

Individual Values as a Basis for Selective Media Exposure

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Introduction

It is hard to imagine modern daily life without instant access to information – pop-up news alerts, social media, entertainment programs tailored to satisfy every whim, search engines ready to answer any question within a second – billions of hours of content that no single person can consume in her lifetime. What makes people choose one content over another is the focus of this project. Departing from the selective media exposure hypothesis, which states that people prefer information confirming their worldviews and disregard challenging content, I analyze the phenomenon of selectivity from the position of different scientific disciplines and advance the methodology to provide more comprehensive evaluations of the spread of the phenomenon.

The need for the current research comes from the contradictory empirical findings obtained by scholars of different disciplines. While psychological studies do not doubt cognitive processes responsible for selectivity and scrutinize the conditions of their functioning in experiments (e.g. Fischer et al., 2011), researchers interested in the phenomenon at the macro-level (i.e. echo chambers, products of media selectivity) find no traces of selectivity in real life (e.g. Dubois & Blank, 2018). How these conflicting positions coexist and how the presence (or absence) of selectivity affects individuals and society interests not only scholars but politics and society more broadly as well. Such knowledge is highly relevant for policymakers dealing with sources of political polarization, distrust in institutions and the media, and the spread of misinformation. The general public may use this knowledge to develop greater awareness of their media habits resulting in greater media literacy and enhanced informational hygiene.

The project reviews theoretical propositions and empirical findings from psychology, sociology, communication, and political science and shows that each of those fields approached the issue of selectivity from a rather narrow perspective and prioritized some aspects while simplifying or ignoring others. I argue that in order to reveal whether media selectivity exists outside of research laboratories, an integrative perspective on how people interact with information is needed. The aim of the project is to develop a theoretical and methodological framework that would enable comprehensive analysis and prediction of people's habits of media use depending on their individual characteristics and those of their societies.

The project consists of two parts. Part 1 reviews past literature and discusses how individual differences, power relations within societies and societal characteristics affect

the ways people interact with information. This part of the dissertation aims to analyze *how* echo chambers are constructed and highlights the need for further elaboration on the mechanisms of media consumption and the development of relevant research methodology. Part 2 is more analytical and searches for the tools that would allow answering the question *what* echo chambers consist of.

Part 1 addresses the mechanisms of echo chamber development (the *How*) and aims to provide a comprehensive account of how patterns of people's interaction with information vary depending on their individual characteristics (micro-), the status of their group and dynamics of the intergroup relations (meso-), and societal characteristics (macro-level). The analysis of past research shows that qualitatively different types of echo chambers are likely to exist: The driving forces and mechanisms of their development, as well as their consequences for individuals and societies, would differ dramatically. A typology of echo chambers that should not be interpreted in the same way is the theoretical contribution of Part 1. Furthermore, this is the first study to address the phenomenon of echo chambers from a global perspective and to challenge existing research agendas focused exclusively on media consumption in liberal democracies, where the freedom of the press is a value and states do not control their citizens' access to information. Part 1 consists of one conceptual paper (Paper 1).

Part 2 of the dissertation focuses on the content of people's media diets (the *What*). The aim of this part is to reveal whether most of the media content a person consumes indeed match her worldview. The operationalization of the said worldview is, perhaps, one of the biggest challenges of selective exposure and echo chamber research. A comprehensive analysis of media consumption in real life requires a comprehensive measure of the worldview that can characterize any member of society and could be reflected by media materials of any kind. Most past studies, however, were taking the opposite strategy by focusing on a rather narrow category of political preferences. That strategy leads to the exclusion of many undecided and moderate respondents from samples and treating more than 90% of the available media data as unsuitable for analysis (e.g. Flaxman, Goel, & Rao, 2016). In this project, I aim to address this issue and propose an alternative operationalization of the worldview – through people's values, abstract ideas of what is important and desirable (Schwartz, 1992).

To introduce values as a motivational force that can navigate a selection of the media content, I ran four empirical studies presented in Papers 2-5. Papers two and three

test whether values are suitable for the prediction of the exposure to information with no explicit political content – news about the Olympic Games. Paper 2 presents a survey used to examine which values underlie the attitudes (conventional predictor in past selective exposure studies) towards the Olympics. Paper 3 presents an experiment that tests how people with different value priorities react to a set of media messages about Olympic athletes. In Paper 4, I investigate how values can be expressed in a variety of online content. The final, fifth, Paper tests whether and to which extent values of people guide their exposure to information online. For that paper I collected web browsing histories of nine volunteers, qualitatively analyzed their content to reveal which values they reflect, and matched those results with the value priorities of respondents. Overall, Part 2 proposes an alternative approach to the analysis of the content of people's media diets which allows a more comprehensive evaluation of whether a given individual resides in an echo chamber. The new approach also has potential for comparisons of people's media habits across social groups and societies. This is the methodological contribution of Part 2. This part of the dissertation consists of a theoretical framework that discusses the adequacy of values in the selective exposure and echo chamber research and four empirical papers.

