviidi tasandi analüüsiks eeldasin süsteemiteoreetiliselt, et massimeedia roll on pakkuda taustareaalsust, millega indiviidid saavad kommunikatiivselt seostuda. Indiviidid saavad panustada ühiskonda kommunikatsiooni kaudu, mis eeldab nende seotust meediakommunikatsiooniga erinevate meediakanalite ja/ või -sisu kasutamise kaudu. Deklareerides kanali kasutamist deklareerib indiviid ka arusaamist sellest, et tegemist on kommunikatsiooniga.

Empiiriliselt näitasin, et

- Indiviidide meediakasutus on seotud meediasüsteemi võimalustega – meediakanalite ja -sisupakkumise mitmekülgsusega ühelt poolt, aga teiselt poolt ka indiviidi keeleoskusega ja muude pädevustega jälgida teistes keeltes kanaleid.
- Indiviidi seotuse viise erinevate meediakanalite ja -sisuga selgitavad indiviidi sisueelistuste, teemahuvide, kasutusvajaduste ja kommunikatsioonikeele valdamise kombinatsioonid. Aktiivsem ja mitmekülgsem meediakasutus on üldjuhul seotud aktiivsema osalusega kodanikuühiskonnas ja poliitilises sfääris. Erinevatel meediakanalitel/ meediasisul on erinev integratsioonipotentsiaal – süsteemitasandiga seotust võimaldab ühiskondlikpoliitilise sisu eelistamine ja vastavat sisu pakkuvate kanalite kasutamine.

- Eesti- ja venekeelse elanikkonna inforuumi ühisosa suurenemine saab nende praegust meediakasutust ja teemahuve arvesse võttes toimuda sotsiaalse integratsiooni tasandil. Venekeelse elanikkonna meediakasutus ei osuta hetkel potentsiaalile integreeruda Eesti ühiskonnasüsteemi tasandiga.

Auditooriumi fragmenteerumine ei seisne kapseldumises ühe või teise meedia-kanali ja/või -sisu ümber. Erinevad indiviidid, keda iseloomustavad erinevad huvid, eelistused, vajadused ja oskused, on vastavalt nende kombinatsioonidele seotud erinevate meediakanalite ja -sisudega. Meile vaatlejana on sõltuvalt meie vaatlusperspektiivist näha meediakasutuse mustrid fragmenteerumise konstellat-sioonidena. Kui vaatame indiviidide kanalieelistusi, näeme üht pilti, vaadates indiviidide temaatilisi huve ja deklareeritud vajadusi, näeme teist pilti, kolmas pilt avaldub indiviidide kommunikeerimise keelt arvesse võttes. Vaatluse esitlemine mitmemõõtmelise analüütilise kujutisena ei ole lihtne.

Me ei oska veel hinnata, kuidas fragmenteerumine edasi kulgeb ja millise tasandi integratsiooni hakkab meediakommunikatsioon rohkem toetama. On oletatud, et internetimeedia ja sotsiaalvõrgustike kasutuse laienemisega frag-menteerub auditoorium veelgi (Webster and Ksiazek 2012: 52). Paikapidavaid järeldusi on hetkel vara teha, sest internetimeedia ei ole oma potentsiaali veel täielikult avanud, kuigi sotsiaalvõrgustike roll sotsiaalses integratsioonis on arusaadav. Kuna aga ühiskondlik-poliitilist sisu pakkuvad 'traditsioonilised' meediakanalid alles kujundavad oma ristmeedia/ transmeedia strateegiaid, mis võimaldaksid meediakasutajate integreerimist süsteemitasandiga, ning ka inimeste interneti sisu kasutuse mõned aspektid ei ole veel selgelt välja kujunenud (nt endiselt on vähe märgata valmisolekut maksta internetis kvali-teetse ajakirjanduse sisu eest), olen jäänud süsteemitasandiga integreerimise analüüsil pigem ettevaatlikuks.

