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**Patterns of Cultural Participation and Consumption
in Finland in the 1980's**

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*Introduction*¹

Finland belongs to the Nordic family of social welfare states which have traditionally emphasized the need for extensive networks of public cultural services, publicly financed systems of cultural institutions, and public support for the arts and citizen's cultural practices. There are, however, also differences within this group of Nordic social welfare states and Finland differs from the others in at least three respects.

Firstly, main cultural service networks were established in Finland much before the adoption of social welfare principles during the 1960s. Consequently these networks, especially the systems of adult education and public libraries, were long considered more a part of the national educational system and less an expression of "people's right to culture" or the bases of their cultural activities.

Secondly, the construction of a comprehensive nation-wide system of public cultural and arts institutions was still going on as late as the end of the 1980's by the central government. There were, for example, legislative plans to solidify (both financially and administratively) the position of municipal and regional theatres and orchestras.

Thirdly, like her Nordic neighbours, Finland has a literary culture. In international comparisons indicators of book purchases, library lendings, and time used in reading are at a high level; and the relative number of newspapers and journals published is still among the highest in the world. On the other hand, in comparison with other Nordic countries, Finland has been very liberal in the field of media policy. This is reflected especially in the development of audiovisual media. Finland has e.g. had a commercial

¹ This paper was originally prepared for the European Round Table on Cultural Research, Moscow, 22-26 April, 1991. The theme of the conference was 'Participation in Cultural Life in Europe: Current Trends and Future Strategies'. The purpose of the conference was to collect comparative data on cultural participation in different European countries. Conference papers will be published by Zentrum für Kulturforschung in Bonn and a comparative European study will be prepared and published under the auspices of C.I.R.C.L.E (Cultural Research and Information Centres Liaison in Europe).

TV company since the initiation of television broadcasting at the end of the 1950's and it has been one of the leading European countries in establishing networks of cable TV and CATVs. Annual advertising costs per capita have been among the highest in Europe.

The above comments sketch loosely Finland's location on the cultural policy map of Europe. Taken as a whole, its present cultural policies display a multi-layered mixture of different orientations: nationalism and educational orientation of the early 20th century, democratization and decentralization of the arts and culture during the 1960's, and recent commercial orientations in the mass media, cultural industries and art markets..

Some major changes in the patterns of cultural participation took place already in the 1960s and the first half of the 1970s. These included increased interest in popular culture offered by television and periodicals; and this also implied the decline in cinema going, rise of youth cultures as well as falling apart of certain moral and religious taboos. The urbanization processes expanded audiences of art institutions, e.g. theatre. The rise of the New Left at the end of the 1960s and at the beginning of the 1970s also created new interest in the arts, especially in theatre and accelerated the expansion of its audiences.

The following analyses will show that the different orientations could still, in the 1980's, organize and direct the people's participation in cultural life. However, they also indicate stagnations and tensions which have already altered and may further change the situation in the 1990's.

1. On the concept of cultural participation

The concept "participation in cultural life" is one used in cultural policy debates and discussions. It is also a very ambiguous concept. Even if we limit cultural life to mean only the arts and popular culture we still have a wide variety of cultural practices.

We can approach the concept by modifying a classification system presented by Vera Zolberg (1990,144). While analyzing the social uses of art she divides both the fine arts

and the popular arts further into two categories: original (live) and reproduced works of art (see Table 1).

In the table Zolberg's original classification has been complemented by adding into it actors and their practices: creative activities of the population at large (amateur arts), visits to performances and exhibitions, use of public cultural services(public libraries, art and practical skills classes at adult education centres, watching public television networks etc) and purchase and use of cultural goods (books, records, cassettes, Pay-TV-programmes, works of art etc).

TABLE 1. Types of art and culture and cultural participation

	Fine art		Popular art
Original or live works	Symphonic music, chamber music Opera Contemporary music Art works in museums & galleries Public monumental art Ballet Modern dance Serious drama Experimental theatre	- amateur activities and adult and arts education - visits to performances and exhibitions - enjoyment of works of art purchased from the art markets PARTICIPANTS, USERS AND AUDIENCES - use of public cultural services/broadcasting networks - purchases from the market - use of cultural goods purchased from the consumer markets	Popular music, folk music Musical comedy Jazz Works sold at fairs, stores Cemetary gravestones Show dances Folk or ethnic dance Melodrama Light comedies
Reproduced works	TV-educational channels Art and classic films Serious novels/nonfiction Limited circulation periodicals Poetry/literary criticism Art comicstrip books		TV-light programming Popular films or entertainment Mass market novels/nonfiction Mass circulation periodicals Advertizing blurbs Mass circulation comic books

Adapted from Vera Zollberg, 1990, p. 144.

The categories of the table still remain rather general despite the specifications made. Reproduced popular cultural goods can become unique works of art or classics. Genres change and boundaries between high and popular arts become blurred (see for example the discussion on postmodernism in Steven Connor, 1989). The same can be said about the distinction between amateur and professional practices, especially in the field of popular culture.

Audiences and consumers can furthermore be divided into many subgroups. Sociologists have already long been identifying socio-economic bases of cultural participation and consumption (see e.g. Bourdieu 1979; Roos 1990). We can, for example, distinguish highly specialized audiences with different levels of cultural competence: educated unassuming audiences (standard audiences of cultural events), refined (often critical and reflective) audiences, socially aspiring audiences (audiences with so called good cultural will) and other similarly differentiated groups of consumers of cultural goods. Furthermore, participants and consumers are not always individuals or households. They can also be corporate actors, e.g. business firms or government agencies purchasing works of art or tickets to performances.

Despite unavoidable simplifications, Table 1 presents major dimensions and categories we must deal with while analysing participation in cultural life. The following descriptions and analyses of the trends and patterns of cultural participation and consumption can present only very general outlines of the Finnish situation in the 1980s. In respect to differentiation of participants this paper can at best deal with some socio-economically conditioned patterns of participation and consumption. Needless to say, data used can shed but little light upon the problems of competence, reflection, motivation, immersion and related issues of meaning.

1. On the statistical sources and documentation

In order to illustrate and analyse the Finnish situation data on the following areas of cultural participation and consumption was gathered to the extent it was possible:

- use of public cultural services (libraries and institutions of adult education
- involvement in amateur artistic activities
- visits to arts and cultural institutions: theatre, opera, concerts and museums
- reading
- going to the cinema
- watching television, listening to the radio and phonogrammes
- ownership of electronic equipment (television sets, recorders, VCRs etc), and
- cultural expenditures by the households.

An attempt was made to obtain sufficient data both to identify the major trends and to analyse the changes in the composition of participants, audiences and expenditures. The task has been made somewhat easier by the fact that some of the fragmentary data has been collected into two volumes of Cultural Statistics (1977, 1981) and to two volumes of Mass Media Statistics (1988, 1989) and presented as a Cultural Atlas of Finland (1989).

Diversity of cultural participation and the ambiguity of the concept seems to cause fragmentation in the field of cultural statistics and documentation, too. Different sectors of cultural life monitor their own activities in different manners, from different perspectives and with diverging interests. At the moment no co-ordination of the different statistical and documentation systems exist in the field of culture.

As regards *users of cultural services* and *audiences of cultural institutions*, aggregate number of visitors are usually monitored by the institutions themselves or by the respective associations (e.g. the Central Association of the Theatre Associations, the Finnish Film Foundation, the Association of Finnish Museums, the Association of Finnish Symphony Orchestras). If one wishes to obtain information about the socio-economic background of the visitors or the number of visits by an average individual one

must resort either to *Time Use Studies* carried by the Statistical Center of Finland (at rather long intervals) or to fragmented surveys carried out sporadically.

As regards *mass media consumption* there is far more data available. There is a semi-official national auditing of circulation of newspapers and journals; and the Planning and Research Department of the Finnish Broadcasting Corporation regularly monitors radio and television audiences. These sources, however, provide only limited information on the SES-background of the audiences. More detailed information is provided by surveys carried out by the Finnish Gallup and other firms providing information on consumer behaviour and public opinion trends.

For the present report, the best statistics and documentation concerning the use of public cultural services could be found on visits to public libraries and attendance to art classes organized by adult education centres. Attendance at these art classes is also a good indicator of the interest and involvement in amateur artistic activities. Cultural activities which are carried out outside established institutions and organizations are far more difficult to map out.

As indicated above, adult education centres and public libraries do not monitor the socio-economic background of their students/users. In this respect the analyses rest upon rather fragmentary survey data.

Library statistics, of course, also shed light upon reading habits (type of books borrowed from public libraries). Even here more detailed information was provided by separate surveys and time use studies. Statistics on book sales could also be made use of.

In respect to visits to theatres, concerts, opera, cinema and museums some already integrated time series statistics could be made use of. Surveys and time use studies ("how often-information) offered the change to probe the socio-economic background of audiences and even to construct at least some kind of time series. The problem is that the last cultural interest survey study (providing information on the share of population visiting art institutions) was carried out as long ago as 1981.