Parts 1 and 2 together represent a framework for the future investigation of the echo chambers in comparative perspective. Part 1 discusses the phenomenon of echo chambers from a global perspective and highlights how people's experiences of interaction with the media may vary within and across societies. This part aims to build a niche for future comparative echo chamber research and proposes a multilevel framework which specifies the sources of variations in people's experiences with the media. However, Part 1 does not suggest how such research can be conducted. It leaves outside the scope the question which beliefs of people navigate their interaction with the media and how the media contents people consume should be analysed in order to provide material comparable across different social contexts. This is the aim of Part 2, which proposes to treat individual values as such universal basis for the analysis of selective exposure. The four studies of Part 2 are stepwise in-depth analysis of the relationships between individual values and media consumption. In sum, this entire project is a series of preparatory steps for future comparative multicountry studies.

This project proposes a more inclusive approach to research of media consumption as it allows studying people uninterested in politics and media content that are not explicitly political. It is the first project to address the phenomenon of media selectivity as an outcome

of the interplay between individual-, group-, and societal characteristics. Finally, it opens up a new research direction for comparative research of media consumption habits across social groups and societies. A deeper understanding of how people interact with the media is especially relevant nowadays, as we live in a world where the use of the media grows while the freedom of press and speech declines (Reporters without borders, 2018).

Part 1. Selective media exposure in daily life

Paper 1. A multilevel framework for cross-cultural research on echo chambers and political participation¹

The questions of whether echo chambers exist, and what their potential effects on political participation are, is the focus of heated scholarly and public debate. While some researchers claim the plausibility of echo chambers' existence (e.g. Sunstein 2007; Garrett, 2009; Quattrociocchi, 2017; Goldie et al., 2014), others show that in fact, very few people consume one-sided information only (e.g. Dubois & Blank, 2018; Dvir-Gvirsman, Tsfat, & Menchen-Trevino, 2014; Flaxman, Goel, & Rao, 2016; Haim, Graefe, & Brosius, 2018). Past studies also provide inconclusive results of how overreliance on one-sided information relates to political participation: the described effects vary from increased participation online (Feezel, 2016) to misinterpretation of the current public opinion climate (Tsfati, Stroud & Chotiner, 2014) and consequent decrease of participation (Westwood, Messing, & Lelkes, 2020), to hostility against political rivals (Lueders, Prentice, & Jonas, 2019). Moreover, interaction with the media affects differently users' willingness to express their opinions: while some with minority views or identities have adopted self-censorship (Gearhart & Zhang, 2014), others have built solidarity and become increasingly outspoken (Jackson & Foucault Welles, 2015). The answer to how the same behavior can lead to so different outcomes may lie in the more in-depth analysis of the circumstances and purposes of media consumption, variables largely neglected by past studies.

This essay aims to bridge that gap by examining how societal characteristics may affect the individual experiences of interaction with the media and consequent political participation. By taking the perspective of construct universalism, which assumes only limited comparability of observed phenomena of social life across societies (Fontaine, 2011), we argue that qualitatively different types of echo chambers can be observed in societies with varying levels of access to ideological diversity, which differ for individuals within a society who hold majority or minority perspectives on contentious political issues. Furthermore, we argue that different types of echo chambers relate to political participation differently across *and* within societies.

¹ Khaptsova. A., Menchen-Trevino, E., & Filip, A. (unpublished manuscript). A multilevel framework for cross-cultural research on echo chambers and political participation.

This paper addresses the issue from a global perspective and proposes a theoretical framework for the investigation of the relationships between media consumption and political participation. Because the traditions and available forms of said participation vary greatly across societies, we focus on whether echo chambers make their residents more outspoken and willing to make themselves visible on the domestic political arena in whichever form relevant for their society. To inform future cross-cultural research, we propose a multilevel framework, which accounts for the position of an individual within society (ideological majority vs. minority) and societal characteristics likely to affect individual experiences (access to ideologically diverse information and general level of tolerance to diversity). We then outline the characteristics of the four types of echo chambers. Finally, we hypothesize how each of those would affect people's willingness to (dis)engage politically.