Süsteemiteoreetilisest perspektiivist, võttes arvesse ühiskonna muutumist üha komplekssemaks, näib fragmenteerumine olevat sobiv strateegia, et tagada indiviidide väga mitmekülgne seotus meediakommunikatsiooniga. Kui indi-viididel on võimalus olla erinevate kanalite kaudu 'seotud', võivad need, kes on 'seotud', realiseerida selle sobivatel tingimustel osalusena (Dahlgren 2009). Oluliseks saab ilmselt seejuures meediakanalite ja -sisu pakkumine – kuivõrd see vastab indiviidi vajadustele ja ootustele. Ilmselt pöördutakse siis, kui omakeelne kommunikatsioon ei rahulda, teiste kättesaadavate võimaluste poole.

Kokkuvõttes kujunes käesoleva töö suurimaks väärtuseks pakkuda ühis-konnale täiendavat võimalust selle enesekirjelduseks. Täiuslik ühiskonnavaatlus ei ole uurija enda osalemise tõttu sotsiaalses süsteemis (ühiskonnas) kunagi võimalik – sinna jääb alati 'pime nurk' vaatleja süsteemis sees olemise tõttu (Luhmann 1984). Käesolev uuring on aga oluline, kuna võimaldab osutada küsimustele, mis vajavad edaspidi kindlasti vastamist.

Kuna tänapäeva ühiskonna puhul on tegemist (hüper)kompleksse sotsiaalse süsteemiga, peab analüüs süsteemist põhjaliku ülevaate saamiseks hõlmama väga erinevaid tasandeid ja süsteemi osasid. Käesolevas dissertatsioonis on

katmata integratsioon nt organisatsiooni kui süsteemi ja interaktsiooni-süsteemide tasanditel. Kuigi enamasti on sotsiaalteadusliku uuringu puhul tegemist väljavõttega 'reaalsusest', mis kujutab endast ühte komplekssuse redutseerimise strateegiat, võimaldavad tänapäevased andmetöötlusviisid märksa komplekssemaid käsitlusi, kui seni tavaks. Meediakommunikatsioonis ei piisa piirdumisest ühe meediumi vahendatud kommunikatsiooniga, vaid sellele peab lisanduma ka teisi meediume, et nende alusel selgitada ühiskonna enesekirjelduse makrostruktuur. Kriitiline aspekt analüüsis on aga asjaolu, et ühiskonna seesmise jaotumise selgitamiseks oleks vaja mõtiskleda ka osasüsteemide piiride ja seal toimuva kommunikatsiooni üle – sotsioloogiline analüüs peaks vaatluse alla võtma nende omavahelised struktuurse koostoimimise punktid. Need võivad toimida ka seda meediakommunikatsioonis artikuleerimata.

Lisaks sellele on ühiskonna kui sotsiaalse süsteemi osa ka ühiskond-indiviid suhe. Süsteemiga suhte kohta saab kindlasti midagi teada ka indiviide küsitledes – analüüsides nende kommunikatsiooni. Standardiseeritud ankeetküsitlus on siin mõnevõrra piirav oma lähenemisviiside etteantuse tõttu. Ühiskond on ikkagi väga seotud sellega, et indiviidid eksisteerivad ja on võimelised kommunikatsiooniks. Seega võiks püstitada järgmiseks süsteemiteoreetiliselt disainitud empiiriliseks uuringuks hüpoteesi, et hüperkomplekssе ühiskonna integreeritus on tagatud vaid haritud indiviidide olemasolul, kes panustavad sellele ühiskonnale sobivasse/ seda rajavasse kommunikatsiooni.

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Peamised uurimisvaldkonnad:
Sotsiaalsed muutused, ühiskonna integratsioon, elanike meediakasutus, Euroopa meediasüsteemid, ajakirjanduse läbipaistvus, meediakommunikatsiooni muutumine.

Õppetöö:
Sissejuhatus kommunikatsiooni ja meediasse, Meedia ja kommunikatsiooni teooriad, Meediasüsteem ja meediakasutus Eestis, Euroopa meediasüsteem.

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