In the case of watching television and listening to the radio more systematic cross-sectional survey data covering several years in the 1980's could be made use of. Time use studies and survey data could also be used to analyse the socio-economic composition of the audiences.

Mass Media Statistics and statistics compiled by the Radio Retailers Association could be used to map out ownership of electronic equipment. *Household Survey* from the year 1985, and some preliminary figures from the 1990 survey could be used to analyse cultural expenditures of the households.

3. Recent Trends in Participation and Cultural Consumption

3.1. Established order of preferences

Analysis of this section focus on identifying recent trends in cultural participation and consumption. The data used to identify these trends is mostly aggregate data with focus on the development of the 1980's only. Consequently survey data was needed to provide time perspective and to indicate popularity of cultural practices at an individual or household level. Unfortunately there was only somewhat outdated data available. Yet they help us to organize cultural practices in the order of preferences at the beginning of the 1980's.

Table 2 presents, on the basis of national cultural habits survey data, the level of cultural participation in 1972, 1977 and 1981 among the population at large (Cultural Statistics, 1981). By examining the "not once" column we can organize cultural practices according to their popularity. This offers the possibility to outline the situation at the beginning of the 1980's.

The table does not include listening to the radio and phonogrammes and watching television which would, of course, top the list. Other surveys indicate that at the

beginning of the 1980's some 72 per cent of the population watched television and about 76 per cent listened to the radio or phonogrammes daily (Finnish Mass Media 1989).

TABLE 2. Visits to concerts, theatres, art exhibitions, libraries and cinema and reading of books in 1972, 1977 and 1981.

Visits	Year	Not once	1-5 times	More than 5 times	Total
Reading of books	1972	24	65	11	100
	1977	17	57	26	100
	1981	28	62	9	100
Visits to libraries	1972	58	21	21	100
	1977	46	19	35	100
	1981	50	19	30	100
Visits to cinema	1972	58	29	13	100
	1977	49	34	17	100
	1981	51	49		100
Visits to theatre	1972	65	33	3	100
	1977	50	46	4	100
	1981	56	40	4	100
Visits to art exhibitions	1972	80	20		100
	1977	61	39		100
	1981	65	32	3	100
Visits to church concerts	1972	85	14	1	100
	1977	79	20	1	100
	1981	79	21		100
Visits to symphony concerts	1972	96	3	1	100
	1977	94	5	1	100
	1981	89	11		100
Visits to opera	1972	96	4	0	100
	1977	93	7	0	100
	1981	94	6	0	100

Source: Katarina Eskola, 1984, 148.

Excluding electronic media reading of books and visits to public libraries were the most popular forms of cultural participation in 1981. No drastic changes can be noticed during the ten year period 1972-1981.

In the order of preferences cinema has been stabilized between the media (print and electronic media) and the traditional live arts. Visits to cinema (not once) indicate a

slight upward trend from 1972 to 1981. The drastic downfall in cinema attendance took place already during the 1960's.

Table 2 does not contain time series data on participation in amateur arts. According to the 1981 cultural habits survey some 40 per cent of the population over the age of 14 were involved in the amateur arts: playing a music instrument or singing (22 per cent), drawing or painting (10 per cent), writing poetry or fiction (6 per cent) and acting (1 %) (Cultural Statistics,1981).

As to the traditional, institutionalized live arts theatre enjoyed the most popularity in 1981. Forty-four per cent of the population had visited the theatre at least once during that year. During the ten year period 1972-1981 we can first notice an upward and then a slight downward trend.

Over one third of the population had visited art exhibitions at least once. Over the ten year period the share of population visiting exhibitions had increased considerably.

Concerts of classical music and opera command the interest of only a small minority. The share of population visiting symphony concerts increased slightly from 1972-1981, whereas the share of population visiting the opera remained about the same. Pop, church and jazz concerts have their own segmented audiences too. Some 20 per cent of the population had visited at least once during the 1981 pop, jazz or light music concerts .

The following analyses of trends of development during the 1980's cover only the most central forms of cultural participation listed in Table 2 above. There are no comprehensive aggregate time series data to analyze even the trends of development in visits to art exhibitions or pop and jazz concerts. Existing fragmentary data seem to suggest, however, that the share of population visiting art exhibitions has increased during the 1980's and that audiences of pop, jazz and light music concerts have slightly expanded.

3.2. Dominance of electronic media as a transmitter of culture

The late 1970s and the 1980s have been labelled a period of media revolution. It was predicted that people would turn increasingly from the live performances and reading to television watching and using new electronic media. If we look at "uses daily" information of Figure 1, we do not find much support for this argument as regards reading. This does not, of course, exclude the fact that daily users spend more of their increasing leisure time with television and electronic media. Average leisure time grew by 10 minutes from 1979 to 1987, being 5 hours 49 minutes in the latter. In 1979 some 23 per cent of this time was used watching television or listening to the radio. In 1987 the figure was already 26 per cent.

Time Use Studies indicate that the average time used daily to watch television has increased by 23 minutes from 1979 to 1987 and was for the latter measurement 1 hour and 41 minutes (Time Use Study 1987, Statistical Centre of Finland). On the basis of another Time Use study carried out by the Finnish Broadcasting Company average time spent on watching television had increased already to 1 hour 48 minutes in 1988 (Televisio-ohjelmien seuraaminen, 1989). The share of population watching television daily increased by 10 per cent from 1979 to 1987. In 1987 already 82 per cent of the population watched television daily. This also includes watching pre-recorded video programmes. These were watched daily by seven per cent and rented video cassettes by 1.5 per cent of the population (Finnish Mass Media 1989).

There also seems to be a shift in the timing of television/video viewing. Since 1979 watching seems to have concentrated somewhat more on prime time (from 18:00 hrs to 23:00 hrs, see Figure 2).

Figure 1 and some surveys carried out by the Finnish Broadcasting Company indicate changes in time used to listening to the radio. The increase is mainly due to increased supply: the establishment of private local radio stations. They have introduced new

modes of programming and increased the supply of popular music on the radio. Almost 60 per cent of their broadcasting time is devoted to music alone. Of music programmes 96 per cent were so called light music programmes; popular music, light classics and jazz (Finnish Mass Media 1989).

3.3. Literary culture still standing high

Figure 1 above also gives an overview of the use of the print media in Finland in 1984-1987. In respect to book reading, we can compare its short time series with that of Table 2, and relate it also to the trends in the use of other print and electronic media.

International comparisons indicate that Finns are among the most literary people in terms of time used for reading. Although information given in Table 2 and Figure 1 are not comparable, other survey results indicate, that the aggregate amount of time used for reading by the whole population has remained the same from the end of the 1970s to the end of the 1980s. According to the results of the Time Use Study of 1987, an average Finn used 49 minutes of his/her day for reading. This was the same as the figure of 1979 (Finnish Mass Media 1989). This aggregate stability, however, conceals the fact that the distribution of reading time among different age groups and genders has during the last ten years changed considerably.

Distribution of time used between different print media has also remained the same from 1979 to 1987. In both years about one-third of total reading time was used on reading books, the rest for reading newspapers and periodicals.

Figure 3 gives some information about book sales. The aggregate trend of 1980-1988 seems to suggest that interest in reading has switched somewhat from fact to fiction. In 1980 some 15 per cent of the books sold were fiction, in 1988 already 20 per cent. (In 1980 the share of childrens books was 11,5 per cent, in 1988 it was already over 13 per

cent). Library Statistics confirm this trend. Changes are, however, slight and do not necessarily imply anything in respect to interest in different types of books and reading.

FIGURE 1. Use of print and electronic media 1984-1987 (ages 15-74)

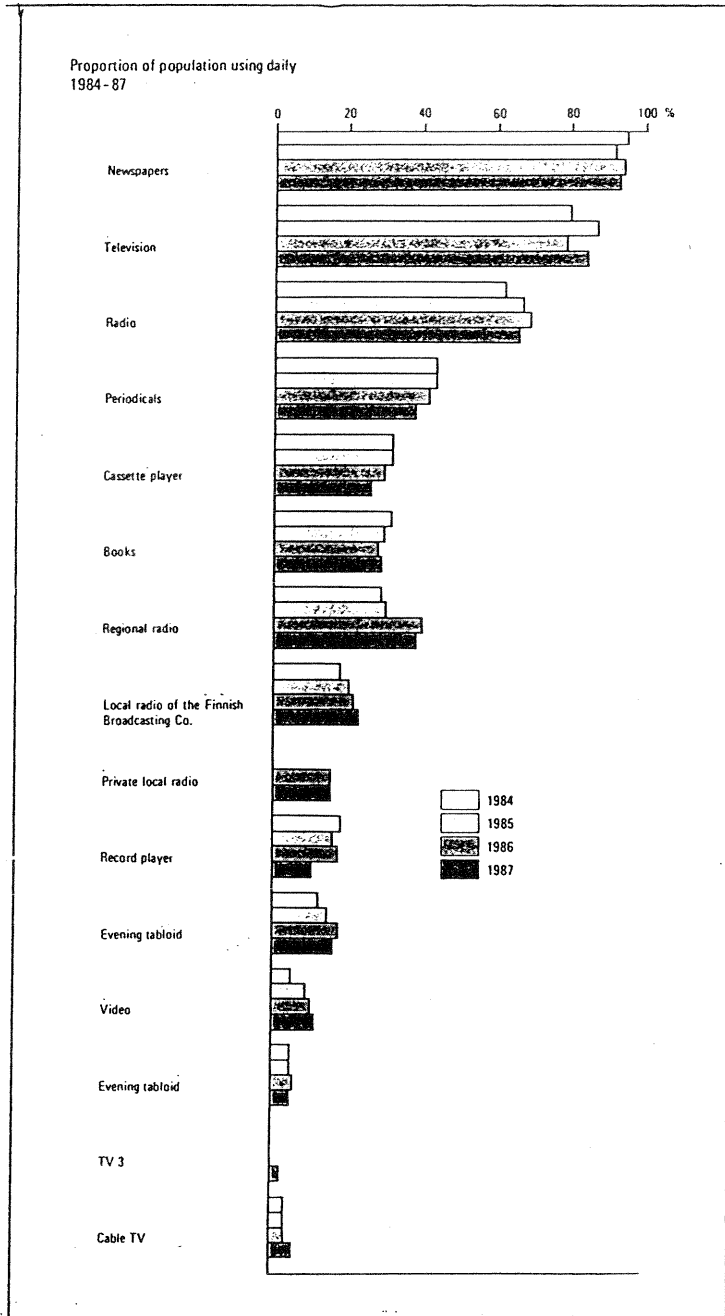
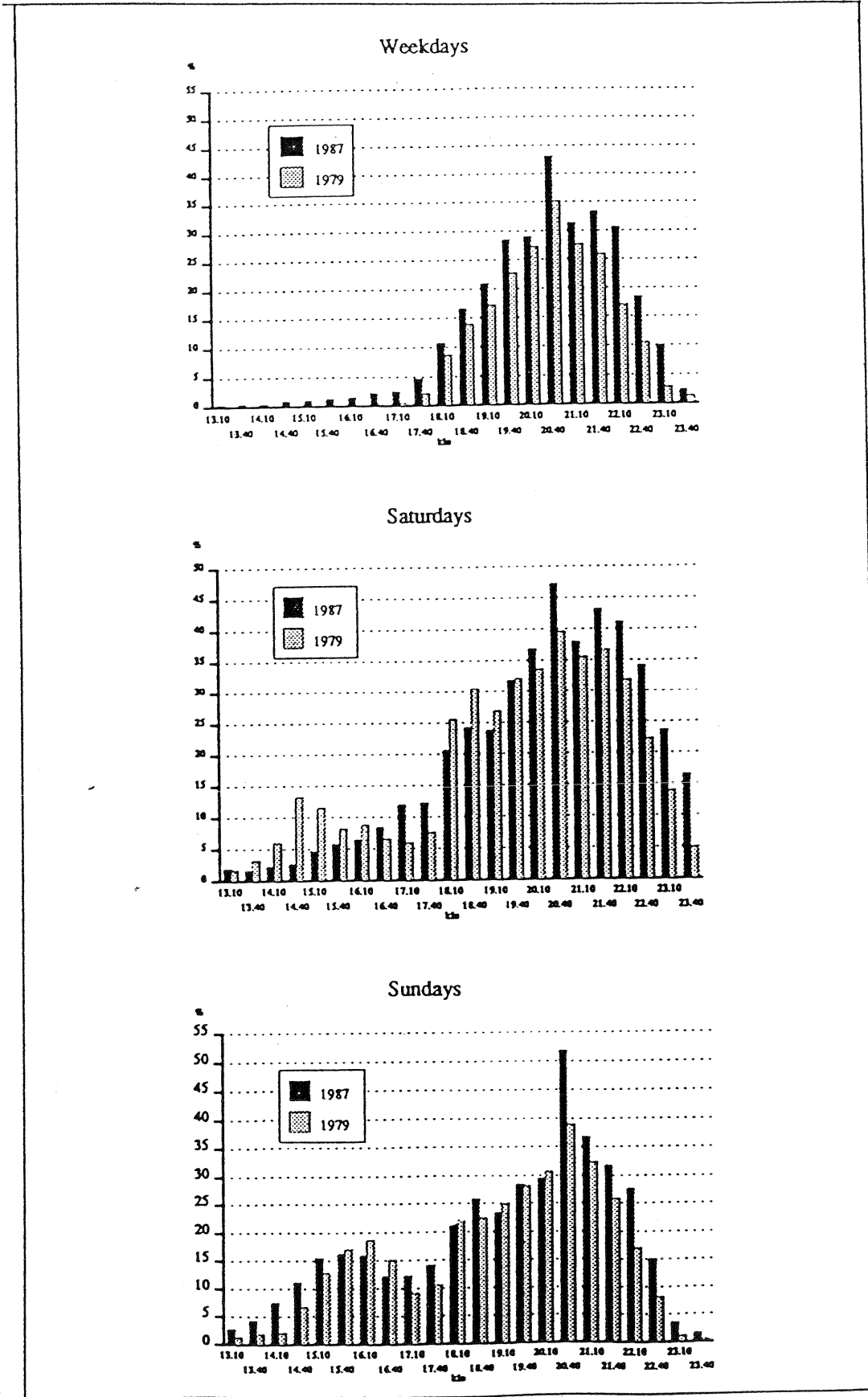
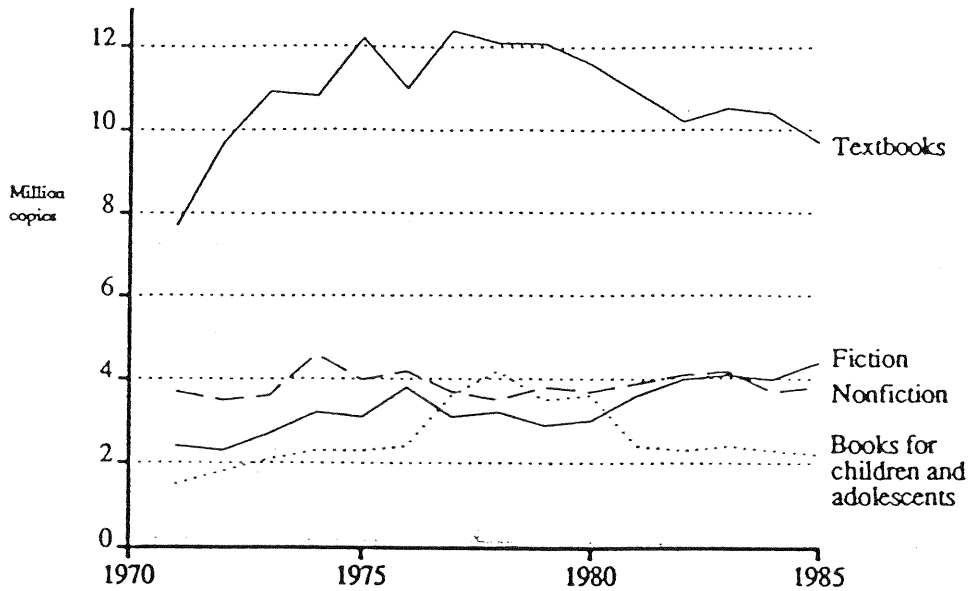


FIGURE 2. Share of full-time television viewers on different days of the week (%) in 1979 and 1987.



Source: Time Use Studies 1979 and 1987

FIGURE 3. Book sales: volume by category of books 1971-1985.



Source: Finnish Mass Media 1989.

3.4. Public libraries and institutes of adult education: backbones of cultural services

Figures 4 and 5 give information on the development of the use of two public cultural service networks: public libraries and courses organized by the major adult education institution: adult education centres. In both cases we can notice a fast growth curve in the 1970's and levelling off by the end of the decade and in the first half of the 1980's. In 1970 the share of population visiting public libraries was 27 per cent, in 1987 it was already 44 per cent.

Figure 4 indicates that main users of the public libraries are children and readers of fiction (jointly about 75 % of the book loans, share of children's books being as high as 44 per cent of the loans). Yet libraries are also used as sources of general information, and they often function as centres for different cultural activities. In the latter part of the

1980s public libraries have expanded their lending activities to the field of music and videos. In 1987 there were over 750 000 phonogrammes available at the public libraries and over one million listeners. At the same time almost one million talking books were borrowed from the libraries. There were 70 public libraries lending video programmes in 1988 (Finnish Mass Media 1989). There has also been experiments in establishing a lending system of works of art.

Figure 5 provides information on the development of attendances at courses organized by adult education centres. Music, arts and practical skills (crafts, textile and technical work). are the major areas of their instruction. They are the most popular fields: in 1989/90 their share of instruction was 65 per cent (music 16 %, other arts 19, practical skills 30). Students under the age of 16 are accepted in the classes of music, art and practical skills in these centres. In 1985/86 some 60 000 young people participated in courses organized in these fields, about half of them in music.

Attendance at music and art classes in adult education centres can also be seen as an indicator of the popularity of amateur arts. We can notice fast expansion during the 1970s which is followed by a steady but levelling-off growth during the 1980's.

The two cultural service networks, public libraries and institutes of adult education are not only educational systems but they also provide the basis for wider cultural participation. Their use experienced expansion during the 1970's but seem to have been approaching a kind of saturation point during the first half of the 1980's. This does not, however, imply that interest in the arts and culture is waning.

The number of applicants to music and art schools is steadily increasing and overceeds manifold the number of those accepted. There are some studies indicating that for example private art education systems (art dance schools for example) have gained substantial ground in the latter half of the 1980's (Repo,1989). There are presently some 100 000 students in art schools for children and young people (music institutes, dance schools and visual art schools).

Alternative forms and places for pursuing creative activities have emerged during the 1980's. For example video workshops have attracted young people to video film making. In addition nine per cent of the population had access to video camera and three per cent of the households owned one in 1989 (Finnish Media Statistics 1989).

FIGURE 4. Lending activities of public libraries 1930-1989. (Number of borrowers and loans for home reading.)

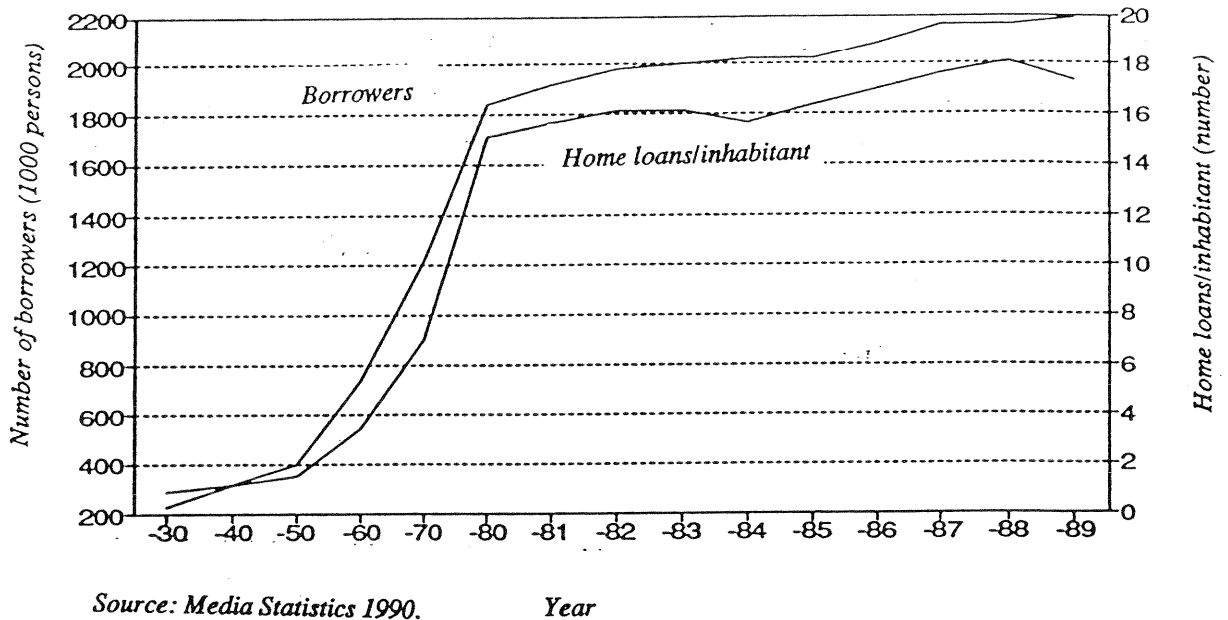
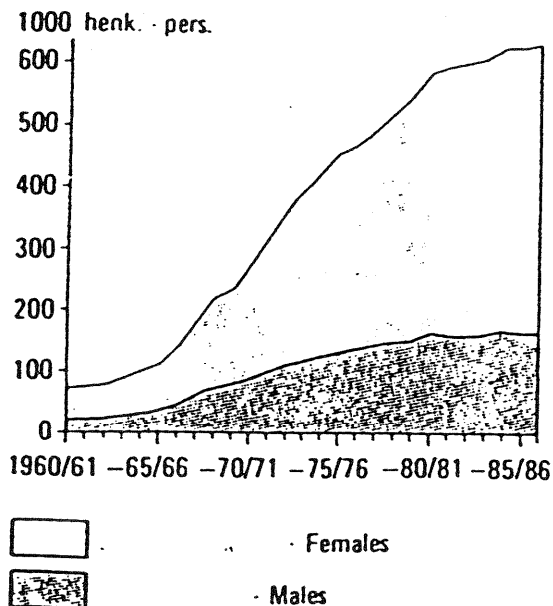


FIGURE 5. Number of students in the adult education centers 1960/1961-1985/1986



Source: Atlas of Finland 1989.

3.5. Theatre, opera and concerts: established and stagnant

Theatre in Finland has its roots in extensive amateur activities, and it has traditionally enjoyed high popularity. There are over 800 amateur theatre groups and some 10 per cent of the population has sometimes participated in amateur theatre activities. In 1981 some 44 % of the population had visited theatre at least once. In France, for example, the corresponding figure for the same year was 10 %.

Figure 6 indicates that theatre audiences grew fast at the beginning of the 1970s and levelled off at a rather high level during the 1980's. For example in 1975, at the heyday of the group theatre movement, 2,8 million tickets were sold. The expansion of audiences was partly due to the establishing of theatre groups and new theatres. Since then there has been slight but steady decline; thus in 1990 some 2,3 million visits were made to professional theatres.

Many reasons can be given for the stagnation in the 1980s: over-institutionalization, choice of programmes and hardened competition from television and new audiovisual media. The aggregate figures actually conceal the fact, that some of the main stages have lost some of their traditional audiences and the maintaining of the high audience level is due to the gaining of new audiences through regional expansion of supply. Audiences have also been maintained by establishing childrens theatres, dance theatres and new stages for old theatres as well as by organizing special performances for groups and transported audiences.

In the case of visits to the concerts of classical music we can notice (cf the graph in Figure 7) a steady plateau for the whole timespan of eleven years (1975-1986). This development seems to be in contrast with the overall development of the Finnish music scene and to our individual data above. In terms of music education and music training as well as expanding supply at the regional and local levels during the examined period, one could have expected greater expansion of audiences of classical music.

In recent years opera has been the flag-ship of Finnish culture. This have not, however, affected much the size of the audiences of the main stage, the National Opera (cf the graph in Figure 8). Around 100 000 tickets have been sold annually. The impact of international repute and star performances can, however, be seen in the number of visitors to the major national opera event, the Savonlinna Opera Festival. The regional operas attract annually some 35 000 visits.

FIGURE 6. Visits to theatre 1951-1987.

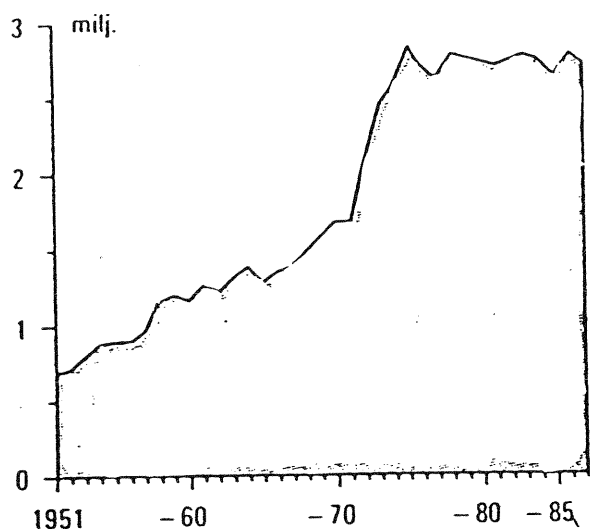


FIGURE 8. Visits to opera 1975-1985.

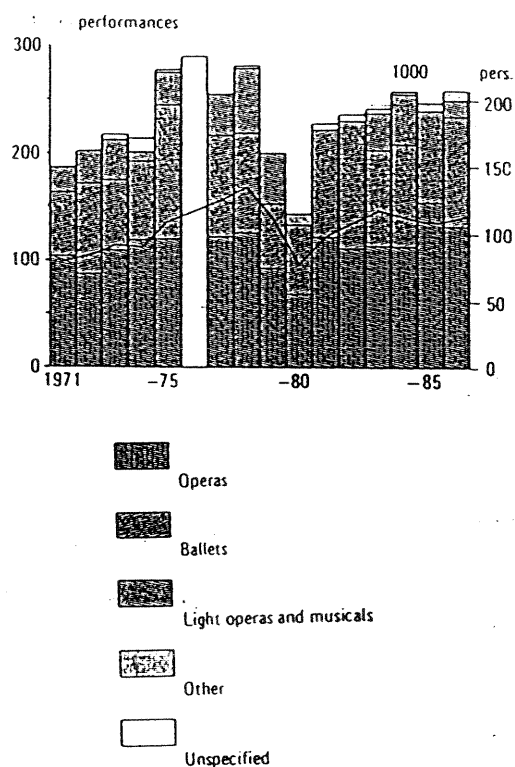
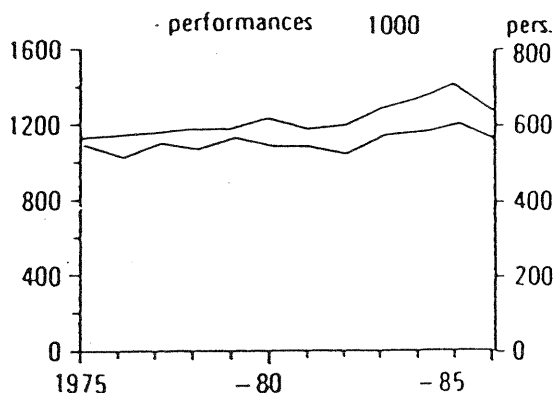


FIGURE 7. Visits to symphony concerts 1975-1985.



Source: Atlas of Finland 1989.

3.6. Museums and art exhibitions: an active interest in the 1980's

Museum attendance has traditionally been high in Finland. In 1981 some 36 per cent of the population visited at least once a museum. Some 2,7-2,9 million visits are made annually to all museums. Almost one fifth of the visitors have been school children. During the 1980's the number of visits to museums has remained at about the same level, although popularity of different types of museums has varied. Art museums have become increasingly popular. For example in 1985 among the ten most visited museums eight were art museums.

Finnish art markets experienced an explosive expansion in the mid 1980's. This has also increased interest in visiting art exhibitions and galleries.

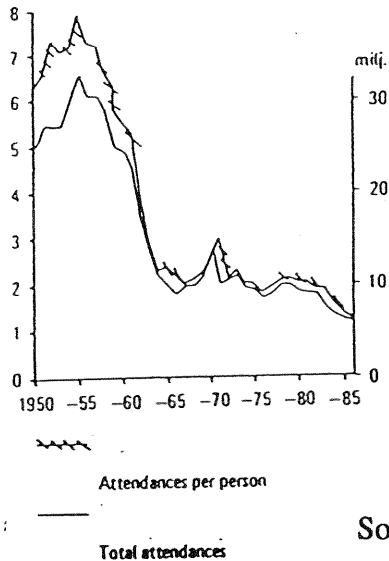
3.7. Disappearing audiences of cinema

Figure 9 indicates that the main drop in cinema attendance took place already in the early 1960s. Some gains could be recorded at the beginning of the 1970s, but there has been in return an average decline during the 1980s. In 1981 there were still 9,4 million visits to the cinema, in 1990 the number had dropped down to 6,2 million. In 1990 over 50 per cents of the tickets were sold in the three largest cities. The share of Helsinki alone was as high as 38 per cent. (Film Statistics 1990). Fluctuations in cinema attendance during the 1970s and 1980s are due to the number of domestic films produced and to some temporary measures like lowered ticket prices and the creation of multi-screen theatres.

Despite the decline in cinema attendance films are being watched more than ever before on the television screen at home. For example in 1989 over 500 feature films were shown on public television only. In addition Filmnet channel shows films 24 hours per day. One third of the Finnish households were already linked to the cable networks at the end of

the 1980s and there were some 5 200 titles available at video rental shops. Over 1,2 million VCRs were sold to private households during the 1980's. In 1989 about half of all Finns over the age 15 lived in households which had a VCR. Video rental shops have expanded fast in the latter part of the 1980s. At the end of the 1980's there were some 1000 shops and outlets lending or selling video programmes (Finnish Media Statistics).

FIGURE 9. Cinema attendances 1950-1986.



Source: Atlas of Finland, 1989.

3.8. Household cultural expenditures: the arts come after the media and equipment

According to the 1985 Household Survey average Finnish household spent 4 410 FIM on culture and mass media in 1985. This was some 5 per cent of the total consumption expenditure of the households. Of this sum 42 per cent was spent on audiovisual media and 38 per cent on print media. Of the audiovisual media 89 per cent was spent on hardware alone. Of the print media 9 per cent was spent on fiction and childrens books, 22 per cent on non fiction books and 69 per cent on newspapers and journals.

Some 20 per cent was spent on the arts and amateur activities (tickets to theatres, opera, concerts and cinema and amateur arts). Of this sum 80 per cent was spent on equipment and instruments alone: cameras and music instruments. Of media and cultural expenditures one third was thus spent on live arts, amateur arts and purchasing of fiction books.

Table 3 gives clear evidence of the increasing dominance of the electronic audiovisual culture in the cultural and media budgets of Finnish households. Already 42 per cent of the cultural expenditures (not, however, including purchasing works of art) of an average Finnish family consisted of buying or renting electronic equipment, software and their uphold costs (including television licence fees).

Table 4 gives some indication of the relative share of different items of home entertainment electronics in the investments of the Finnish households during the 1980's. There are four steady trends of growth: acquisition of color television sets, VCRs, CD-recorders and car radios.

In the purchases of music HiFi equipment the steady downward trend of prices and introduction of new products - like CD-players, digital tape recorders - seems to cause every now and then postponement of purchase decisions and fluctuations in trends. Table 4 also reflects the differentiation of tastes in the area of electronic audiovisual consumption. This is especially prominent in the acquisition of HiFi music equipment where the real connoisseurs of sound form a small high brow subculture. The size of this group is reflected in the circulation of the major HiFi-journal which is about 14 500 and has remained rather stable during the 1980s.

TABLE 3. The level and distribution of cultural and mass media expenditures in 1985 (FIM/household).

Television sets, repairs, VCR's, licence fees, cable charges etc.	1171	Image 1247 FIM 28 %		
Blank video cassettes, video rentals	76		Audiovisual media 1859 FIM 42%	
Record and CD-players, cassette recorders, stereo-HiFi-sets	483	Sound 603 FIM 14 %		Hardware equipment 1654 FIM 38 %
Records and cassettes	120			Software 196 FIM 4%
Theatre, opera and concert tickets	81	Visits 189 FIM 4%	The arts 898 FIM 20 %	
Admission fees to museums	35			
Tickets to cinema	73			
Music activities (lessons, instruments etc)	238	Amateur arts 709 FIM 16 %		
Photography	324			
Writing, drawing, other activities	147			
Books, total	518	Reading 1662 FIM 38%	Print media 1662 FIM 38%	
non-fiction	181			
fiction	129			
encyclopedias, dictionaries etc.	182			
childrens books	26			
Newspapers, periodicals, comics etc.	1144			
Total	4410	100 %	100 %	100 %

Source: Data from Household Statistics, 1985.

Figure 10 indicates the rapid growth in the sales of the phonogrammes during the latter part of the 1980s. The share of CD-records of the total sales was already over 20 per cent in 1989.

Cinema tickets on the other hand occupy a rather insignificant position in an average cultural household budget. In 1985 it was just on par with the video film rentals. The preliminary information of the 1990 Household Survey indicate that there has been during the latter part of the 1980's a clear decrease (-31.5 per cent in real terms) of household expenditures on visits to cinema. At the same time there has been a steady annual growth in video film rentals. Furthermore, the distribution of films via television has, at the same time increased due to the expansion of cable networks and satellite television. The share of pay-TV and their film nets in the television film supply has also increased. One third of the households were linked to the cable television networks at the end of 1990.

Expenditures on the live arts occupy a minor role in the household budgets. Yet, attendance to cultural institutions is heavily subsidised and actually households do pay more -in the form of taxes. In 1986 public subsidies for a theatre ticket was 121 FIM and for a opera ticket 552 FIM.

Preliminary data of the 1990 Household Survey indicate that household expenditures on institutional culture (admission fees to concerts, opera and theatre) have grown about 31 per cent (in real terms) in the latter half of the 1980s, but spending on print media grew even more.

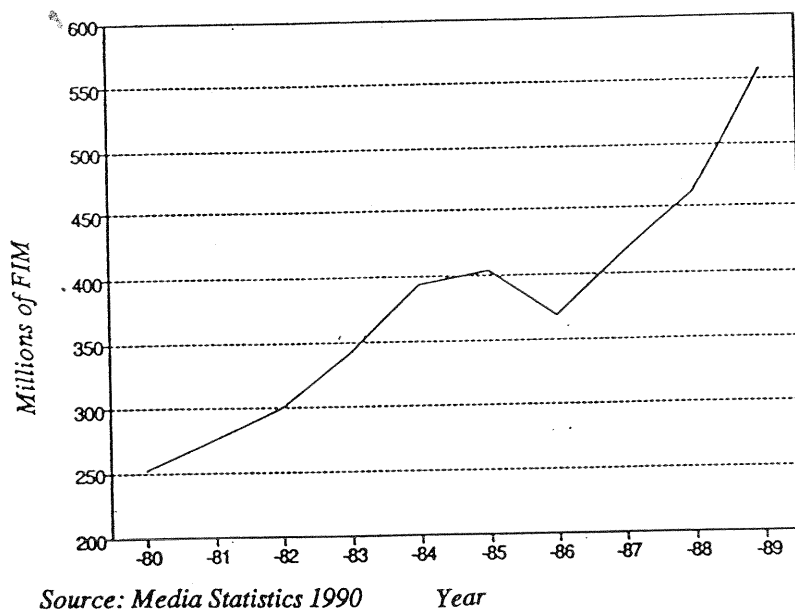
Book sales have remained rather stable during the 1980 (see Figure 3 above). There is a slight increase in the sale of fiction at the expense of text books. Expenditures on literary culture occupy nearly as prominent a position as electronic audiovisual culture in the household budget. Yet, the share of fiction, poetry and childrens books in these expenditures is rather low. Newspapers occupy a central role in the cultural and media budgets of the households.

TABLE 4. Sale of entertainment electronics in 1976-1988. (number of items in 1000s).

	1976	1980	1981	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	coverage 1989
Color-TV-set	130	155	145	180	215	200	185	225	275	91 %
B&W TV-sets	58	72	55	42	35	28	15	10	7	21%
VCRs	-	6	13	85	115	130	120	145	180	54%
Video cameras	-	-	1	3	4	2	1	-	-	
Video-camera- VCRs	-	-	-	-	-	3	5	8	12	
PC's	-	-	-	30	50	50	50	45	45	18%
Stereos:										
-tuners	-	14	26	30	30	40	30	12	12	
-amplifiers	-	15	30	33	32	42	32	15	16	
-tuner amplifiers	15	31	40	30	28	23	18	15	14	
-stereo systems with loudspeakers	65	48	37	27	30	50	40	55	62	
-Stereo equipment excl.tuners total	80	94	107	90	90	115	90	85	92	66%
Speakers(units sold seperately	175	100	155	140	130	140	110	95	95	
Players:										
-record players	20	41	62	58	57	65	45	28	22	
-CD-players	-	-	-	2	3	8	15	30	45	
-open reel tape recorders	3	1	1	0,5	-	-	-	-	-	
-stereo decks- cassette players:	24	47	70	65	60	70	50	28	29	
Walkmans	40	15	25	30	180	200	170	200	200	
Players:total	87	104	170	156	300	343	280	286	296	
Radio cassette recorders	110	155	170	200	250	280	270	290	275	
Radios:										
-portable radios	50	35	25	30	45	50	60	70	80	
-non-portable radios	20	70	75	45	40	40	45	50	60	
Radio receivers: total	70	105	100	75	85	90	105	120	140	
Car radios	85	130	140	152	155	170	175	190	215	

Source: Radio Retailer's Association 1976-1988.

FIGURE 10. Sale of phonogrammes in 1980-1989



3.9. Observed trends: advent of a home-based audiovisual culture?

The above patchwork of fragmentary statistics gives an overall picture of the development of cultural participation and cultural consumption in Finland in the 1980s. The pattern could be called "advent of a home-based audiovisual culture" and it implies:

1) A rather distinct stabilization and stagnation in the use of cultural services (public libraries, art classes at adult education institutions) in the visits to arts institutions (concerts and opera) and in some cases even a decline (theatre). What has been lost in the core areas (metropolitan Helsinki) has been gained via geographical expansion of the networks and increased supply. For example the number of performances at the theatres has almost doubled in 20 years.

Plastic arts and dance on the other hand have experienced an increase of popularity during the latter part of the 1980's. This can be seen in the increased number of visits to art museums and galleries and number of visitors to dance performances and involvement in dance activities.

2) If measured in terms of the use of public cultural services and attendance to art institutions the stagnation took place from an international perspective at a rather high level. Interest in amateur arts and other cultural practices has also remained high. Both public service institutions (music schools, adult education centres, amateur arts organizations) and the market (e.g. private art dance schools) have responded to the expanding demands of the amateur arts.

3) The major expansion in participation and consumption has taken place in the field of electronic, home-based audiovisual culture ("image" and "sound"). Time used to watch television, listen to the radio and phonogrammes has further increased. New distribution channels and modes of consumption (satellites, cable television, VCRs and the development of HiFi technology) have increased people's involvement and created differentiated home-based audiences.

4) Yet, despite the expansion of audiovisual field and related privatization of cultural consumption the differentiation of contents (programmes, phonogrammes) has not taken place in the same manner. Since the advent of music videos genres have scarcely changed at all. The major change can be detected in the new programming format of some local radios.

These comments can be generalized to cover more fundamental processes in Finnish society. The 1980s has been marked in comparison with the 1960's and 1970s not only by the advent of audiovisual culture but also by political and structural stabilization and finally even over-heating and crisis of the consumer society. All this will have their effects on the traditional cultural sector and on cultural participation and cultural politics.

4. Users and audiences: changing patterns of their socio-economic compositions

Finnish cultural policies of the 1970s and 1980s aimed at especially increasing geographic equality and improved access to the arts and culture. Although some wider demographic and socio-economic structural changes were anticipated and discussed, it can be noticed that the following trends were seldom discussed and even less often taken into account:

- expansion of the segments of retired and aged people with their cultural needs and aspirations, and
- generational changes in the cultural interests of young people;
- expansion of new middle classes and their cultural aspirations and
- changing cultural aspirations and interests of women.

The following analyses traces these trends in cultural participation and consumption data by looking first at the age factor (especially the participation and consumption patterns of young people, old people and different generations) and then socio-economic and gender factors (participation and consumption patterns of different social classes and gender).

4.1. The old, the young and the generations

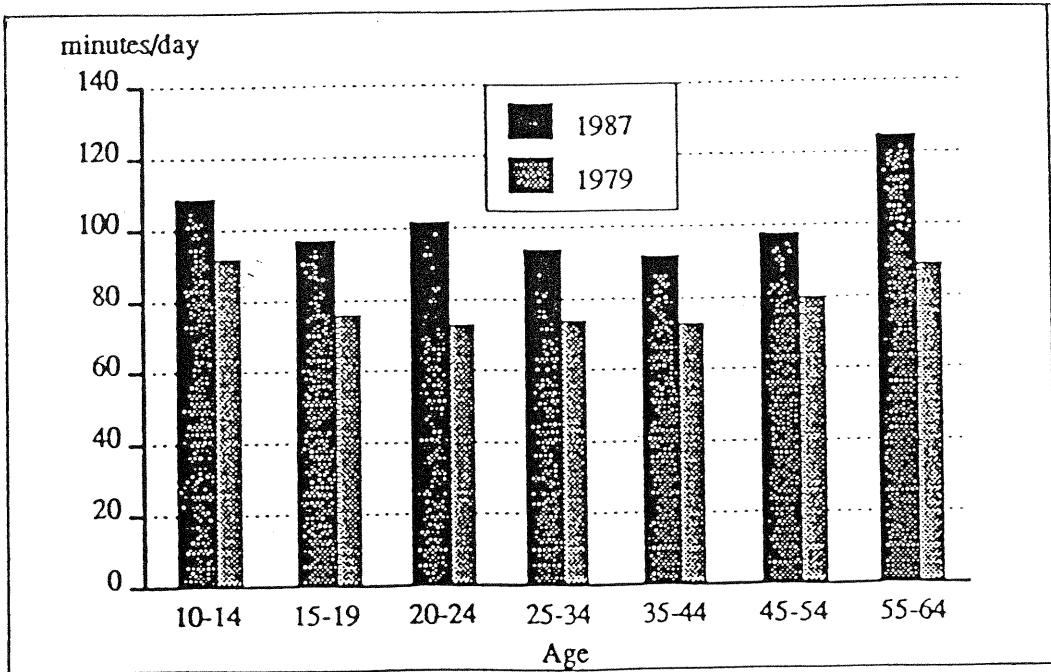
We can first examine Figures 11 and 12, which give us information about the changing patterns of reading and television watching by different age groups in 1979 and in 1987. We can notice the following changes:

- a) increase of both reading and television watching in the oldest age group (55-64),
- b) steady increase of television watching in all age groups, although more than average (26 minutes) increase accumulates in the age groups 20-24 and 55-64;
- c) decrease in the time used for reading in the younger age groups and increase in the older ones.

The first of these observations suggests that there is emerging a more educated and active type of aged and retired people. Table 5 supports this observation, although the interest of retired people (last column) in newspaper reading, listening to the radio, and watching television (channels 1 and 2) may also be interpreted as a search for a substitution of "real life".

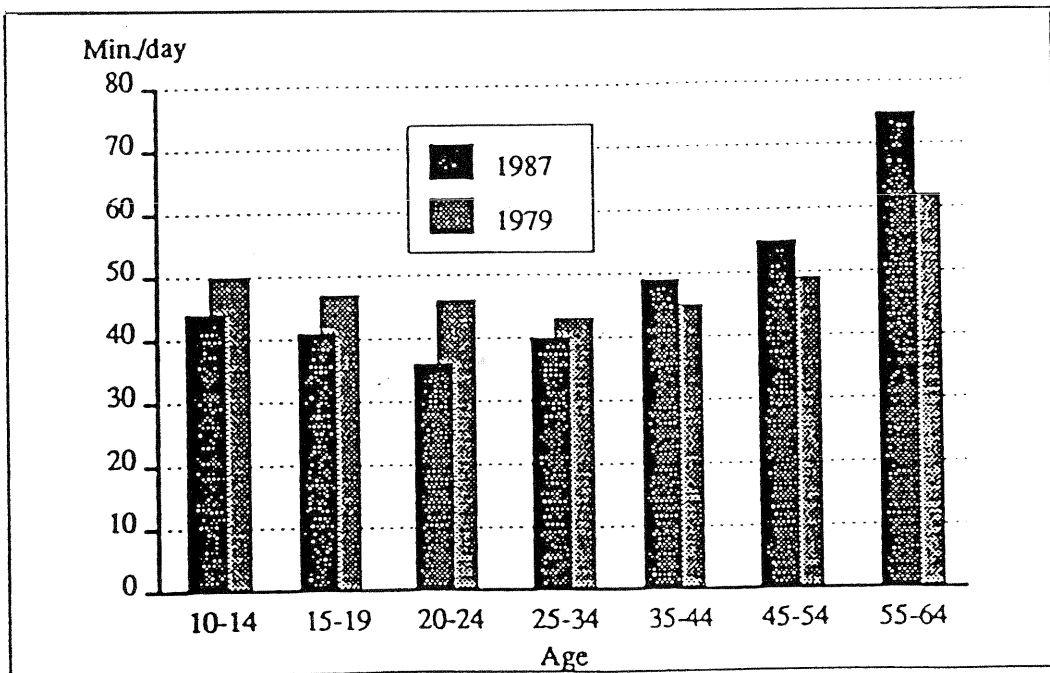
An increase in television watching in all age groups can be interpreted as a result of increased supply of programmes (new Channel 3, private commercial radio stations, cable TV networks, VCRs). Yet the increase in the use of the new media has taken place mainly in the younger age groups (students and school children in Table 5), and the older age groups rely on and are active with the old and established media (TV-channels 1 and 2, Radio channels 1 and 2).

FIGURE 11. Time spent on television viewing according to age in 1979 and 1987.



Source: Time Use Studies 1979 and 1987

FIGURE 12. Time spent on reading according to age in 1979 and 1987.



Source: Time Use Studies 1979 and 1987

The changing patterns of reading (Figure 12) can best be explained in terms of generational change. If we discount the older generation as "generally active" (see above), reading has mainly increased among people who were born in 1933-1952, that is, who belong to "war-time generation" and "baby boom generation". The difference between this generation and the ten years older age cohorts (note the overlapping) can be explained by the increased level of education. The decrease in reading in the age groups born after 1953 and especially after 1963 can be explained by their socialization in the haydays of rock and youth culture (in 1973-1979) and by increased use of the electronic media (see Table 5, columns "students" and "school children"). For example in 1990 young people between 15 and 24 listened to the phonogrammes 70 minutes a day. Almost 60 per cent of this age-group listened to the phonogrammes daily (Finnish Broadcasting Company).

Children and young people have traditionally been most avid readers. They have been a special licence to dwell in the imaginary worlds from where they are then transferred to adult world and working life by different initiation rites (matriculation, university studies etc.). It has been suggested that childhood is disappearing and that the line between childhood, youth and adult life is becoming diffuse or even obliterated. This earlier entrance into the adult world may also explain changes in the cultural habits of young people.

There is little information about the use of cultural services (adult education and public libraries) and visits to theatres, symphony concerts and opera by different age groups. Different surveys indicate, however, that older age groups use cultural services more (especially public libraries), but visit theatres, symphony concerts and opera less. Theatre, opera and concerts are mainly visited by the middle-aged. The age-induced difference is, of course, less pronounced in more educated groups. Surveys also indicate that older people use more special offers: collective ticket bookings and special transportation to theatres, concerts, opera and arts museums.

Surveys also show that the more equal geographical distribution of the arts and arts education has made it easier for young people in smaller towns to become interested in and socialize in theatre, classical music, opera and visual arts. On the other hand, despite the trends in figures 3 and 4 young people have remained active users of public libraries and as indicated above they still enroll in art and music classes of adult education centers.

TABLE 5. Average time spent with media in main socio-economic classes (minutes average day).

	Upper level	Lower-level	Wor-kers	Far-mers	Students	School children	House wives	Retired
Magazines:total	36	30	28	31	35	35	24	32
Newspapers:total	50	44	44	40	41	23	40	61
Other material	5	5	5	3	5	3	8	7
Books:total	33	24	15	4	76	38	23	19
Printed total	124	103	92	78	157	99	95	119
Radio (Public)	88	129	150	155	57	40	145	140
Radio (Private)	27	41	44	24	43	20	38	12
TV 1&2 (national)	73	88	100	93	78	94	113	128
TV 3	10	12	11	3	16	12	13	8
Cable-television	2	3	3	0	7	6	0	1
Video	7	9	13	3	8	20	6	2
Electronic:total	207	282	321	278	209	192	315	291
All media	331	385	413	356	366	291	410	410

Source:Harri Erämetsä,1990,193.

4.2. Old and new class differences in cultural expenditures and time use

The results of the Household Survey of 1985 can be used as the basis in examining class differences in cultural participation and consumption. There is no need to present the results in detail but only select among the data to serve as starting point. The data has been taken from Mass Media Statistics and does not consequently include expenditures on tickets to theatres and exhibitions and amateur activities.

The following figures give first an overall class distribution of an average media budget both in absolute monetary terms and as per cent of the total household expenditure.

TABLE 6. Cultural media expenditures of the Finnish households in different socio-economic classes in 1985.

Socio-economic classes	Cultural media expenditures/ household	The same as per cent of the total expenditure
Upper middle class	6250	4.9
Middle class	5027	4.7
Independent entrepreneurs	4497	4.5
Lower middle class	4054	5.2
Farmers	3728	4.5
Working class	3956	5.1
Pensioneers	2237	4.6
People with social security /social assistance grants	1739	4.9
Other economically inactive people (mainly students)	2302	5.4

Source: Household Survey 1985.

Higher social classes spend in absolute terms more on culture/media than do the lower classes. The upper classes also have a more varied and more even distribution of consumption items. The main difference to other groups is that they spend considerably

more on books. Workers in turn use relatively much more on the acquisition of electronic equipment and rentals of video films.

Farmers and students have least crystallized class position. They are also in the absolute ends in respect to relative consumption (cultural/media expenditures as per cent of total consumption expenditures). Farmers use less than average for recorders and players, students considerably more than average on cinema tickets, stereo equipment and phonogrammes.

The relative figures also indicate the inelasticity of certain cultural consumption items. Such are e.g. subscribing to newspapers, acquiring TV-sets, paying TV-licence fee. This is reflected in the fact that less well-to-do groups have higher relative consumption than better-off classes.

Table 5 above gives a survey account of the media use by individuals belonging to different social classes. The class division is about the same as in Table 6. The middle classes and the category of entrepreneur have been condensed into two class categories. The results give a very similar picture to that of the Household Survey of 1985. The middle classes and students display more varied patterns of media use; the use of print media increases and the use of the electronic media increases in less educated classes. The patterns of media use of workers and housewives surprisingly resembles each other; the latter are somewhat more inclined to read books.

In recent years there has been criticism of the traditional conception of class position as a useful construct in cultural analysis. It has been pointed out that education, occupation and wealth reflect only present resources, not the capacity to use them socially. It has been suggested that we should use a separate concept of cultural capital to denote the inherited and specially trained capacity to make cultural distinctions and perform social in social occasions. The measurement of this cultural capital has turned out to be problematic. It is usually conceived as aggregate patterns of cultural consumption and practices; and these are then used to interpret individual cultural aspirations and

behaviour. Table 7 gives some preliminary results of a survey aiming at this type of analysis.

The figures of Table 7 can be summarized in the following manner:

High culture activities (concerts, opera, theatre, reading books): members of cultivated middle class have internalized them (and also some other items/practices like travelling, nature/environment), use them in a routine or critical fashion, and are able to make distinctions (good/bad, new/traditional, fashionable etc); members of managerial-technical middle class conceive them as status/class symbols or consumption items; and members of the working class consider them as educative or entertaining leisure time activities.

Consumer items/leisure activities (household equipment, fashionable cloths, sports) have also status value for the members of managerial-technical middle class, members of cultivated middle class and working class consider them more as necessities of life.

Everyday chores, organizational and labour union activities: these are morally obligating for the members of the working class, necessities for managerial-technical middle class and not very important for the members of cultivated middle class.

Table 7 and its interpretation from the perspective of class differences in life styles and cultural capital convey a clear message. Traditional high culture has not only been the privileged possession of the upper classes, but it has also been a means to maintain their position and way of life. At present this way of life is being undermined by a new consumer culture and the corrosion of traditional life style of farmers and working class. New electronic media (which is used heavily by new middle classes and working class) accelerates the adoption of consumption orientated life styles. The figures and interpretations of Table 8 are deficient in one respect. They do not take into consideration gender based differences in life styles and cultural orientations. This deserves a separate analysis.

TABLE 7. Class distinctions in Finland: preferences of different practices/items of the Finnish middle and working classes.

Practices, preferred items	Cultivated middle classes	Managerial/ technical middle classes	Traditional working class
Concerts of classical music	537	150	39
Theatre/opera	251	132	47
Educational activities	209	132	58
Travelling abroad	194	158	77
Reading books	174	121	79
Nature/environment	142	95	99
Household equipment	121	139	79
Sports, physical exercise	75	130	89
Sport events	58	141	96
Fashionable cloths	36	147	83
Cooking daily	40	76	117
Rock concerts, clubs	0	138	82
Professional organizations, labour unions	0	179	100
House cleaning	0	68	120
Car repair etc.	0	73	135

Legend: 100=average of the whole sample, table covers only preferences of three selected classes and 15 selected items/activities

Source: J.-P. Roos, *Suomalaisen elämäntavan muutokset (Changing Patterns of Finnish Life Style)*, in Olavi Riihinen (ed); *Suomi 2017 (Finland in the year 2017)*, Helsinki, Gummerus 1990, 477-494.

4.3. Gender, class and middle class women

Tables 8, 9 and 10 give us an basis to examine gender differences in the patterns of cultural participation and Table 11 allows us to specify them according to class. Unfortunately, most of the data is outdated and stems from the cultural interest survey of 1981 (Cultural Statistics 1981) and from some earlier surveys from the 1970s.

The tables 8 and 9 and 10 indicate that there is a clear difference between women and men in the use of cultural services, attendance to events and cultural consumption. This difference seems to have prevailed all through the 1970s. Women are more active library goers, they participate more in the art classes and they attend concerts, art exhibitions, theatre and opera more often than men. Men read books on a par with women, yet they read more comic books, go more often to the movies and listen somewhat more to recorded music and music from the radio. Our earlier data suggest, however, that housewives display a different pattern to other women. As our earlier data shows they are among the most active groups in listening to the radio and watching television. Although there are no comprehensive statistics from the 1980s, separate surveys and studies indicate that this gender difference has prevailed throughout the 1980s

Class and gender differences are very distinct: every higher class is always more active (on an average) than the previous class (a class distinction cannot be made between farmers and manufacturing workers); and women are more active than men within each class. Separate studies and surveys indicate that the above class-gender pattern has prevailed throughout the 1980s.

Separate survey studies of theatre, concert and opera audiences suggest a specific and persistent class-gender effect. The lower middle class women (employed mainly in service industries or lower clerical professions) always feature prominently in the audiences (Kivekäs 1991, Linko 1986, Salonen 1990). According to Salonen, the share of women in symphony concert audiences in 1990 was over 70%, according to Kivekäs

TABLE 8. Consumption of the products of cultural industries among women and men in 1981 (once within the past six months in 1981).

Consumption	Women	Men
Books and reading:	50	41
-bought at least one book	74	70
-read at least one book	53	47
-borrowed at least one book from the library	48	40
Have subscribed to a newspaper:		
-those issued at least 3 times a week	92	93
-those issued 1-3 times a week	51	55
Read journals:		
-at least once a week	81	78
- at least once a month	95	92
Read comics:		
-at least once a week	16	33
-at least once a month	26	48
Have bought:		
-records	23	24
-cassettes or tapes	36	44
Listened to phonogrammes:		
-at least once a week	62	72
-at least once during a year	80	88
Visited cinema:		
-within a half a year	34	43
-within a year	43	51

Source: Cultural Statistics 1981

TABLE 9. Enrollment in the adult education centres in 1981 (% share of women)

Adult education institutions:	% of women	number of students
-Folk schools	80	6 650
-Adult education centers	72	582 000
-Study centers	66	191 770

Source: Katarina Eskola 1984.

TABLE 10. Visits to the theatre, art exhibitions, symphony concerts and opera in 1973, 1977 and 1981 (% share of women and men who visited at least once during the year)

	W	M	All
Theatre			
1973	41	29	35
1977	59	41	50
1981	53	35	44
Art exhibitions			
1973	23	17	19
1977	41	37	39
1981	44	29	35
Concerts			
1973	4	3	3
1977	8	4	6
1981	14	7	11
Opera			
1973	6	4	4
1977	9	5	7
1981	9	4	6

Source: Katarina Eskola 1984.

over two thirds of opera audiences were women and according to Linko two thirds of theatre audiences were women.

TABLE 11. Visits to the theatre, art exhibitions, concerts (both classical and popular music) and opera on the basis of gender and class in 1981

Visits	Higher clerical employees		Lower clerical employees		Service sector		Workers		Farmers	
	women	men	women	men	women	men	women	men	women	men
Theatre	87	69	66	45	56	28	45	24	32	25
Art exhibitions	86	62	56	39	23	24	26	17	17	14
Concerts	65	52	44	30	31	25	22	18	19	13
Opera	17	15	12	3	5	2	6	6	-	1

Source: Cultural Statistics 1981.

There has been some debate about the cultural activity of lower middle-class women. Several explanations have been offered. It has been suggested that these women are often gainfully employed, which activates them. or that they have already during their childhood or adolescence become acquainted with the arts. They themselves may have more often than men an active interest in singing, playing an instrument, dancing and acting.

In contrast, general factors, such as parental background, arts education at home, high socio-economic status and education seems to be more important for men than for women as regards participation in cultural life. This is particularly the case in respect to opera and symphony concerts but also in respect to theatre.

Studies of television audiences repeat the internationally established fact that lower classes/occupational groups watch more television and listen more to the radio than higher classes/occupational groups and do this also less discriminantly than higher classes/ occupational groups. Gainfully employed women naturally watch television less than housewives. Among the former, those in higher positions watch less than those in lower professional positions. Time Use Study of 1987, however, indicates that this difference has somewhat diminished from 1979 to 1987 (Finnish Mass Media 1989). This might indicate that the gap between these two groups may be closing in another direction, via the "secularization" of cultural aspirations of higher middle class women.

4.4 . *A summary: old or emergence of new patterns*

Two different and mutually even competing patterns seem to emerge from our data and interpretations of class and gender differences in cultural participation and consumption.

In the case of class differences we could first notice the old and established pattern: higher classes display more varied and more sophisticated array of activities on a higher plane than lower classes in respect to traditional high arts. In this pattern the level of education could be seen as a major component of class position which determines cultural interests. The second pattern emerges when we analyze cultural participation and consumption from a broader perspective (use of modern electronic media and reproduced cultural products) and relate them to the type of education (humanistic vs. managerial-technical). In this case we can identify a bifurcation of higher socio-economic classes into two strands: cultivated classes and status through consumption orientated classes. This also gives a new perspective to cultural change. Old traditional route of intergenerational upward mobility via education may be losing its importance. You need not to become cultivated via arts and academic education if you learn to consume fashionably.

In the case of joint gender/class differences two similar but somewhat more complex patterns emerge. On the one hand we can see that traditional cultural practices are feminine domain - at least from the point of view of audiences and amateur arts. They are some indications that in the higher classes cultural practices of women are becoming more secular, e.g. increased time used to watching television. On the other hand traditional cultural practices seem to be an area where lower class women can express their aspirations - be they then status aspirations or search for better and more meaningful life. The latter may also mean that this development may offer an alternative pattern for culturally aspiring/interested lower middle class women; and that their support of the traditional institutional culture may, at least in the long run, ebb too.

5. Trends towards the future?

The above analyses of the aggregate trends did suggest that trends of participation will not change much in the near future. The above analysis of the SES differences in cultural participation gives a somewhat more unstable picture than the inspection of the aggregate trends in the previous section. They also help us forecast better what the future might bring.

The results of the previous section suggest, that older, better educated and active groups of middle aged and retired people might shape the patterns of cultural participation and consumption in the 1990s to a much more considerable degree than they did in the 1970s and 1980s (due to lower educational and class level). Observed generational differences also suggest that the traditional Finnish "literary culture" might be in waning, and the new audiovisual, home-based image and sound cultures are gaining steadily more ground especially among new generations. On the other hand public libraries and adult education centres, so it seems, are still able to recruit new generation of users.

Our analysis of gender/class differences suggested that irrespective of the stagnant or waning fortunes of the performing arts (theatre, concerts of classical music, opera), there are mechanism which will safeguard their recruitment basis. Women, and especially middle class women, seem still to be the carriers of the torch in these areas of participation.

The observed class and gender differences may, however, forbode radical changes even in the not-so-far future. New patterns of cultural participation and consumption may deprive at least some of the traditional cultural institutions of their audiences.

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FIGURE 12. Time spent on reading according to age in 1979 and 1987.

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