Echo Chambers – Individual-level Phenomena in Social Context

The emphasis that past studies place on the results of media consumption and observed patterns of human behaviors resulted in the view on echo chambers as a collection of media content consumed by an individual that can be characterized by a) their degree of homogeneity, and b) the extent to which this content confirms the beliefs a person holds (Sunstein, 2007; Lewandowsky, Ecker & Cook, 2017). What was often left outside the scope in past studies is the social conditions and psychological mechanisms of echo chambers' development.

While focusing on media consumption in liberal democracies (e.g. in the USA, Flaxman, Goel & Rao, 2015; in Israel, Dvir-Gvirsman, Tsfati & Menchen-Trevino, 2016, in the UK Dubois & Blank, 2018), past studies assumed the universality of the processes involved in the construction of people's media diets. However, the production, dissemination, and consumption of information functions differently across societies with different media systems and political cultures (Halin & Mancini, 2004; Voltmer, 2011). For example, comparative media systems theory aims to describe the national conditions that lead to the press playing a particular political role in society (Hallin & Mancini, 2004). Dimensions such as the development of markets for media, the extent to which the press reflects existing political divisions, the level of journalistic professionalism, and the type and extent of state intervention are typical indicators of the role of the press. The variations in those indicators across societies also yield different conditions in which people construct their media diets.

However, the Hallin and Mancini model (2004) was developed explicitly to compare western liberal democracies to each other, and the models derived from this original work are limited in their ability to adequately describe systems outside of this framework (Hallin & Mancini, 2011). While political differences in western liberal democracies have tended to be arranged along left-right or liberal-conservative dimensions, they can also be arranged primarily on religious, ethnic, or clientelistic dimensions – providing less of a “middle ground” (Veltmer, 2011). Furthermore, while not emphasized in the original framework, “limits on news content and press freedom are probably the most important dimension to distinguish media systems on a *global* scale.” (Brüggemann et al., 2014, p. 1041, emphasis original), and this will be one key dimension we focus on.

The characteristics of societies people live in affect many social processes and daily practices of people (Berry et al., 2002). Yet, their role in the consumption of information was rarely addressed in previous selective exposure or echo chamber studies (for exceptions see: Bright, 2018; Stier et al., 2020). Investigating potential variations in echo chambers in different contexts requires identifying the role the media and societal characteristics play in shaping information consumption. While entering the realm of comparative social research, we need to take a methodological position that will clarify the extent to which psychological phenomena, like decisions and behaviors, that potentially lead to the development of echo chambers, are affected by the contexts people live in. That will inform how behaviors resulting in echo chambers should be interpreted when observed, and which effects of information consumption on political engagements are to be expected in different contexts.

Cross-cultural psychology which has a long tradition of questioning the comparability of observations from different societies (Berry, 1969; Berry, Poortinga, Segall, & Dasen, 2002), offers a variety of such positions (Adamopoulos & Lonner, 1994; Fontaine, 2011). The extreme positions that advocate either individuals’ full dependence on or complete independence from their cultures are relativism and absolutism. Relativists argue that every culture yields unique ways of acting and thinking and no comparisons between people from different cultures are possible. Absolutists, in turn, believe that cultures do not affect psychological mechanisms and thus no comparisons between cultures are necessary. While the extreme positions discard the opportunities to investigate what people from different societies have in common and how they differ, the position in

between – construct universalism² (Fontaine, 2011), – offers a middle ground. That position suggests that basic psychological phenomena and mechanisms are universal to all people, however, cultures moderate their functioning and inform the meanings of daily practices. We, thus, take the position of construct universalism and assume that there are universal mechanisms that shape people's interaction with information, however, social contexts inform those interactions.

Basic Psychological Mechanisms of Information Selection and Processing

There are two theoretical accounts that explain how people deal with incoming information – informational and motivational (see Bohnner, Moscovitz, & Chaiken, 1995, Fischer, 2011, for integrated perspectives):

The informational account explains how the mind processes information. Cognitive schema theory (Bartlett, 1932/1995; Fiske & Linville, 1980) proposes that everything people know about the world is not stored in memory in the form of the original impressions, but rather the mind transforms that information into units of knowledge - schemata. Those units are interconnected and form hierarchies, where units of knowledge about specific objects and situations add up to theoretical models of how different parts of reality function. Those help to predict future events and make judgments about unobserved objects (Rumelhart, 1980/2018). At the same time, schemata form expectations about the world, those may bias perception and interpretation of the incoming information (Rabin & Schrag, 1999).

Schemata that have proven their usefulness in daily life are resistant to change (Axelrod, 1973). That presents an obstacle to interaction with any information that does not go in line with expectations formed by a schema, as it threatens the internal consistency of the picture of the world that people typically strive to maintain (Gawronski, 2012). People experience that inconsistency as a cognitive dissonance that leads to negative arousal and a desire to reduce it (Festinger, 1957). The reduction of dissonance can be achieved in two ways: Revision of what one knows about the world or devaluation and avoidance of inconsistent information (Axelrod, 1973). While the extent of fit between new information and schema can point to how people would evaluate that information, it does not explain how the actual selection of information happens.

² As against repertoire universalism, which is closer to absolutism (Fontaine, 2011)

The second – motivational - account explains what drives people when they encounter new information. Past research distinguishes three types of motivations: Accuracy motivation guides interaction with information when people need to make a decision (Dummel, Rummel & Voss, 2016). In that situation, no suitable schema is available, and, thus, all available evidence becomes valuable (Bohner, Moscovitz, & Chaiken, 1995). The opposite effect has defense motivation which helps to assure the correctness of one's pre-exposure position by actively preferring congenial information over challenging one (Knobloch – Westerwick & Tsang, 2017). The third type of motivation, cognitive economy (Fischer, 2011), comes into play when new information fits a pre-exposure schema and, thus, does not require deep processing. Interestingly, motivations of defense and cognitive economy result in the systematic preference of homogenous media content, which may result in the construction of echo chambers. Driven by different motivations, those echo chambers, however, would have different functions in one's daily life – some would help to reassure the correctness of one's position, others would help one to stay up to date without investing too much energy in the selection and processing of information.

Overall, we take the desire to maintain an internally consistent picture of the world, and the activation of various motivations depending on the circumstances of media consumption as culture-universal mechanisms. A meta-analysis by Hart et al., (2009) supports this argument and shows that regardless of the country of residence (USA, Canada, Germany, Austria, or Italy) people are more likely to prefer information that goes in line with their preferences.

Processing Information Within Social and Cultural Contexts

To reveal how echo chambers may differ across societies, it is necessary to discuss which societal characteristics are likely to affect the functioning of psychological mechanisms responsible for the preference of like-minded information. First, an echo chamber represents a collection of media content selected by an individual from the available alternatives. As the homogeneity of content is a crucial characteristic of echo chambers (Sunstein, 2007), it is necessary to consider how that homogeneity was achieved and how many opportunities to escape like-minded media consumption people have in the first place. Second, as selective exposure research shows (e.g. Fischer, 2011), the preference for like-minded information may be motivated by either the need to defend one's beliefs or by the desire to reduce efforts needed to process new information. Thus, the

presence of a real or perceived threat that societies pose to the beliefs of their members is the second characteristic likely to affect the motivations. We, therefore, focus further discussion on two issues: the diversity of available media content and the sense of threat to one's beliefs created by the environment.

Opportunities for Exposure: Diversity of Available Information

The observed consumption of homogeneous content would not have the same causes in free and non-free media environments as their residents do not experience the diversity of available options in the same way. In completely free and balanced environments, a rather common setup in experimental selective exposure studies (e.g. Hastall & Knobloch-Westerwick, 2013; Brenes Peralta et al., 2017; Tsang, 2017), different viewpoints have equal chances to be accessed by people. In that setting, people can compose their media diets based on their preferences with no structural constraints in navigating content. However, if the media environment is restricted, as if there was only one source of information, people have access to homogeneous information only. In this condition, the actual preferences of people play a less important role in guiding interaction with information. In the real world, both situations are unlikely to be observed in their ideal states, yet the degree of press freedom (Freedom House, 2018) and the media landscape differ from country to country which does not give people around the world equal opportunities to construct a media diet in accordance with their preferences.

The limitations that non-democratic regimes put on media and information dissemination distort the diversity of opinions available to media users. For example, in North Korea, Eritrea, and Turkmenistan the state has full control over the media and it alone decides which information the citizens receive (Reporters without borders, 2018). While those are extreme cases, the interference of the state in the information dissemination is not infrequent. According to Freedom on the Net report (Freedom House, 2017), only 10 out of 65 studied countries do not experience censorship of online content initiated by state authorities. While state censorship of the media impacts a large portion of the world's population to some degree, even those in semi-authoritarian media systems have content options that provide different views and represent different identities, within limits, particularly in the social media era. In China, for example, moderate environmental activists have been allowed to express their views (Ho & Edmonds, 2007), and criticism of the government is quite common on social media (King et al., 2013). That is, even with

more limited choices, people in such media environments have choice of how to construct their media environment in terms of political diversity.

Free societies, in turn, while being free from direct censorship, do not create media environments where every existing viewpoint has the same weight and an equal chance to reach consumers. Countries differ significantly in what and how many issues their residents see as important (Peter & de Vreese, 2003). Moreover, particular opinions on those issues may prevail in the media, resulting in silencing the existing legitimate alternatives (Werder, 2002). