The consumption of media contents through mobile devices in Finland

Edgar da Silva Carreira

Dissertação
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Dissertação apresentada para cumprimento dos requisitos necessários à obtenção do grau de Mestre em Jornalismo, realizada sob a orientação científica do Professor Paulo Nuno Vicente
To Mrs. Hirondina and Ana,
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Firstly, i would like to say that i am very grateful to my scientific supervisor, Professor Paulo Nuno Vicente, a person that since the first class told us to go beyond our comfort zone. I have done it, and it was for me the best option. Then, i am also thankful to all of my teachers, that encouraged me to go abroad. And when you want to go abroad, your family is very important. And mine respected my will to spend almost 6 months in Finland. There, i am grateful by the support of Professor Mikko Villi, that opened his doors to help me. He told me about Mrs. Riikka Lätti, Head of audience insight at YLE, and that was the only person that showed interest in being interviewed for my work. I am grateful by the time that she had spent with me. I am also grateful as well to Mr. Tuomo Sauri, from Statistics Finland, and that sent me some important data in order to complete my research. A special word also for the Finnish teacher Mika Palo by the precious help in the translation of some important data for my dissertation.

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I am truly grateful to Mrs. Hirondina and Ana, two crucial womans that know since the beginning that this master’s degree is not an end, but just the very beginning of my academic life and of my study about the Finnish media and society.
O campo dos media na Finlândia encontra-se num processo de mudanças aparentemente imparáveis, com os dispositivos móveis, tal como os smartphones e tablets, a influenciarem cada vez mais os padrões de produção e consumo de media. Nesta dissertação é defendido que esta situação é influenciada por factores históricos, sociais e culturais: desde os livros e jornais como meio de manter a língua finlandesa até aos benefícios da Segurança Social que permitiram que até as pessoas com menos rendimentos comprassem o jornal para se manterem a par dos desenvolvimentos do país, bem como a grande tradição de leitura que é associada aos finlandeses, assim como as condições que ao longo da história fazem fizeram com que os finlandeses sejam fascinados pelas novas tecnologias. Adicionalmente, presto especial atenção às estratégias que são adoptadas pelas cada vez mais convergentes companhias de media para enfrentarem a competição de elementos como os social media.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Finland, mobile, media, consumption, hackerism, convergence.
THE CONSUMPTION OF MEDIA CONTENTS THROUGH MOBILE DEVICES IN FINLAND

EDGAR DA SILVA CARREIRA

ABSTRACT

The media field in Finland is in a process of apparently unstoppable changes, with the mobile devices, such as smartphones and tablets, influencing increasingly more the patterns of media production and consumption. In this dissertation it is argued that this situation is influenced by historical, social and cultural factors: from the books and newspapers as a mean to maintain the Finnish language to the social security benefits that allowed that even people with less income bought the newspaper to keep track of the developments of the country, the great reading tradition that is associated with the Finns, as well as the conditions that through the history made that the Finns are fascinated by new technologies. In addition, I pay special attention to the strategies that are adopted by the increasingly more convergent media companies to face the competition of elements such as the social media.

KEYWORDS: Finland, mobile, media, consumption, hackerism, convergence.
Index

1. Methodology ............................................................................................................................. 1
2. Introduction ............................................................................................................................... 3
3. Theoretical Framework: From the Media Systems to the Fragmented Mobile Media Consumption ................................................................................................................... 10
4. Literature Review: Mobile Media Consumption ........................................................................ 14
5. Network Society: a myth or a fact in Finland? Possible consequences on the media field ........................................................................................................................................... 23
6. Hackerism as the key to develop a young country as Finland .................................................. 31
7. A convergent media field in Finland? ....................................................................................... 36
8. Mobile media consumption in Finland: new strategies from the media companies or the whole media at the palm of the hand of the user ........................................................................................................ 41
9. Conclusion ................................................................................................................................ 49
10. Appendix 1 ............................................................................................................................... 52
11. References ............................................................................................................................... 55
1. Methodology

The aim of this dissertation is to understand in which extent the mobile media devices, here mainly understood as smart phones, tablets, laptops or even other kind of mobile devices, are shaping the media consumption in Finland, namely the consumption of newspapers, radio and TV. To develop the present work, I’ve planned to use two main sources: data proportionated by Finnish media companies, and data collected through individual interviews with editors, editors-in-chief, the persons that are responsible for the contents to mobile devices in the media companies, journalists, or any other relevant elements of the Finnish media companies. Everything to get in loco how has been developed the mobile media consumption in Finland, and what have shaped it. By the way, and despite the fact that I’ve started to contact Finnish media companies even before I went to my Erasmus studying period at the University of Helsinki, the fact is that the majority of them didn’t answered to my e-mail, or when they answered, it was only to tell me that they didn’t had both time for the interviews and availability to send me data to complement my research. Facing the same situation even when I’ve arrived in Finland, I’ve contacted the department of Mass Communication of the University of Helsinki, namely the Professor Mikko Villi, that since the beginning opened his doors and spent some time to help me, particularly telling me some research already published in the fields of the media in mobile devices in Finland and media convergence, and telling me possible persons that might help me in my research. Namely, he told me about the Head of Audience insight of the Finnish public media company, YLE, Mrs. Riikka Lätti, that was the only person that I’ve contacted and that accepted to spent some time for an interview, giving me some other relevant data for my research as well.

In addition to my efforts and to the help of Professor Mikko Villi, my friend Jari Mänttäri, that have worked on the media field for some years in Finland, contacted the journalists that he knows, telling them about my situation and the needs to complete the research. By the way, none of them answered. And I have to admit that, at some point, I became a bit frustrated about the fact that almost all of the media agents that I’ve contacted didn’t answered or said ‘no’ to my questions. And it was when the role of both Professor Paulo Nuno Vicente, my scientific supervisor, and Professor Mikko Villi was clearly decisive in different but very important manners: Professor Paulo because he hasn’t allowed me to give up, because there is always an alternative
way; and Professor Mikko, because he clarified to me that, due to the extreme competitiveness that exists in the Finnish media field of nowadays, the media companies most likely will not allow that their challengers know about their strategies, in this case through a masters dissertation.

In this way, and with more confidence, I’ve renewed my energies and started looking for the possible manner to find the answers to my master’s dissertation. Consequently, I’ve started to do a different kind of research, looking for concrete data already available on the internet and through some Finnish institutions regarding the consumption of media in Finland: so, I’ve contacted the TNS Gallup, a Finnish company that measures the consumption of media in Finland, as well as the Finnpanel Oy, a Finnish company that measures the TV viewing and radio listening in Finland and that is a member of the Finnish Association of Market Research, and the eMarketer, a research firm that have the aim of provide data in sectors such as the consumption habits in the digital world, that along with the structured interview that I have made with Riikka Lätti, are the main sources of the data that I will present and analyze in this dissertation, because both have credible and enough information to analyze the consumption of media contents through mobile devices in Finland, considering that my aim is to understand what are the recent trends in the media consumption through mobile devices in Finland. To do so, in the chapter 8 I will present and analyze data about the access to Finnish media companies websites via mobile devices and its impact in the online media as a whole, as well as the consumption of radio and television in Finland available through data from the Finnpanel, and the percentage of people that consume it through mobile devices.

But before, I have the need to make a literature review in which I will analyze previous academic works about the media consumption through mobile devices, and then explain why I choose this topic to discuss it in my master’s dissertation in Journalism and, above all, why Finland is the number one choice. Later I will analyze some particular features of the Finnish society that I consider decisive to take into account when we talk about the media consumption through mobile devices in Finland, namely the concepts of Network Society or Hackerism, and the concept of media convergence.

So, and behind the choice of the methodology that I’ve used there is one very relevant fact that I have to mention: the almost 100% of absence of answers from the media companies,
something that shaped not only the present work, but myself as well, because it showed to me
that there is always at least one alternative, if you search for it.

2. Introduction

Publius Cornelius Tacitus, “Rome’s greatest historian” (Tacitus & Benario, 1999:1),
.wrote Germania (early 98 B. C.), “an ethnographical treatise” (Idem:3) in which the author
undertook to explain the culture and characteristics of people unknown to his audience, in this
case the different people that live in the European continent in his time. In the last pages of his
work, Tacitus describes the “Fenni”, people that lived in an area nowadays known as Finland. He
describes them in the following manner:

The Fenni have astonishing savagery and squalid poverty: there are no arms, no
horses, no household; herbs serve as their food, hides as their clothing, the ground as their bed;
their only hopes are in their arrows, which they point with bones in the absence of iron. And the
same hunt feeds men and women alike; for the latter accompany the men everywhere and claim
their part in catching the spoil. The children have no other protection against wild animals and
rains than being placed under some intertwined branches: to this hut the young men return, this is
their refuge when they are old. But they think it a happier state than to groan over the working of
fields, to struggle at home-building, to deal with their own fortunes and those of others with hope
and fear: without concern in their relations with men as well as with gods, they have attained a
most difficult thing, not to have the need even to express a wish. (Idem: 59-61).

In fact, Finland, the Europe’s northern frontier, “has been a poor country for most of its
history. It was an agrarian or even subsistence economy much longer than other European
countries, with most Finns living as peasants (...). Finland is located between the West and the
East. The survival of the Finnish nation has never been guaranteed” (Castells & Himanen, 2002:
129). Finland was part of Sweden from 1239 to 1809 (see Nord, 2008: 95). “Then, for more than a
century, Finland was a part of Russia” (Op. Cit.:130). Despite the fact that Finland was an
autonomous province of Russia for more than a century (see Castells & Himanen: 56, 57), it must
be emphasized that “under the control of Sweden and then Russia, Finnish was not the language
of the ruling class” (Ibid.), that in Russia “controlled international telegraph lines, which it considered to be militarily critical. The Finns wanted to take control of telecommunications, which they related to independence (...). To avoid the story of Russian control repeating itself in local telephone communication, the Finnish Senate decided in 1879 to leave telephone operation in the private sector. In most other countries, the telephone was considered to be a successor to the telegraph, and thereby a state monopoly. In 1886, the Finnish Senate issued a telephone statute, which distinguished sharply between telephone and telegraph regulation (...). As a result, Finland was very enthusiastic about the telephone and got its first telephone line in 1877, a year after Bell’s invention” (Idem: 57). Consequently, “these historical circumstances also created a strong consciousness of telecommunications as a strategic matter, which has proved beneficial long after the original political reasons have faded away” (Ibid.).

With the independence as the main goal, “newspaper journalism emerged in Finland in the late 19th century as explicit political activity. Its political aspirations centered upon the rise of a nationalistic movement pursuing national sovereignty and independence from the rule of Russia, and the formation of a Finnish-speaking national culture and enlightenment” (Heikkilä & Kunelius, 2005:5). So, what happened was that the Finnish media, hand on hand with the Finnish literature, “developed very much as a nationalist project guided by the principle of one language, one nation” (Op. Cit.: 131). It must be emphasized that published since 1824, the most ancient newspaper in Finland is the Abo Underrättelser, written in Swedish, while the older newspaper written in Finnish and that is still published is the Keskisuomalainen, since 1871 (see Jyrkiäinen, 2010). This is a reflex of the fact that “print media – books, newspapers and magazines – have had a crucial role in the birth of Finland as a nation state” (Sirkkunen & Cook, 2012: 80). So, “in the years from 1905 to 1930 newspapers were explicitly political. The papers and the political parties supporting them fiercely competed over who had the leading status in regions and towns, ideologically as well as economically” (Op. Cit., 2005: 5).

Reaching the independence in the 6th of December 1917 after the collapse of the Russian empire, Finland faced a civil war, that “started in January 1918, just one month after independence, between Reds (socialists) and the Whites (non-socialists) with opposing social interests and very different views of Finland’s future” (Op. Cit., 2002: 137). And those views were broadcasted to the population mainly through the newspapers that were explicitly political, as mentioned above. In fact, “the Finnish parliamentary reform, which introduced multiparty
democracy and universal suffrage in 1907, launched a growth period of a political press system, which lasted till the 1920s but lingered in some form for the rest of the 20th century” (Kuutti et al, 2010: 163), what was an outstanding characteristic of the Nordic media systems in general (see Hallin & Mancini, 2004). By the way, “the development of Finnish society was problematic particularly during the inter War years of the 1920s and 1930s, which were marked by the instability of domestic policy largely as result of the 1918 civil war” (Ibidem).

It is said that the enthusiasm of the Finns “for technology has been noted by foreign observers since the end of the nineteenth century” (Op. Cit., 2002: 133). And the fact is that this enthusiasm didn’t seem to had a slowdown even in that troubled decades, namely because “students of technology started radio broadcasts in Finland in the 1920s and established the public Broadcasting Company ‘Yleisradio’ (YLE) in 1926, which became state owned in 1934“ (Op. Cit., 2010: 164), a period since which in Finland “all cabinets have been based on political coalitions” (Op. Cit., 2005). The nationalization of the YLE, as well as the fact that “the roots of almost every Finnish daily newspaper can be found in the political press system that emerged with universal suffrage in 1907” (Op. Cit., 2010: 6) could be seen as evidences that “the media have been an elemental part of the Finnish social contract” (Niimenen, 2011:1), enjoying the status of national institutions. As a powerful tool, “during the World War II, the content of the press, particularly war correspondence, was subject to censorship though not on a large-scale” (Op. Cit., 2010: 163). One of the reasons for it might be the fact that “in the Second World War, Finland ended up as the only country to fight both the Soviet Union (1939-1940 and 1942-1944) and Germany (1944-1945)” (Ainamo et al, 2006; 1). In addition, “in 1948, the government added a section to the Finnish Penal Code, which forbade the publication of articles that defame foreign countries or endanger external relations” (Op. Cit., 2010: 163), specially due to the fact that “Finland committed itself to a Treaty of Cooperation, Friendship and Mutual Assistance with the Soviet Union” (Op. Cit., 2006: 1). And this fact is only one more proof about the role of the Finnish media, considered as “a part of this new pro-Soviet consensus. Self-censorship in Soviet criticism was a particularly clear sign of Finlanidisierung – a term first coined by a German journalist – to denote the gradual falling of a neutral country under Soviet influence” (Ibidem.: 6, 7). By the way, and “after the Second World War, the Finnish political and managerial elite formed a particular kind of “old boys´ network” to which influential journalists belonged. (...) While there were major differences in education and political orientation, many of these people shared a fundamental national interest: development
and modernization of Finnish society and economy” (Ainamo *et al*, Op. Cit., 2006: 3). And to do so, “until the late 1960s, the business press appeared to have some leeway, as the majority of the political elite seemed to recognize the need to support the reconstruction of the Finnish economy by educating the Finnish people in economic matters” (Idem: 4). Facts that also sustain the idea that in Finland media is seen as a national institution (see Nieminen, 2011).

After the radio during the 1920s, the Finnish students proved once again, about thirty years later, that “Finland has undeniably been an exceptionally technology-positive country”, which has also “been among the first in the world to adopt for use everything from the electric light to the telephone” (Op. Cit., 2002:133), but this time with the television, with “students active in broadcast technology started transmissions in the early 1950s, which developed into the first commercial Finnish TV channel, Tesvisio, in 1956”, with the YLE starting “regular television broadcasts two years later, with the commercial *Mainos-TV* (MTV) as a client hiring programme blocks” (Op. Cit.: 164). In fact, and for the Finnish society in general, “the 1950’s marked Finland’s change into an industrial society” (Op. Cit., 2002:129). But first we have to take in account the words of Finnemann (2005: 9, 10), that emphasizes the fact that “from their very beginning in the late 1950s, the Nordic welfare policies were conceived of as a reform-strategy aiming at progressive developments. The idea was to reinforce economic and technological development and progress with the help of a leftist Keynesian economy manifested in proactive state policies & the building of public institutions which should bring the nation-state into the role of a developmental state”. According to Päivi Oinas (2005:1230), “in the 1960s, the government committed to building a modern welfare state” in Finland, that had a decisive role in the media field, mainly due to the fact that in Finland “the journalism culture has been very shaped by the development of the Welfare State. (...) In the Welfare State, news journalism was conceived of as an essential institution for citizens, who were supposed to keep track of the development of society through newspapers, radio and television. Even those who could not afford to subscribe to a newspaper were entitled to do so through social security benefits” (Op. Cit.: 5).

According to Herkman (2009:81), in the media field “there was also a national tendency towards pluralism in media content during president Kekkonen’s long-lived regime, which lasted from 1956 until 1981. This tendency was advocated by the public service broadcasting policy and by press subsidies, but it did not support ‘performance politics’, which were propagated more by commercial media”. In fact, “press and public broadcasting in the 1960s and the 1970s
also had close connections to the political establishment”, with “conservative foreign news reporting, especially in the case of Finland’s powerful neighbor to the east, characterized Finnish media in those days” (Ibidem). And it reflects the political parallelism, that is an essential feature of the Democratic-Corporatist media model described by Hallin & Mancini, and in which Finland is included (for more information, see Hallin & Mancini, 2004). Nevertheless, and despite what is described above about the public support for the media, Jyrkiäinen (2010) argues that “a trend since the World War II has been for party newspapers to declare themselves politically unaffiliated, resulting in a gradual decline of the party-political press. (...) The trend towards unaffiliated newspapers strengthened from 1950 to 1970”. Also in this period, “Finland finally caught up with the world’s most affluent economies in the period following post-war reconstruction up until the mid-1970s” (Op. Cit.: 1229). Nevertheless, “the traditional industrial core was challenged in the 1980s, when discussions were launched concerning the need for Finland to modernize and transform into an ‘information society’” (Idem: 1229, 1230). And it could be justified by the fact that “following the economic boom of the 1980s, it was a result of a combination of developments in the Finnish and the international political economy: deregulation of the financial markets and liberalization” (Op. Cit.: 1230) of the capital. “The deregulation of the Finnish financial system began in 1983” (Op. Cit., 2006: 10), and “the media also became a market for mergers and acquisitions, with small local and regional papers being consolidated into large media corporations” (Ibidem.). It had a great impact in the media field: according to Lars Nord (2008: 103), and considering the broadcast media, “the Nordic countries were long characterized by monopolistic public service traditions until technological development and deregulations of media systems allowed for the arrival of more dualistic broadcasting systems with competing public channels (financed by licence fees) and private channels (financed by commercials) during the 1980s and 1990s”. And the point is that “Finnish researchers in political communication have been unanimous in stating that it was the 1980s when television radically encroached upon political campaigns and communication strategies” (Herkman, 2009: 81). In addition, “the press subsidies in Finland were at their highest in the late 1980s, when the state supported the press with almost 80 million euros per year, even though the greatest share of the subsidy was channeled into postal delivery. However, in the 1990s, subsidies were cut substantially” (Idem: 77). In the same period, “the undeniably hegemony of public service broadcasting was challenged for the very first time in its history, when commercial radio stations were launched in 1985. Finnish commercial television company, MTV, started also its own television news programmes
and international satellite channels reached Finland in the mid-1980s” (Ibidem.). Basically, “in Finland, media companies and newspapers, in particular, have enjoyed a fairly secure position, protected by the specific language area with specific markets, high level of news consumption, subscription-based market and home delivery system” (Nikunen, 2010: 3). A point that is suffering a great change namely since the latest recession, that “predicted turbulence in the financial situation of even the most well-established media companies. This was mainly caused by the decrease in advertising and circulation (…)” (Ibidem), even considering that “one could add national television and other media among such cohesive features in a small country” (Op. Cit., 2005: 1236) such as Finland.

From the point of view of the social welfare state, an essential institution for the Finnish journalism, as mentioned above, it is said that “from the 1980s the structures, practices and ideologies of the welfare state became questioned as the result of a large cultural shift” (Op. Cit., 2005: 5), at the same time that in the media field we watched “a transition from “cultural-moral regulation towards economic commercial regulation””, as Herkman (Op. Cit., 2009: 79) says, inspired by Nieminen and Pantti (2004). Then, it is said that “Finland imploded in the early 1990s when the collapse of communism killed its most reliable market” (in The Economist, 02/02/2013). But the fact is that the recession that Finland lived during the beginning of the 1990’s was more than that, being also “caused by a combination of the partial failure of liberalization of financial markets (the critical moment for the formation of global financial markets), which made both companies and individuals take on debts based on inflated real-estate values; and the simultaneous downturn of the Western economies (another crisis of capitalism that they overcame) (…)” (Castells & Himanen, Op. Cit.). It means significant changes in the Finnish media field, and as a result, “the structural transformation of the Finnish press was extensive during the 1990s, when many political and local newspapers were either closed down on merged with other papers. In this respect, the period could be described as the apoliticalization of the press. The result was the concentration of the press in the hands of a few large corporations, which were listed on the stock market” (Op. Cit., 2009: 77). In May 1997, the population of Finland saw the birth of “the first nation-wide commercial radio station, when Radio Nova went on the air” (Jyrkiäinen, 2008: 10). Those were some of the most significant reflexes of the “marketization of the media” (Leppänen, 2012).
Despite the fact that “the Finnish media market is characterized by strong companies with specified markets” (Nikunen, 2009: 3), mainly due to the fact that “in Finland, media companies and newspapers, in particular, have enjoyed a fairly secure position, protected by the specific language area with specific markets, high level of news consumption, subscription-based market and home delivery system” (Ibidem), “there is a transition into a new more elaborate and expanded world of media in which internet and mobile media become more seamless integrated into social life” (Finnemann, 2007, 17). On the one hand, “the internet changes the rules of the game because - contrary to the old media- it is based on functional symmetry between the communicative parts” (Idem: 18). On the other hand, “it seems that the younger generations in Northern Europe are giving greater attention to the mobile phone in their socializing process” (Idem: 6), what have a great impact in the functional symmetry between the communicative parts mentioned above.

In sum, it is said that “by making online newspapers possible, the internet has changed newspaper readers information consumption habits and behavior, and as a consequence, has brought about dramatic declines in newspaper circulation in many technologically developed countries”, as Uotila says. Considering that Finland ranks first in the “Networked Readiness Index”, that is part of the “2014 Global Information Technology Report: The Risks and Rewards of Big Data”, what is just an addition to the fact that “recent comparisons of technological and economic competitiveness have shown that Finland (...) has performed enormously well vis-à-vis the large and powerful economies of the world” (Oinas, 2005: 1227), I will try to understand in which extent the new technologies, namely the mobile devices, such as laptops, smartphones or tablets, are influencing the consumption of media contents in Finland, a country that in 2001 was the one that had more mobile phones per capita in the world (see Castells & Himanen, 2002), and that in 2003 was the country, among the EU member states, “with the highest percentage of their population watching the news on television every day” (O’Donnell, 2003). In addition, it is said that the inhabitants “are still quite avid readers with reading habits that have gone largely unaffected by the rise of electronic media” (Lehtisaari et al, 2012: 12”).

But considering “that the changes in the Finnish media system and journalism (...) are closely related to more general societal and cultural trends and should be analyzed in the context of these wider transformations in society” (Niemenen, 2011: 17), I will first analyze concepts such
as ‘network society’, ‘hackerism’ and ‘media convergence’, to get a widely perception about the Finnish media system and the impact of the mobile devices on it.

3. Theoretical Framework: From the Media Systems to the Fragmented Mobile Media Consumption

In their academic work *Four Theories of the Press*, Siebert et al (1956) elaborated and analyzed four distinct normative theories of the media: liberal theory; theory of social responsibility; authoritarian theory; and Marxist theory. It is said that “their theoretical framework has influenced media scholars for decades” (Nord, 2008:97), mainly because it was “addressing multiple aspects of the media: the historical development of media and politics-relations, the degree of media freedom, and the different functions of media in contemporary societies” (Ibidem). *Four Theories of the Press* had a vital role on the development of the work *Comparing Media Systems. Three Models of Media and Politics*, from Daniel C. Hallin and Paolo Mancini (2004), in which the authors, starting by the analysis of the functions of the media in 16 European countries plus the United States of America and Canada, present a proposal according to which the countries analyzed are divided in three groups of media systems: the *Anglo-American Liberal model*, in which the state intervention is lower, as well as the political parallelism (for political parallelism see Herkman, 2009), and in which the authors include the U.S.A., Canada or the U.K. (see Hallin and Mancini, 2004: 299); the *Polarized Pluralist Model*, in which are included mainly the countries from Southern Europe, and “where newspapers are less frequently used and the degree of professionalization is lower” (Op. Cit., 2008: 98); and the *Democratic-Corporatist Model*, in which are included the countries from the Center and North of Europe, such as Denmark, Norway Sweden or Finland.

Juha Herkman (2009:75-76) summarizes this last model suggested by Hallin and Mancini as a system “in which state intervention in media is strong but media autonomy and professionalization are nevertheless well developed”, without forget the “historically early development of mass-circulation press in connection with the early growth of mass literacy as well as the recognized public service broadcasting (...). Hand-in-hand with the Democratic Corporatist
model have gone the welfare state and high level of media professionalism” (Ibidem). Basically, “the factors behind avid newspaper reading are deeply socio-economical. The welfare state model, a strong public education model and a widespread network of libraries, for example, are among the factors that have led to high rates in literacy” (Lehtisaari et al, 2012: 13). Juha Herkman reminds us also that “Finland, according to the authors, is one of the countries that best represents the model” (Op. Cit.: 76). But does the analysis of each model mean that the countries among the Democratic-Corporatist model are absolutely at the same level? Lars Nord (2008: 95) give us a possible answer, saying that “for an outsider the small Nordic countries sometimes appear to be rather similar and are thus simply referred to as one single country. To some extent, this may be reasonable. The Nordic area is one custom zone and passports are not required for Nordic citizens traveling to a neighboring country. The Nordic countries have a common history (...). However, in the period after the Second World War the Nordic neighbors have failed to cooperate in such basic areas as defense policy and economic integration and also in more specific fields such as launching television satellites and hosting Olympic Games”. Considering the particular case of the country that I am analyzing now, “Finland can be distinguished from the other Nordic countries not only because it is (...) technologically and economically the most dynamic (and is the only one that is a world trendsetter in key technological fields such as mobile communications and open-source software) but also because, unlike the other Nordic countries, Finland was a relatively poor country not so long ago” (Op. Cit., 2002: 12). In addition, and regarding the media field, the fact is that “the Nordic media markets differ from each other in a variety of aspects. Firstly, a single Nordic media market does not really exist even if basic similarities are still evident” (Nord, Op. Cit.: 107).

On the other hand, Hallin and Mancini emphasize that “the media systems are not homogeneous”, being “in a process of continuous changing” (Hallin & Mancini, 2004: 12). Considering these aspects, and the fact that “most of the statistics used in Hallin and Mancini’s analysis are ten to twenty years old” (Op. Cit., 2009: 77), I put other question: what did really changed in the media field?

Ingrid Volkmer et al (2006) elaborated a study about the different media generations, and how each generation is related with media technologies and international media events. “The generations studied were born in three cohorts: the radio generation (1924-1929); the black-and-white TV generation (1954-1959); and the internet generation (1979-1984). It was
concluded that these three generations did relate to international media events differently. The oldest generation was formed by a media environment dominated by radio (…) and print media (newspapers and books). (…) The second generation was formed by television and popular culture media, and was considered the first ‘media generation’, that is, the first generation formed by and in relation to the media. (…) The youngest internet generation was marked by the increased international media environment that they were part of, and referred much more than the other cohorts to international media in their accounts” (Bolin & Westlund, 2009: 110). In addition, Leinonen (2009:51) reinforces the idea that the younger generations “(…) learn to use different digital device for reading and do not grow into magazine or newspaper readership”.

In the particular case of Finland, Jyrkiäinen (2008: 3), inspired by Picard (2003), says that “four distinct eras are identified in a study on the economic history of Finnish media 1950-2000. The first era, from the 1950s to 1957, represented a continuation of the era of print and universal, educational and cultural public service radio. The second era, covered from 1957 to 1970, was characterized by the appearance and widening of public service television and popular public service radio. The period from 1970 to 1985 was identified as the era of media commercialization. The final era, covered in this study from 1985 to 2000, was identified as the era of the media businesses”. In addition, it must be taken into account that the youngest generations of nowadays are increasingly more in touch with the mobile devices, with the young students using tablets to follow the classes at the school in Finland, namely in the city of Oulu, for example. By the way, it is essential to clarify that “the generation that grew up with the cinema at the birth of the film medium, will bring with it this special cultural and social setting. This will bring persons with similar experiences together. In concert with this argument, those who have grown up with the mobile phone will share similar experiences of this media technology. This also makes the expression ‘new media’ relative, as what is new for one generation, is not necessarily novel for another” (Op. Cit.: 109). And this is crucial, in the way that “what is interesting and different about the internet as a medium for news compared to the mass media of television, radio and daily papers – is the distinct socioeconomic profile of its users”, as O’Donnell (2003) says. So, and according to the analysis of Volkmer et al, we might say that one of the main sources of change in the media field were (or still is, that’s also what I will try to verify) the way in which people consume media contents in Finland.
And in fact, it is said that “media environment is currently in a mode of rapid change because of technological development” (Leppänen, 2012: 4), because “with the advent of the new ICT, and especially the Internet, the modes of communication have drastically changed and the traditional media has been found wanting from the point of view of new communicative needs” (Nieminen, 2011: 19). Inspired by Uskali (2011), Leppänen (Op. Cit.: 7) argue that “in the 21st century we have moved from closed media ecosystems to the age of open media ecosystems. Before the internet, during the time of closed media ecosystems media companies controlled the production and delivery of media content. Starting a new media company used to require a lot of capital, but Internet changed the game. Today, in this new age of open media ecosystems basically anyone can easily start a new Internet based global news service”, what have as a consequence the fact that “traditional media has lost its role as the gatekeeper who chooses what topics is new and when they are published. More and more news circulate in social media first before the traditional media pick them up” (Idem: 16). In other words, we could say that “the new matrix of media is more complex than the 20th century matrix and it is based on an intensified interaction between print media, electronic media and digital media. Cross media relations are fundamental. (...) The transition from the old media systems of Hallin and Mancini into the media systems build on the new matrix including digital media such as the internet and mobile media is not a transition into a completely digital matrix” (Finnemann, 2006: 17). In fact, “there is a transition into a new more elaborate and expanded world of media in which internet and mobile media become more seamless integrated into social life” (Ibidem).

Considering that “the relative strength of the newspaper market and the strong position for public service media make the Nordic media markets special even in times of globalization and modernization” (Nord, 2008: 108), and even considering that the Finnish Newspaper Association (see Sanomalehtiin Liitto) have, since 1994, the newspaper week, in which “the fundamental idea (…) is to provide all schoolchildren with the opportunity to become familiar with newspapers. Individual newspapers’ own projects to reach out to young readers give the week a further boost”, we can’t forget that actually “traditional media have difficulties in competing with free Internet content”, at the same time that “new technology such as tablet computers, smart phones and news robots, also offers new possibilities for creating, distributing and consuming media content” (Op. Cit., 2012: 4). In this way, I will try to understand in which extent the mobile devices, such as smartphones and tablets, changed the production and,
essentially, the consumption of journalistic contents in Finland, a country that along with Sweden, Norway and Japan is described as a “newspaper nation”, because “in these countries more newspapers are published and read per capita than anywhere else in the world” (Herkman, 2009: 79). Taking also into account that “as new media platforms emerge and new media platforms become available for the public service broadcasters this also means that broadcasting as a mass media faces new competition” (Roppen et al, 2010: 132), I will try to analyze through the available data, in which extent it is, or not, true that in Finland “more and more digital news accessing is becoming mobile” (Westlund, 2012: 8), mainly because it is said that “the case of Finland is particularly relevant since it is considered to be a leading EU mobile market, technologically advanced and with a population ready and willing to adapt to new services” (Feijóo et al, Op. Cit.: 65).

4. Literature Review: Mobile Media Consumption

"The late 19th century to the late 20th century has been described as the age of mass communication (...). Throughout most of this phase, media use was restricted in time and space. Newspapers as well as magazines were delivered to the household, and radio and television in their years of dominance were wired to the household. The radio, beginning in the 1950s along with the portable music players of later decades, were the exceptions to the pattern of immobile media (...). Cable and satellite TV reception continued the pattern of media wired to the household. Although there was some use of the newspaper by commuters on the mass transit systems of large cities, most media use continued to take place in the space of the household and the evening hours were ‘prime time’ for media consumption. In short, constraints due to time and space greatly restricted when and where individuals may access information or entertainment throughout this period.

As has always been the case, however, new communication technologies are introduced and with them come changes in the patterns of everyday communication routines; new ages of communication emerge” (Dimmick et al, 2010: 23-24).
“The mobile phone was diffused in the eighties to early adopters in a few Western societies and then had its commercial breakthrough in the nineties. During this first phase, the mobile phone was diffused as a personal voice-communication tool” (Westlund, 2008: 443). Despite the fact that Dimmick et al (Op. Cit.: 24) argue that we live in an “information-hungry environment”, Carlsson et al (2004: 12) concluded “that a majority of Finnish mobile phone users still do not have the appropriate phones to use advanced mobile services” such as following the news. By the way, this is “a field that is changing constantly” (Op. Cit.: 458), and the mobile devices, that “nowadays can be used not only for communication but also information searching and news reporting, represent a game changer both for journalism and legacy news media” (Westlund, Op. Cit., 2012: 16), because “as society becomes more complex, individuals become more reliant on communication technologies to stay informed about the world around them”, as Dimmick et al (Op. Cit.: 35), inspired by DeFleur and Ball-Rokeach (1989) says. Nevertheless, and despite the “variety of internet functions one can Access with mobile devices nowadays, including search engines, social networking sites, email and news” (Westlund, 2010: 93), “a study of mobile Internet penetration in the five largest countries in Europe from 2006 shows that although seven to eight out of ten users have the possibility to use their mobile devices for Internet, only about half of them have ever actually used it” (Westlund, 2008: 446). Interestingly, Westlund (Idem: 448), inspired by Okazaki (2006) clarify that “it was also found that many people simply have no need for Internet or news services on their mobile device at all. Some are simply satisfied with their current access to the Internet and other news media from other sources, while others express a strong need to maintain their personal sphere. They feel that media have become too pervasive, and they want to keep their mobile phone as a personal communication tool. Their fundamental perception of the mobile is as a phone, not as a multimedia device”.

Along with the mobile devices that has changed, the kind of services offered has also changed, as we can see by the Figure 1 presented under, that shows the evolution of the news services offered through different generations of mobile devices.
But to get the real notion about the ways in which people access to these services in Finland, we should first take a look on the devices through which people access to the internet.

Through the data collected by Matikainen & Villi (2013) that is presented above, we can clearly see that the laptop (Kannettava) is the favorite device to access to the Internet daily (Päivittäin) and weekly (Viikoittain), in both cases with more than 50% of the accesses. Nonetheless, it is very interesting to see that the people that access to the internet at least once a
month do it mainly by the tablet, that surpass both the laptop and the table computer (Pöytäkone). In this way, and due to the fact that the "mobile devices allow people to exploit gaps in their daily routines when/where other more traditional channels of communication are unavailable, inappropriate or inconvenient in order to garner news and information" (Op. Cit.: 24), it is said that "the work of news journalists and photographers is facing new challenges due to the requirement for multi-skilled professionals and developments in digital network technologies" (Koponen & Vääätäjä, 2009), also a consequence of the fact that "in the twenty-first millennium, the mobile device started to be used for news publishing, and this has certainly gained in popularity in recent years", because "legacy news media are currently offering news for mobile devices" (Westlund, 2012: 8), what also creates the notion that "there is a need for increased speed in publishing in online and mobile media" (Koponen & Vääätäjä, Op. Cit, 2009).

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<th>Services</th>
<th>Basic GSM</th>
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<td>12.0</td>
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<td>15.8</td>
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<td>Health care services</td>
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<td>4.0</td>
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**Figure 3: Use of mobile services according to technology (Source: Carlsson et al. 2005)**

According to the figure 3, we can state that as more advanced is the mobile phone, more people access to informational contents, such as news and weather. Nevertheless, it is important to point out that "some consumers make their purchasing decisions based on technical features, but the majorities do not. History has shown repeatedly that data and content together (= information) is king; the box in which the data and content come (radio, television or computer)
is not as important as the experience the content (...)” (Seppälä & Broens, 2013), because “information is considered to be a primary good” (Van Dijk, 2009: 119).

Regarding the production of media contents, it was also said that “the adoption of these converged mobile devices by professional users for news reporting is still in the early phases in media organizations” (Koponen & Väätäjä, Op. Cit, 2009), because “no formal strategies were developed to spark such growth” (Westlund, 2012: 17). By the way, curiously it is said that “the reasons for using mobile systems varied from an “order from the employer” and more effective use of time to eagerness to try out new technology (...)” (Ibidem). That’s why we should take into account that “as the consumers get used to mobile devices, and more advanced mobile technologies are entering the market (...), mobile commerce is once again believed to be one of the most promising and lucrative growth markets” (Walden et al, 2007: 1875), also sustained by the idea “that there is a universal drive towards perpetual contact; that people from different cultures share a spirit that guides their interest in the adoption and use of mobiles” (Westlund, 2010: 92).

Taking into account what was mentioned above, and the fact that “Finland has long been seen as one of the most successful countries in Europe in terms of the adoption and use of advanced mobile services” (Op. Cit., 2007: 1877), we can check if it have positive reflects on the media consumption through mobile devices in Finland.
About the graphic presented above, it is said that “the degree of acceptance of browsing the mobile internet and news services is at \{-0.75, -0.5\}” (Op. Cit., 2007: 1881). Nonetheless, and considering that the data presented is from 2003-2006, it is important to say that only “in 2008, it was believed that the mobile media train had started to roll” (Westlund, 2012: 117b), because “the new was being enacted and processed into the old. This time was a formative phase in the emerging institutionalisation of mobile media” (Idem: 162b), what only confirmed the result of a survey elaborated by Walden et al (Op. Cit.: 2007), in which the authors analyzed the consumers’ future intention to use mobile services in Finland from 2003 to 2006.
One might argue “that there has been a tremendous uptake of mobile media and mobile news media in recent years” (Westlund, 2012a: 21), what can also be explained by the emergence of the mobile tv. In fact, it is said that “Finland has a special role in the introduction of mobile broadcasting services and mobile television (...). Mobile broadcasting builds partly on existing technologies and existing contents but it also offers entirely new business opportunities (...). Television in a mobile phone brings up a new audience with a special characteristic (on the move) and new peak hours as people do not have to wait until they come home to start watching television” (Kivisaari & Luukkainen, 2005: 811-812).

It must be explained that the “frequent usage of mobile news services is associated with two particular lifestyles. The first is associated to being on the go: usage is higher among people who often engage themselves in activities outside their homes, such as going to pubs and restaurants. The second lifestyle dimension is related to work: people who often work overtime and travel in their work are overrepresented as mobile news users” (Westlund, 2008: 452). And it emerges the question: it is still true that “people have a low level of engagement with the mobile device as a news medium?” (Idem: 454). In the case of Finland, it might still be true “that a majority of Finnish mobile phone users still do not have the appropriate phones to use advanced
mobile services”, as Carlsson et al (Op. Cit., 2004: 12) concluded in their study, despite the fact that nowadays a mobile device is not only a mobile phone, and that “news was identified by users in focus groups and surveys as the most interesting content type for mobile consumption (…)", mainly because “news fits with the concept of mobility because of its brevity, appeal to peoples´ desire of being up-to-date, and its relevance to being mobile in the form of traffic news” (Knoche & McCarthy, 2005:1-8). So, it seems that “there are two main arguments for the importance of the mobile. First, there is its immediate and ubiquitous use for social coordination and updating. Secondly, and related to this, the mobile – combined in some cases with the laptop – is a personal medium which liberates the user from the constraints of physical proximity and spatial immobility” (Stald, 2008: 147). And this is particularly crucial because “while the underlying needs to communicate and access information are the same in desktop and mobile environments, the way people consume content and use applications with different types of terminals and devices are fundamentally different. In the mobile space, the time span of the users´ actions is usually significantly shorter than the desktop space; the users wish to perform rapid, focused actions instead of long-lasting sessions; actions must be simple yet focused, and they must accomplished with ease, using only a minimal number of keystrokes or finger presses, often while the user is walking, driving a car or is somehow otherwise distracted by other activities” (Mikkonen & Taivalsaari, 2011:). Aware of these changes and of the emerging impact of the mobile devices in the media consumption, the Finnish public media company YLE carried out, after 2002, “experiments merging broadcasting and mobile networks, thus choosing a distinct path in the Nordic markets, supporting the notion of Finland and Nokia being a world leader in mobile phone technology” (Roppen et al, 2010: 143). And despite the fact that “these experiments have hitherto not had a lasting impact on YLE or broadcasting in general” (Ibidem), it seemed one of the first steps of the Finnish media market road to an increasingly mobile environment.
Figure 6: Use of mobile phone to communicate and Internet consumption in Finland (source: Matikainen & Villi: Op. Cit.)

Figure 6 show us a change regarding the use of the mobile phone for the consumption of mobile internet services in Finland. It belongs to a study developed by Matikainen & Villi (2013) that seems to contradict the idea from a study developed by Carlsson et al (Op. Cit., 2004), according to which people don’t have the appropriate devices in Finland to access to some Internet services by the mobile phone. In fact, and according to the data presented by Matikainen & Villi, people read the newspaper (lehtien lukeminen) through the mobile phone is clearly the second use in which people spend time and internet via mobile phone daily (25%) and weekly (21%). In addition, it is the third thing that people do at least once a month (20%), ex aequo, for example, with listening to the radio (radion kuuntelu). Nevertheless, only a few people listen to the radio daily (6%) and weekly (9%). On the other hand, and regarding the TV consumption, only a few percentage (from 2% daily and weekly, and 4% once a month) watch live TV broadcasts (television katselu (suora lähetys)). Then, a significant percentage of people watch videos and TV programs

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(videoiden ja televisio-ohjelmien katselu) once a month (19%), and a few watch it daily (6%) or weekly (8%).

The mobile seems to be increasingly integrated in our lives, and the proof comes from a study developed by Gitte Stald about the “mobile identity” and youth in Denmark, in which the author says that “one vivid example of how important the mobile is considered to be in modern society comes from a sixteen-year-old high school boy, who claimed that he would feel half-naked without it – you need to have your mobile with you, just like you need to wear pants” (Op. Cit.: 147), what only gives consistence to the idea that “age is equally relevant in new mobile usage patterns” (Feijóo et al, 2009: 63).

5. Network Society: a myth or a fact in Finland? Possible consequences on the media field.

To be able to discuss if there is a network society in Finland, we must, first of all, analyze the concept in itself and some historical facts related with it.

According to Manuel Castells (1996: 34), “historians have shown that there were at least two Industrial Revolutions: the first started in the last third of the eighteenth century, characterized by new technologies such as the steam engine, the spinning jenny, the Cort’s process in metallurgy, and, more broadly, by the replacement of hand-tools by machines; the second one, about 100 years later, featured the development of electricity, the internal combustion engine, science-based chemicals, efficient steel casting, and the beginning of communication technologies, with the diffusion of the telephone”. Castells (Idem: 35) reinforce later that “the dark side of this technological adventure is that it was inextricably tied to imperialist ambitions and inter-imperialist ambitions”. But what are the real meaning of these “imperialist” and “inter-imperialist ambitions”? Castells (Ibidem.) decodify his own words: “the historical ascent of the so-called West, in fact limited to Britain and a handful of nations in Western Europe as well as to their North American, and Australian offspring, is fundamentally linked to the technological superiority achieved during the two Industrial Revolutions”. In addition,
and according to Johannes Kananen (2014: 10-11), “modern impulses of modernization of agriculture, establishment of universal education and a modern polity with modern political rights” could be considered as “impulses” for the societal emancipation. And in countries such as the UK, these “three modern impulses occurred with a clear interval”, what created “a quite distinct working class subject to various constraints” (Ibidem). And this might be the proof that “the key lesson to be retained is that technological innovation is not an isolated instance” (Op. Cit: 37). On the other hand, it is truly interesting to verify that “the timing of these three impulses was special in the Nordic countries in the sense that they occurred rather simultaneously” (Op. Cit.: 11).

Now, and after analyze the impact of some remarkable modern impulses in distinct realities such as the Anglo-Saxon and the Nordic countries, I am in conditions to analyze the concept of Network Society, and if it is, in Finland, a myth or a fact.

First, it must be emphasized that “a network is a collection of links between at least three elements or nodes. A link between two elements is a relation” (van Dijk, n. d.: 107). Considering this, “Castells (1996, 1998, 2001) defines the network society as an informational society with networks serving the basic structures of organization pervading all spheres of this society” (Idem: 105). So, we might say that “the concept network society is no alternative for the concept information society, but it is an addition to it” (Ibidem). Until now, I have realized that networks are a critical element of the network society. Van Dijk (Idem.: 106) defines the network society as “an information society with a ‘nervous system’ of social and media networks shaping its prime modes of organization and most important structures”, probably because “at the core of the new informational economy are the informational financial markets that form a globally interconnected network, which is increasingly located in electronic networks, and in which investment requires the processing of increasingly complex information (...)” (Castells & Himanen, 2002: 19-20). Castells (Op. Cit.: 41) “contend that only in the 1970s did new information technologies diffuse widely, accelerating their synergistic development and converging into a new paradigm” called ‘network society’, at the same time that, along with Pekka Himanen (Op. Cit., 2002: 103), claim that “the multidimensional transformation from the industrial to the information society includes the emergence of new spatial forms and processes”. And the transformation “were initiated in the all Nordic Countries, also accommodating to the EU Bangemann Report from the mid 90-es. For each phase a number of specific goals were defined, and project groups were
established and financed. The strategies included state support both to the IT industry, to civil society initiatives and initiatives to support the digitization of the public sector” (Finnemann, Op. Cit., 2005: 10).

In Finland, as mentioned above, “the traditional industrial core was challenged in the 1980s, when discussions were launched concerning the need for Finland to modernize and transform into an “information society”” (Op. Cit.: 1230). As a consequence, it appears the crisis, that brings to Finland the recession in the beginning of the 1990s, that “must be seen as the biggest test of the Finnish welfare state. (...) It was caused by a combination of the partial failure of the liberalization of financial markets (...), which made both companies and individuals take on debts based on inflated real-estate values; and the simultaneous downturn of the Western economies (another crisis of capitalism that they overcame) along with the collapse of the Soviet Union (because of the failure of communism in adapting to informationalism), which were the major markets for Finland” (Castells & Himanen, Op. Cit.: 83). To reverse the negative situation, “during the last few decades, the government has made determined efforts to develop an information society. The competitiveness strategy of the government emphasizes skills and innovation policy as the solution to challenges of globalization” (Kuutti et al, 2010: 164). The first information society program established in Finland in the year 1995 was called Suomi-Kohti tietoyhteiskuntaa (Finland-Towards an information society), by the Ministry of Finance (see Kuutti et al, 2010: 164). This “first national information-society strategy was written in the context of the recession of 1993-4 and thus it very much emphasized economy and technology” (Castells & Himanen, Op. Cit.: 90). One of the main goals of that first program was the “networking of all educational institutions and libraries” (Idem: 91). And at least part of this goal was already achieved, with the computer access being “offered by 100% of public libraries in Finland. The proportion of public libraries with internet access in Finland is also 100%” (Quick et al, 2013: 8). But what is the impact of the information society program on the media field? In the Nordic countries, according to Finnemann (Op. Cit.: 8), “it is safe to say, that the internet has actually penetrated these countries and is now an integral part of the overall media structure”. From the point of view of Riikka Lätti, Head of Audience insight at the public Finnish public media company YLE, “surely everybody in media business is aware that broadband internet is here to stay and in fact it is not the enemy of anybody”, including to the called ‘old media’, because “newspapers’ business interests are in increasing revenues in the digital and maintaining the loyals in the print”,

25
according to Riikka Lätti (see appendix 1). And the truth is that Jyrki Jyrkiäinen (2008: 2) just reinforces the words of Riikka Lätti, saying that “the general rapid development of Internet is probably reinforced by the strong Reading tradition in Finland. The traditional media houses have a strong position in Internet market. Among the top-10 visited web-portals there are five media-owned websites”, despite the fact that Leppänen (Op. Cit.: 17) said that “it can be argued that many Finnish media companies are actually good money-making machines for their owners”, also because the “personnel reductions have been a key reason for media companies’ good viability”, what just give reason to what Heikkilä & Kunelius (Op. Cit.: 7) say: “over the last few years newspapers have been successful in balancing their economy and increasing their profits. This has taken place mostly through cutting their expenses and rationalizing the production processes”. In addition, the political change also meant the ‘touch’ in vital points of the Finnish press that “has traditionally enjoyed zero per cent value added tax for newspaper and magazine subscriptions (…). In November 2011 the parliament decided to set a 9 per cent value added tax for newspapers and magazines. The government has calculated that this new tax will bring 90 million Euros a year to the state budget” (Ibidem). Lehtisaari et al (2012:7) assume that television and radio have survived rather well “at the same time that the newspaper industry has been suffering”. And considering that “Finland has a very high Internet penetration, which gives good perspectives for online solutions” (Idem: 17) in the media field, does it mean that “the Finnish experience has confirmed too, people are not prepared to pay for online journalism”, as Hannu Nieminen (Op. Cit.: 5) claim?
The graphic presented above is part of a survey promoted in 2013 by the Finnish public broadcasting company YLE about the habits of consumption of online contents. It shows that, in general, 89% of the population of Finland don’t want to pay for online contents, with the men (13%) a bit more ready to pay for online contents than the woman (10%). Curiously, and despite the fact that, as mentioned previously, the publications are worried about the consumption of media by the younger generations the fact is that the older generation presented on the YLE’s survey is the one that shows less acceptance to pay for the online contents (only 7%), with those that are between 45-59 who are more available to pay (16%). In addition, and considering that the advertisement is a great source of revenue for the media companies, it is very important to take into account that around 46% of the ads online are not seen by the users in Premium (payed) websites, according to a study developed by comScore (2013), that also shows that in the websites free of charge, less than 50% of the advertisements are not seen by the users.
In sum, “since 1995, the notion of the “Information Society” has held a central position in Finnish governmental policies. One landmark was the full digitalization of Finnish television broadcasting as the first European country in 2007. The digital television network covers 99.9 per cent of the country. The Government is committed to provide a 100 Mbit/s broadband connection to all households by 2015” (Nieminen, 2011: 2). And “digitalization opened way for the commercial companies to start up a number of pay-channels” (Idem: 8). By the way, it is said that “the motives behind the Government’s broadband policy are mixed. On one hand, broadband offers the ailing newspaper industry new potential for developing their online news services, based on novel “cross media” applications; on the other, broadband opens way for the television industry to transfer television broadcasting to the Internet (IPTV), which reduces costs and creates new business opportunities. As television moves to the internet, more radio frequencies are released for new and more profitable services. In this way, everybody wins: the newspaper industry will get better access to paying customers; the television industry will gain more interactivity; and the telecommunication industry will have more frequencies for new services” (Nieminen, Op. Cit.: 14). These statements from Nieminen only reinforce, in my perspective, what is said by Finnemann (Op. Cit.: 8), according to which “even if one cannot claim that there are no digital divides in the Nordic countries it is safe to say, that the internet has actually penetrated these countries and is now an integral part of the overall media structure”. And “the importance of this phenomenon is big because the popular opinion is that the Internet offers equal and ample access to all voices and interests in society simultaneously”, but the fact is that “this medium might become even more concentrated than the traditional media” (van Dijk, Op. Cit.: 113). That’s why Finnemann (Op. Cit.: 15) remind us that Manuel Castells “claimed that the internet would be a new hegemonic supermedium for the transnational network elite, silently assuming that it would develop more or less independent of the different models, he identified and independently of old media”. Along with the internet, we can’t forget the role of the mobile devices, namely because of “the recent availability of mobile broadband connections, their increasing affordability, and the usability of new mobile devices are the necessary conditions now met to arrive at a critical mass of users of advanced mobile services” (Feijóo et al, Op. Cit.: 58-59).

On the other hand, the social media seems to gain an increasingly importance in Finland, as we can see through the study conducted by Statistics Finland in 2013, according to which 51 per cent of the people in the mentioned Nordic country aged 16-74 years old followed some social
media, such as Facebook, that on the December 31st 2012 had 2,287,960 users in Finland, according to the Internet World Stats.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Devices Used to Access Social Media According to Social Media Users in Select Nordic Countries, Feb 2014</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>% of respondents in each group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sweden</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smartphone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Computer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tablet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smart TV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Game console</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: ages 16-65  
Source: Buzzador, "BuzzadorINDEX 2014," April 22, 2014  
172885  
www.emarketer.com*

**Figure 8 (Source: eMarketer)**

The table presented above reveals the devices that people use in the Nordic countries to keep in touch with the social media. And it clearly shows the tendency to use the mobile devices, namely the smartphones and tablets. By the way, it is very curious to verify that in Finland, a country that “has long been seen as one of the most successful countries in Europe in terms of the adoption and use of advanced mobile services” (Walden et al, 2007: 1877), the population seems to still have more confidence in the computer to log-in in their social networks. Among the mobile devices, the smartphone is the one through which more people log-in, with 64% of the people making the log-in by this tool, what is, nevertheless, less 10 to 13% if we compare the results between Finland and the other Nordic countries. So, and regarding the access to the social media, it seems clear that in the case of Finland the “mobile devices have an advantage only in those situations that derive value from the ubiquitous nature of the mobile handset, and when alternative devices are not accessible or available” (Feijóo et al, Op. Cit.: 65). By the way, Buzzador, the responsible company for the study, “noted that as smartphone ownership in Finland rises, logging on to social via such devices should also catch up to the other Nordic countries” (eMarketer). To this statement, we could add the idea that “the degree of acceptance of mobile services shows a growing trend, which shows that the consumers believe that they will use mobile services more in the future than they do today” (Walden et al, 2007: 1882). The increasingly degree of acceptance of the mobile devices and associated services only sustain the idea that “the main motivation for using mobile for advanced uses was the experience of connecting to other people and to learn about new things, rather than to be entertained or surprised” (Feijóo et al, Op. Cit.: 73).
Mainly due to the fact that “people have been using social computing to broadcast their lives, to keep up in real time with friends and particular interests, to create, change and enhance content, as well as to comment on, discuss and assess it” (Idem: 57-58), the journalistic world had the need to get the train of the social media. So, it is important to point out the fact that about 96% of the journalists in Finland were using some social media to help them in their job (see Leppänen, 2012: 40). If we look to the use of the micro-blog service Twitter as a tool that help the journalists in their work, we see that it began in 2007 in the U. S. A. that were followed by their Australian counterparts in 2009 (see Leppänen, 2012: 42). In Finland, the journalists are slowly adopting Twitter to report the news, and they “have not really adopted Twitter yet, but they are slowly starting to experiment with it. Anna-Liina Kauhanen, the Stockholm correspondent for Helsingin Sanomat, for example tried live tweeting while reporting from Norway during the Anders Behring Breivik’s massacre trial in spring 2012” (Idem.: 44-45). And that “was the first time Helsingin Sanomat used live tweeting to report a story” (Ibidem). Nevertheless, “journalists have to be very careful when using Twitter as a source” (Ibidem), because, among many examples, there is the case of “one of the world’s most successful Twitter hoaxers, an Italian named Tommaso De Benedetti, has faked the identities of various world leaders and fooled the media to publish false stories. He says he did it to expose how unreliable social media is as a news sources” (Ibidem).

In this way, it seems clear that “the main source for the development of social uses of information technology is the Finnish information-society strategies” (Op. Cit., 2002: 90). But one question emerge, in my point of view, about the growth of the information society as a ‘player’ that have a decisive role in the Finnish economy: if according to Laermans (2011) quoted by Leppänen (2012: 4) “the information society is divided into innumerable large and small markets on which information providers actively try to catch attention”, does the information society sustain by itself? Does it have any kind of complement, I mean, “the notion of an informational welfare state is possible” (Op. Cit., 2002: 80)? In fact, “there is a widespread impression that informationism and the welfare state are antagonistic” (Ibidem), but “the evidence supports the conclusion that, in spite of the pressures of the global information economy, Finland continues to be a different form of an information society, which combines with it a generous welfare state” (Idem: 85). “So, at a basic level, the informational economy and the welfare state are not antagonistic, but a successful informational economy is a requirement for a
generous welfare state” (Idem: 88). In fact, and “contrary to the prediction that the welfare state would die, it has developed into a main instrument for the information/network society because the welfare principles were extended to include IT and Internet policies” (Op. Cit., 2007: 12), as we could check by the case of Finland. And the truth is that “due to the rapid growth rate of the Finnish economy and its structural transformation led by the ICT sector, Finland has been cited as a model case of the global information economy. The strongest creator of this image has probably been the fact that, since the late 1990s, Finland has figured prominently in the Institute for Management Development (IMD) and the World Economic Forum (WEF) competitiveness rankings. (...) The fact that Finland for the first time was ranked first in the WEF comparison in 2001 has some historical significance however, since Finland was the first European country to gain this position” (Op. Cit., 2005: 1238). But in which extent the “generous welfare state” could be the complement of an informational economy? In fact, and according to Päivi Oinas (Op. Cit.: 1234), there is in Finland an innovation system whose “success was facilitated by public investments in R&D, education, and telecommunication infrastructure”. The factors mentioned above, associated with the ‘hackerism’ might be the key to find possible answers to my question. And the truth is that it is said that “an entrepreneurial academic ethos that combines an interest in fundamental discovery with application is re-emerging” (Etzkowitz, 2003: 334).

6. Hackerism as the key to develop a young country as Finland

Päivi Oinas (Op. Cit.: 1235) says that in Finland, “in the course of the 1990s, R&D investment grew more rapidly than in any other OECD country and it finally rose beyond 3% of the GNP, which brought the country into the top group internationally”. Nevertheless, “Angel Ganivet, the Spanish author and consul to Finland in 1896-7, wrote in his Cartas Finlandesas (Finnish Letters) that in Finland “there are almost as many phones as kitchenware.” There seems to be a link between the positive Finnish attitude to technology and the country’s history of survival” (Op. Cit.: 133), as I mentioned in the Introduction, when talked about the fact that Finland used the innovation called telephone to avoid more control from the established power when it was still part of the Russian empire (see Castells & Himanen, 2002). So, maybe the fascination by new technologies and innovations is more natural than what it looks, because there was a “belief,
emerging since the nineteenth century, in technological modernism, which enabled the brightest
young people to acquire an education in engineering” (Op. Cit.: 1229-1230). These were probably
the seeds of the National Innovation System (NIS), that “started when the Finnish science and
technology policies were formulated in the mid-1960s and the mid-1970s respectively (...). The
goal was to increase national R&D (...), since especially private sector R&D had been found to be at
a very low level in international comparisons. In the 1970s, a policy line was chosen that put
emphasis on technical research, technical faculties, research institutes and firms, instead of a
more science and university-based policy. It was further strengthened in the 1980s, along with
rapid developments in the ICTs (...)” (Idem: 1234-1235). So, since this moment we could clarify
that “there is, for example, no logic in the idea that, because the Finnish winters are so cold that
one cannot do anything else, so one starts developing information technology – otherwise
Greenland would be the most advanced information society in the world and nothing would have
happened in sunny Silicon Valley (...). However, in more complex ways and in interaction with
other more important factors, natural conditions do play a part” (Op. Cit.: 133).

Regarding the great fascination that the Finns have by new technologies, we could add to
the words of Ganivet the fact that during the 1920’s and 1940’s Finnish students had developed
the first radio and TV in Finland, respectively (see Castells & Himanen, 2002). But considering that
“it cannot be expected that entrepreneurs can always do this by themselves”, there is a notion
according to which “Government programs have an important role to play, not only from the
national level – bottom-up, often in collaboration with other organizations in civil society”
(Etzkowitz, Op. Cit.: 332). From this need, “in the 1960s, the government committed to building a
modern welfare state” (Oinas, 2005: 1230), that “was based on egalitarian principles, equality,
including sex equality, free public education & health system, social solidarity and democratic
rights guaranteed by public institutions” (Finnemann, Op. Cit.: 8). “Hand on hand with the Welfare
State in Finland during the 1960s, it “were the time when the basis of the Finnish university system
was strengthened and its finance improved: in fact, until then, Finland had full universities in only
two cities” (Op. Cit.: 49). This was probably one of the most significant initial steps that Finland,
sustained by the Welfare State, take into the direction of the Network Society, because they knew
that “it is the public provision of education, health, and social security that ensures a sufficient
number of highly educated people in good shape to work in the informational economy” (Op. Cit.,
2002: 89). Among these basic conditions, it seems that one in particular is taken as more than
essential: “the main factor seems to be the Finnish educational system: the fact that universities are free and all students are entitled to a salary plus very cheap student loans also removes short-term financial pressures. The Finnish university system also has a very high degree of academic freedom, which is supported by having no pre-prepared programs for students to follow” (Idem.: 72). And one of the results of this investment in R&D is the fact that the “Finnish education is very technology-centered” (Idem: 51). And “this choice reflects the prevailing, widely-accepted optimism in the country about the role of technology in increasing welfare” (Oinas, Op Cit: 1235).

But not only: there is also the prevailing perception that “digital skills currently are the key for access to the information society” (van Dijk, Op. Cit.: 115-116), probably along with the notion that “much of the imagination and potential of technology emerges through both policy and popular discourse around education and youth” (Heather & Wallis, 2011: 466).

So, “while the welfare state had its point of departure in a society, which was culturally divided on a vertical axis according to class relations, it has succeeded in creating an overwhelming large, educated middleclass sharing a common set of basic cultural values and social habits, while acting according to specializations in functions and personal interests – and so divided on a horizontal line on top of the shared welfare system, choosing their individual path within the same range of values and options” (Finnemann, Op. Cit.: 12). These are some reasons for the fact that “Finland has certainly become internationally known for its exceptional specialization in the ICT sector” (Oinas, Op. Cit.: 1239). And the proof is that “a number of multinational companies (...) have set up in the promising mobile environment constituted in Finland during the 1990s” (Castells & Himanen, Op. Cit.: 27). The latest example of it was the sell of part of the Finnish mobile company Nokia to be part of the Microsoft, in a business in which it is said that the companies evolved “were both caught by the rapid convergence of digital communications, information systems, consumer electronics, as well as software and digital content of various sorts” (Ali-Yrkkö et al, 2013: 1). But are money and education enough to promote the innovation that brings Finland to the first positions of some rankings regarding the creation and use of new technologies? According to Castells & Himanen (Op. Cit.: 46), “a culture of innovation is also needed”, and they call it the “hacker ethic”. “Here, the word “hacker” does not have any connection with computer criminals but means – as it originally did – an individual who wishes to realize his or her creative passion (...) Hackers want to realize themselves fully, to use their special creative capabilities, to constantly surpass themselves, and to produce creative work
as a result of their actions. (...) The hacker ethic as a culture of innovation becomes increasingly significant in the informational age (...)” (Ibidem).

But now one might ask in which extent the hacker ethic is increasingly significant in the informational age. First of all, it emerges the need to emphasize that “intellectual capital is becoming as important as financial capital as the basis of future economic growth. (...) Another is the emergence of an entrepreneurial academic ethos that combines an interest in fundamental discovery with application. Rather than being subordinated to either industry or government, the university is emerging as an influential actor and equal partner in a “Triple Helix” of university-industry-government relations” (Etzkowitz, 2003: 295). But to complement such analysis, we must consider one key-word, “Internet”, especially due to the fact that “the role of hacker innovation in the history of the Internet is important because, in Finland, hackers have had an especially big part to play. In fact, they should be given special attention in any attempt to understand what is unique about the Finnish milieu of innovation. There are three important factors related to the history of the Internet. First, it was hackers who brought the Internet to Finland in the beginning and advanced its spread more rapidly than anywhere else. Second, Finnish hackers have made an important contribution to the Net’s transformation into a social medium. And, third, Finnish hackers have played a crucial role in the development of a new innovation system: the open-source development model” (Op. Cit.: 65). This might be also the reason for the fact that “the worlds first commercial GSM network was launched in Finland (1991), it was the first country in the world were mobile phones exceeded fixed connections (1998), to launch WAP-services, and to license, based on a beauty contest, 3G networks in Europe (March 1999)” (Walden et al, 2007: 1877).

Even after the sale of the Nokia´s mobile phones business to Microsoft in the end of 2013, some of those that leaved the Finnish company created “Jolla”, a new smartphone that is a new player in the competing and always on the move technology business.
And I also call the attention to one special factor mentioned previously: the importance of Finnish hackers for the transformation of the Internet into a social medium. One of the last examples of hackerism in the Finnish media field is, for example, “Kiosked, a Finnish start-up whose technology turns online content into interactive storefronts, has won major clients in the UK. Several British newspapers including The Telegraph and The Mirror have started to use its technology. According to The Financial Times, other major publishers such as The Huffington Post and The Guardian are planning to trial company’s technology” (source). These statements might be: first, the result of the fact that the “advances in mobile technology (handsets and network components) have driven both the fast-growing mobile services market and consumers’ acceptance or usage of these new innovative mobile services” (Walden, 2007 Op. Cit: 1878); and second, the proof that “new mobile media services will continuously be invented, and while people will use these in ways that stretch beyond our current imagination, these services will eventually become taken for granted in everyday life” (Westlund, 2013: 23). And basically all of
this could be pointed as the main reason for the fact that “Finland has succeeded in transforming itself” (Oinas, Op. Cit., 2005: 1240).

So, the Network Society and the hackerism emerged in Finland through the Welfare State due to the fact that “the competitiveness strategy of the government emphasizes skills and innovation policy as the solution to challenges of globalization” (Kuutti et al, Op. Cit.: 164). In the media field, “news and media organizations on the Internet are even more concentrated than in the traditional press and broadcasting” (van Dijk, Op. Cit.: 115), also a reflex of the fact that, along with the other Nordic media markets, the Finnish one became “an oligopoly of a few large corporations that dominate the markets” (Herkman, Op. Cit, 2009: 79).

These facts bring me to the analysis of another topic, called “convergence”, and its possible effects on the Finnish media system.

7. A convergent media field in Finland?

According to Kretschmer et al (1999), quoted by May and Hearn (2005: 200), “the convergence and blurring of industry boundaries increasingly see entertainment, ICTs and lifestyle products combining”. Juha Herkman emphasizes that “much of the media circulation and cross-promotion has been done in the name of convergence, a key word in media industries since the so-called digital revolution in the 1990s” (Op. Cit., 2009: 80). Seen as one of the “main challenges for the business model, identified by media managers and editors” (Lehtisaari et al, 2012: 53), “in a wider sense, according to Encyclopedia Britannica media convergence means the “phenomenon involving the interlocking of computing and information technology companies, telecommunications networks and content providers from the publishing worlds of newspapers, magazines, music, radio, television, films and entertainment software. Media convergence brings together the “three Cs” of computing, communications and content”” (Leppänen, 2012, Op. Cit.: 19). According to Lugmayr et al (2007: 119), “there are three common convergence theories of how convergence happens and influences the current and future development of digital media:
1. **Theory of replacement.** New media will replace old media types and assume their functions.

2. **Theory of media completion.** New media will complement old media in peaceful coexistence and/or enhance it with new functionalities.

3. **Theory of media fusion.** New and old media will merge into “all in one” media, assuming all functions of its predecessors.”

But does it means that this three theories about the media convergence need to be necessarily separated and ‘fight’ between each other to prevail? Lugmayr et al (Idem.: 120) suggests a kind of convergence of the three theories, saying that “apparently media development proceeds according to a mixture of all three theories of media convergence: On the one hand, history gives evidence that old media will not disappear but instead will advance and mutate constantly, adapting itself to new user requirements. On the other hand, new types of media will not replace former media but instead influence and/or modify them, for example, enhancing them with new functionalities. Beyond, new types of media could also absorb functions of older predecessors, if this means an improvement or a benefit to the end users.”

Despite the fact that it can have wide variety of meanings and concepts associated to it, according to Masip et al (2007), quoted by Leppänen (Op. Cit.: 19), convergence is understood in the media field as “the blurring of the limits between various different media (broadcast, print, Internet) and their production routines”. To this concept we could add another one, established by Leppänen (Ibidem), inspired by Lawson-Borders (2006), according to which “media companies’ logic behind the convergence of different media platforms is that it will bring them a bigger audience including more ratings, subscribers and website traffic”, what sustain the idea that “convergence is seen as an opportunity to widen the product into a variety of platforms and channels and also an opportunity to streamline the editorial process” (Lehtisaari et al, Op. Cit. 2012: 30).

Nevertheless, Juha Herkman (Op. Cit., 2009: 80) is not afraid to state that “the irony in “digital revolution” has been that technological development of media systems has cost a great deal of money and has simultaneously challenged radically traditional media businesses”. And in fact, it is said that “since the 1990s, the three main challenges newspapers generally face have been the declines in readership and advertising income and the expansion of broadband Internet connections. During the last two decades, the widespread use of the Internet has particularly
challenged traditional media and consequently the industry is becoming increasingly integrated and interactive” (Kuutti et al, Op. Cit., 2010: 164). But one might ask why it happens. And the fact is that according to Leppänen (2012: 20) inspired by Jenkins (2006), “every time a company moves content from its print publication or television channel to the Internet or vice versa, there is risk that the audience will not return to the content”. And it is very interesting to state that “from the Finnish perspective, convergence in newspaper production means different things at the local and national level. While national dailies build multichannel newsroom organizations, newspapers in small towns still mostly rely on the traditional paper format” (Lehtisaari et al, Op. Cit., 2012: 21), and this is a reflex of the fact that only “the largest media companies in Finland actively developed new forms of web-based publications during the second half of the 1990s”, despite the fact that “the lack of revenue that would support the new ventures” (Idem: 5), associated with the fact that “maybe they silently hoped the internet would soon disappear” (Finnemann, 2006: 14), made that most of the media companies didn’t pay too much attention to the digital market. By the way, it changed, and after the Finnish newspaper *Helsingin Sanomat* start the digital edition in 2007 (see Lehtisaari et al, 2012), Sanoma, the corporation to which the newspaper belongs, has now “a digital, cross-platform strategy for all the products (...). The company no longer introduces any print products without a digital element. All products are seen as a totality that may have different strategies, business models, and even different target groups online and on other platforms. The digital only products are mostly games (...)” (Op. Cit.: 24), what sustain the idea that “the convergence of business models does not restrict itself solely to journalistic products” (Idem: 29).

Indeed, Vehkoo (2011), quoted by Leppänen (Op. Cit.: 35, 36) says that due to the media convergence, in the future we might find three “classes” of journalists: “robots, drones and elite forces. (...) In Finland, the robots work in online newsroom, because they are too busy writing up to dozens of stories during their work shift. The middle class of journalists, the drones, rarely write their own stories. Instead, they go through material produced by others and find the best bits. Drones are professionals in editing, piecing together and contexting information. This kind of curation is becoming an important journalistic skill. The elite forces are the highest caste of journalists. Their number is shrinking and it is becoming harder to get into this group. An elite journalist can produce stories about his or her specialist field and some of them get do stories about anything they want. More and more elite journalists are freelancers”. Nevertheless, and according to Rodica (2011), quoted by Leppänen (Idem: 39, 40), “critics also claim that multi-
skilled converged journalists can do a little bit of everything but they are not masters of any medium unlike the journalists who produce content only for one medium”.

Considering the Nordic and Finnish media systems in particular, Nord (Op. Cit.: 109) point out that “the most successful newspapers are also the most important news providers on the Internet in the Nordic countries”, a sentence that just give consistence to the idea that Leppänen (Op. Cit.: 20), inspired by Lawson Borders (2003) shared: “Convergence offers an opportunity for the traditional media to fully benefit from the technologies of the 21st century”, considering that “one of the goals of convergence for media organizations is to integrate content on different media platforms to connect users”. And one of the great dilemmas behind the media convergence seems to be precisely the participatory culture, that “seems contradictory” (Nikunen, 2011: 17), mainly because “it entails promise of new active audiences yet, at the same time, this participation threatens the role of professional journalism: media content is created and disseminated increasingly by and among ordinary citizens blurring the lines between amateurs and professionals” (Ibidem). And the fact is that the convergence is increasingly affecting every single element of the media field, including the public support, because nowadays there is the notion that there are “a range of policies that are potentially important in an increasingly convergent media landscape”, that “break with the tradition of treating broadcasting, print, and online separately” (Nielsen & Linnebank, 2011: 7).

With respect to the Finnish public broadcasting company, Nikunen (Op. Cit.: 16) point out that “YLE is also concerned about young audiences and seeks new forms of journalism online. However, unlike commercial media, YLE has been successful on the Internet”. And if it happens, it is because “after the initial digitalization process, YLE has continued to deepen the professional corporate culture with new investments in digital media environment”. For its part, Leppänen (Op. Cit.: 22) points the fusion between the newsrooms from the Nelosen Uutiset and of the Helsingin Sanomat as “the latest example of media convergence” in Finland, at the same time that Helsingin Sanomat started to write news for Radio Aalto and Radio Rock (see. Leppänen, 2012: 22).

It seems decisive to state that “the report of the Finnish Ministry of Transport and Communications (2011) sees that the digitalization of contents, the fragmentation of audiences and the popularity of mobile devices will lead us to an age that is characterized by journalism that
is more personalized than the journalism of the golden era of the newspaper” (Lehtisaari et al, 2012: 18).

As Heather et al (Op. Cit., 2011: 464), inspired by Ritzer & Jurgenson (2010) say, “many of the changes arising within this new media ecology can be captured through the concept of “prosumption”. Defined as the collapse or convergence of production and consumption, prosumption highlights how users (formally seen as passive consumers) both create and consume their own media content”. And the prosumption might be a consequence of “the convergence of media and the spreading of smart phones, laptops and tablet computers”, that “are pushing us to an era where media is everywhere” (Leppänen, Op. Cit.: 21), mainly due to the fact that “the convergence of mobile phones and multimedia has altered the technological landscape, introducing a wide array of new uses such that the mobile is no longer only a phone. Rather, It has become a personal mobile device that, at least in principle, integrates both communication and multimedia functionality” (Westlund, 2010: 92). With the emergence of both functionalities, one might say that the mobile users had transformed into a “tribe” (May & Hearn: 2005), that might be not only called as “Digital Omnivores” (comScore, 2011), but as the prosumers on the move, as a consequence of the fact that “mobiles represent a convergent new media technology that is acquiring growing importance as a personal multimedium” (Westlund, Op. Cit., 2010: 93). In sum, and as Feijoo et al (Op. Cit., 2009: 59), inspired by Jaokar and Fish (2006), says, “new mobile techno-economic models take the user as consumer, as creator of content and as a source of inspiration; they consider the mobile device as the means to harness collective intelligence”. In this way, “the mobile device will be, then, the natural tool to bridge the physical world surrounding us with the wealth of information on the net” (Idem: 62).

In sum, and considering that “one of the consequences of the digital convergence has been that our digital lives have become less tied to a particular screen” (Ali-Yrkkö et al, Op. Cit.: 2013), in the next section I will talk about the strategies that some Finnish media companies introduced to face the current media trends, as well as present and analyze the consumption of radio and TV through mobile devices in Finland.
8. Mobile media consumption in Finland: new strategies from the media companies or the whole media at the palm of the hand of the user.

“When I was young in my native Finland, like most of my friends, I wore Nokia rubber boots. As I grew, I got new ones – always black, the same model. They where popular, and all Finns knew them. Now, my daughter owns a Nokia electronic, multipurpose device, the kind that can also be used as a wireless phone. It is silver-coated today, yellow tomorrow, with different shapes and functional features”. This statement from Oinas (Op. Cit.: 1232) emphasizes the notion that “the proliferation of mobile products in the culture domain and the notion of the mobile as a ubiquitous technology have seeded issues that track through the development of the mobile phone, just as occurred with previous 20th-century technologies” (May & Hearn, Op. Cit.: 198).

![Figure 10: Smartphone, tablet device and feature phone population in Finland 2010-2016 (in thousands)](Source: Idean, 2013: 9)

The graphic presented above show us a clearly tendency in the market of mobile devices in Finland: since 2010 and until 2016, the amount of people in Finland that have a feature phone in use is facing a clear decrease, particularly in spite of the smartphones, that are gaining track since
2010, and that surpassed the number of featured pones in use in 2012. According to the graphic, it is expected that the number of smartphones in use will be of 5599 in 2015, a number that since 2010 was never reached by the featured phones, that had their maximum precisely in 2010, with 5010 in use. The amount of tablets in use has been much slower if we compare it with the smartphones. By the way, it is expected that the amount of tablets surpass the amount of feature phones around 2015, also due to the clearly slowdown of these older devices. In sum, it seems that the new is surpassing the old in the mobile market. As a consequence, “the work of news journalists and photographers is facing new challenges due to the requirement for multi-skilled professionals and developments in digital network technologies. Furthermore, there is a need for increased speed in publishing in online and mobile media” (Koponen & Väätäjä, Op. Cit.). In fact, “the development of mobile phones with advanced multimedia capabilities and network connectivity has brought novel ways for journalists to live out their profession. News stories, photos and videos can be produced or even published straight from the field, making the news production process faster and more efficient” (Ibidem). Basically, the “mobile devices have enhanced the possibilities for journalists to work and report from the field. They can be used for news reporting for mobile news platforms but also for the entire cross-media portfolio. Internet connectivity and advanced search functionality, along with a myriad of intelligent and easily accessible apps, have obviously provided journalists with new and powerful tools for reporting news” (Westlund, 2012: 16).

And the fact is that “the shortcomings of this current incarnation of the mobile ecosystem are so evident that a number of initiatives have been launched to drastically modify the “rules of the game”” (Feijöo et al, Op. Cit.: 59). According to Riikka Lätti, “for this summer, Yle Häme (one of the local newsdesks) is hiring a mobile online reporter, whose task is to report from different summer events around the area. The reporter will be equipped with an iPhone to shoot & edit videos, a laptop and a backpack broadcast device”. In addition, the daily newspaper Kauppalehti has “strengthened the divergence between online journalism and the printed paper. Online journalism will be rapid and spread to different mobile devices, whereas the printed paper will function more as a tool for the readers, who mostly consist of people working in the business world” (Lehtisaari et al, Op. Cit.: 27). It is explained by the fact that in Kauppalehti they have “a lot of faith in new mobile devices, the iPad and contemporary smart phones. They create the possibility to consume news totally ubiquitously, which for the production process means that
there has to be a constant feed of new material” (Idem: 26, 27). In this way, it is very important in my perspective to compare the percentage of TV set’s, tablets, laptops and computers in Finland.

Through the figure 11 we can see the evolution of the percentage of each device mentioned previously in the years 2012 and 2013 in Finland. And it is very interesting to see that the percentage of TV set’s has increased by 4% in just one year, what could be considered significant, because in 2013 a total of 94% the people had a TV set, a number that was not reached yet by any of the other devices mentioned. On the other hand, it is also relevant to verify that the percentage of computers had a significant increase of 3%, from the 80% to 83%, numbers that could be analyzed in two ways: it could be considered impressive, because the percentage of computers in Finland seems to grow even more in the next years and compete with the TV sets by the leadership of the “screen championship” that seems to exist. And it is more impressive if we consider that the computer is truly recent if compared with the TV set; or it could be seen as a natural consequence of the media market, in which the computer seems to gain an increasing advance to the TV set. But in the last years the computer also gained a competitor, a mobile one, the laptop, that had also an increase of 3% in Finland from the year 2012 to 2013, namely from the 66% to 69%. Those it means that in the media field the mobile is gaining track comparing to the stationary ones in Finland? One evidence that sustain this idea is not only the increasing
importance of the laptop, but also the emergence of the tablet and the increasing use of it, that grew from the 8% to the 16% only in one year. In other words, it grew (in percentage) more than any other device presented on the table. But what is the quantitative relevance of these mobile devices, that along with the smart phones seems to have an unstoppable increase, in the media field? Do people in Finland access to the media through the mobile devices?

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Website</th>
<th>Unique visitors</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Unique browsers</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Sessions</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Page views</th>
<th>%</th>
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<td>2445159</td>
<td>10.3↑</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 12:** The access to Finnish media companies’ websites in the week 29/2014 (Mon-Sun) (Source: TNS Gallup)
Figure 13: The access to Finnish media companies’ websites through mobile devices in the week 29/2014 (Mon-Sun) (Source: TNS Gallup)

By the figures 12 and 13, that show us, respectively, the top-20 of the access to Finnish media companies’ websites in the week 29/2014, and the top-20 of the access to Finnish media companies’ websites during the same period through mobile devices, we can compare it and verify some facts about the relevance of the mobile devices in the consumption of media in Finland. But to do so, I will look to each “Unique browsers”, “Sessions” and “Page views” separately. I will look particularly to the case of the Ilta-Sanomat, a newspaper that ranked first in both graphics, what might reflect the relevance and credibility that the press media still have nowadays, even in the virtual world. And the presence of newspapers in the ranking of the access to the media by mobile devices seems remarkable: in the top-20 there are a total of 8 newspapers, with half of them in the top-10.

With respect to the unique browsers, that is the topic of comparison, it is interesting to verify that the unique browsers via mobile devices represent more than 50% of the total, with an identical situation happening when we talk about the sessions, as well as in the page views. The importance of the consumption of media on the move seems great, and consequently some media companies had already developed strategies to face this changing in the consumption patterns. An
example is *Kauppalehti*, a newspaper that “has an iPad version, but it is like pdf version of the paper; they have not yet seen the introduction of new functions for the iPad as relevant” (Lehtisaari et al., Op. Cit.: 27). But despite the fact that there are some radios and TV channels represented on the previous graphics, it is essential to look to both the radio and the TV separately.

![Weekly reach of Spotify 12 %](source:Finnpanel).

**Figure 14:** consumption of radio in Finland from 2007 to 2013 (source: Finnpanel).

The percentage of people in Finland that listened to the radio through a mobile device almost doubled during the 6 years of the data presented in a study promoted by Finnpanel: from a significant 36% in 2007 to an impressive 67% of the radio listeners in 2013, what in my perspective shows the clear tendency that the media is following: it is increasingly more ubiquitous, allowing that people access to it on the move, as Oscar Westlund (Op. Cit., 2008) suggests. On the other hand, it is also very curious to verify that the percentage of people that listened to the radio in Finland through their mobile phones had a slower increasing, reaching the peak in the middle of 2008, and suffering a little decrease after it until around the middle of 2009,
the moment in which it restarted to slowly increase. But it seems to be a proof that the ways to listen to the radio have had been diversified in the last years, namely in the mobile field: in addition to the mobile phone, people have nowadays the chance to listen to the radio by a smart phone, by a tablet, or even the laptop. On the other hand, the data about “Listening on mobile phone” is not clear at all, in the way that I don’t know if the concept “mobile phone” englobes the smart phone. So, we can’t have the exactly notion about the radio consumption in each smart phone, tablet, laptop and mobile phone.

![To watch TV, which devices are used in your HH?](image)

**Figure 15** (Source: Sandell, Op. Cit., 2014)

The Figure 15 shows us a graphic with the devices through which people in each household watched TV in Finland, in the years 2012 and 2013. The first fact that seems relevant to mention is that each of the devices mentioned in the study had an increasing of using to watch TV in each household, where the TV set seems to consolidate the domain among the Finnish households, with an increase of 4% (from 90 to 94) from 2012 to the next year. Moreover, the TV set is not alone anymore as the main medium in each household. And maybe it never was in Finland, considering the high rates of newspaper consumption in Finland. But with respect to the TV consumption, and despite the hegemony of the TV set, with 94% of the households using it in
2013, the mobile devices have been gaining ground. Altogether, 43% of the people in the Finnish households used the PC, smartphone or tablet to watch TV in 2012, value that had a significant increase in 2013, when it reached the 49%, plus 6% comparing to the previous year, and that is more than the 4% of the increase in the TV watched by a TV set. These numbers are significant and could mean some things: first, that the TV set in 2013 was still the dominant media through which people consumed TV contents; on the other hand, the fact that in 2013 94% of the people watched TV via the TV set, and that 49% watched it through a PC, smart phone or tablet could mean that each household is increasingly more multiscreened, and that we could have a situation of a household of four persons in which one is watching TV by a TV set, other is doing the same through a PC, while other is watching it via smart phone, and the other is using his/her tablet to watch TV. Smart phone and tablet that are curiously the two more recent devices in the market, and also those that present a higher increasing of use to watch TV from 2012 to 2013: both with an increase of 6%, with the smart phone leading this particular `battle`, because it has been used by more 4% in Finland in both 2012 and 2013 than the tablet.

So, how the media companies react to these new and even more “digital omnivores” on the move? In the case of the YLE, Riikka Lätti, Head of Audience insight clarifies that in the summer 2014 “Yle Häme (one of the local newsdesks) is hiring a mobile online reporter, whose task is to report from different summer events around the area. The reporter will be equipped with an iPhone to shoot & edit videos, a laptop and a backpack broadcast device”.
9. Conclusion

First of all, this dissertation was an attempt to analyze the patterns of mobile media consumption in Finland. A trial to understand in which extent the mobile devices are changing, influencing and revolutionizing the media consumption in Finland. But to study the media consumption through mobile devices in Finland, I knew since the beginning that I can’t talk only about it considering that it is not in a specific and separate drawer, excluded from the rest of the Finnish society and from the rest of the world. It is, in fact, part of the world and of the society in which it is included. So, I had to make an analysis of some of the vital points that shaped the media consumption patterns in Finland through the decades, and then talk about it as a whole, with emphasis in the mobile media consumption. Making it this way, I was following the idea of the French sociologist Edgar Morin (1981), according to which know is have the capability to distinguish/separate and then put it together again.

It is impressive to verify that the media in general and the journalism in particular were and are pivotal elements in the processes of birth, growth and international affirmation of Finland. Since the books and newspapers that were crucial elements to maintain the Finnish language in the times of the Swedish and Russian sovereignty, passing by the journalists that were part of a group of people that helped to create plans for the growth of Finland, and the newspapers that were the way for the people to follow the developments of the country, the journalism is considered a national institution with a credibility that even nowadays seems in a very high level.

So, it seems that there is a deep relationship between the Finnish identity and the technology in itself: from the telephone as a vital seed for the independence, passing by the worldwide success of Nokia, until the recent case of Jolla. But most importantly they are both communication technologies. So, communication could be considered as one of the roots of the Finnish identity, and continue to shape it even nowadays. But according to the research presented here, the welfare state is an important element of the Finnish society namely in the maintenance of the pro innovation technologies spirit that has long characterized Finland, supporting both the education and lots of programs that allow that people in Finland turn in to true hackers, that see
the innovation not only as a way to change the world, but as a manner to realize themselves, in a network society that seems increasingly more connected, everywhere, by the mobile devices.

Indeed, the work developed here is a brief reflex about some ideas regarding the Nordic media systems, and in which Finland is included, because they “have developed as hybrids of the Democratic Corporativist and the Liberal Media Models. The relative strength of the newspaper market and the strong position for public service media make the Nordic media markets special even in times of globalization and modernization. At the same time, state intervention has become much less important and political parallelism appears to be overplayed”. Nevertheless, “these observations may be summarized as key indicators of a process where the transformation of the Nordic media systems can be described more as a simultaneous depoliticization and institutionalization than as an absolute market-orientation towards liberalization” (Nord, 2008: 108). What could be discussed, since we’ve realized that even the Finnish media market of nowadays, `convergence´ is a key-word, that is progressively changing the media field, creating a need for the media companies to change the ways in which they product and share contents, because with the emergence of the social media and increasingly more advanced mobile devices, the consumer is not anymore a passive being. Basically, “as our different media systems are being transformed due to a combination of long-term socio-demographic trends, profound processes of technological innovation, and more short-term cyclical changes in the economy” (Nielsen & Linnebank, 2011: 28), the changes are even more faster than in the 20th century. And considering the data presented here, it seems clear that both the Internet and the mobile devices has been developed as authentic game changers of the media field with an increasingly speed. The proof of all of this is that in the case of Finland, we cannot say anymore that “the social impact of the mobile device as a multimedia device is rather small at the moment, but current user trends point toward increased impact” (Westlund, 2008: 459). So, also in Finland “people`s patterns of news consumption are changing, partly because of the introduction of the mobile device as a news medium” (Ibidem), what allows that in a household of four persons, for example, one is consuming media via TV set, other by the smart phone, other with the laptop, and the other with the tablet. Basically, media companies fight nowadays by the attention of the users, what created the “attention economy” (see Leppänen, 2012), also because “the common mobile is a kind of Swiss Army knife, which holds a number of useful tools – even if people almost always
tend to use the same ones”. So, the use of the mobile can be seen as either practical (instrumental) or related to content (expressive)” (Stald, 2008: 148).

From this study, it seems evident that also in Finland “people’s patterns of news consumption are changing, partly because of the introduction of the mobile device as a news medium” (Op. Cit., 2008: 459). Nonetheless, it seems crucial to realize that “technology is not the driver. Technology cannot inscribe itself and provide itself with purpose of meaning” (Finnemann, 2005: 18), because “it is not primarily the challenge of the Internet and the new digital technology that is changing the media and journalism landscape in Finland” (Op. Cit., 2011: 19). In my perspective, it is the patterns of use of the different media devices that are changing and, in some extent, revolutionizing the media landscape in Finland. But when we connect both Finland and media consumption, we shouldn’t forget the relevance of the press, that seems quite cohesive, due to a different sort of reasons.

The main limitations in the elaboration of this work were related to the obtainment of credible data, namely in the beginning, because the majority of the Finnish media companies didn’t showed interest in collaborate with this research. But it is something that the researchers must be used to: the sources that we expect that collaborate with us don’t do it, and we have to look for another way to found the answers for our research questions.

In the end, and also due to the difficulties that I’ve faced during the investigation, some questions still need an investigation: due to the increasingly influence of the social media, in which extent the Facebook, Twitter or other kind of social media are shaping the consumption of media through mobile devices in Finland? How many people access to media contents from the media companies through the social media in their mobile devices? In which extent the emergence of smartwatches will change the patterns of consumption of media contents through mobile devices in Finland?

Inspired by the work developed not only in this thesis, but in the whole masters, I am even more motivated to continue the study of the reality of the Finnish media system and society, both interconnected, both epic.
10. Appendix 1

Interview, Edgar da Silva Carreira, Master’s student in Journalism

Name: Riikka Lätti  Company: YLE Position: Head of Audience insight, Yle news & current affairs

Finnemann (2006:14) emphasize that "in the 1990-es most old media took a lean back position towards the internet. They were present with their online editions but they did not invest much and maybe they silently hoped the internet would soon disappear".

**Question 1: Do you think that the situation of journalism nowadays could be different if in the 1990-es the nominated “old media” saw the internet as an ally and not as an enemy?**

**Answer:**

It’s really hard to speculate, especially as I myself have been in this business only less than 5 years. It also depends on the definition of “old media” – does it mean both print and digital media industry or only the first-mentioned? I think the digital transformation has been more difficult for the print press but surely difficult for all players.

Hannu Niemi (2011:5) said that the Finnish experience also confirm that “people are not prepared to pay for online journalism”.

**Question 2: Do you think that people in Finland are, or not, prepared to pay for online journalism?**

**Answer:**

For most parts, I agree with Niemi. As long as news media provides free content online, people use it. Then again, Spotify and Netflix are “educating” people (esp. younger people) to the micro-payment culture. And as far as I know, the slow-journo mag Long Play is doing ok. So maybe people are willing to pay, when there is clearly added value in the content.

Yle did a survey in 2013 about whether Yle is the reason people don’t want to pay for online news content. According to the results, Yle is not the main reason. You can see the study (and maybe get someone translate them to English) here: http://www.slideshare.net/ylefi/tutkimus-ylen-vaikutus-internetin-uutispalvelujen-kyttn
Question 3: Do you think that the introduction of mobile devices into the equation of journalism radically transformed work practices in YLE?

Answer:

I guess so, but do not know, as I’ve only worked at Yle for half a year.

Question 4: Do the journalists of YLE use their mobile devices for news reporting from the field?

Answer:

Yes. For this summer, Yle Häme (one of the local newsdesks) is hiring a mobile online reporter, whose task is to report from different summer events around the area. The reporter will be equipped with an iPhone to shoot & edit videos, a laptop and a backpack broadcast device.

According to Westlund (2011), “no formal strategies were developed to spark the growing number of journalists that use their mobile device for news reporting from the field”.

Question 5: Do the YLE have any strategy to improve the use of mobile devices as a tool to report news from the field? If yes, do you have an editor for the contents produced for mobile devices?

Answer:

I’m not sure if anyone is dedicated to this task.

Roppen et al (2010:144) suggest that “new technology and new business models have not made traditional models obsolete”.

Question 6: Do you think that the new technologies, namely the mobile devices, and the new business models associated, have made traditional models obsolete?

Answer:

I think the media industry has to deal with both multiple platforms and multiple business models strategies for the time being. There are huge differences in the media consumption patterns and media consumption devices between generations. So my answer is no. Mobile is growing, but it’s not the only or preferred way of consuming media.

According to Nieminen (2011:14), “The motives behind the Government’s broadband policy (parte da Information Society Strategy) are mixed. On one hand, broadband offers the ailing newspaper industry new potential for developing their online news services, based on novel “cross media” applications; (...) In this way, everybody wins: the newspaper industry will get better access to paying customers (...).”
Question 7: Do you think that the Information Society Strategy promoted by the Finnish Government is more an ally or an enemy of the newspaper journalism as a business?

**Answer:**

Having a shortish career and only in digital media (I worked at MTV prior to Yle), I cannot really know the newspaper business’ standpoint. But surely everybody in media business is aware that broadband internet is here to stay and in fact it is not the enemy of anybody. Newspapers’ business interests are in increasing revenues in the digital and maintaining the loyals in the print.
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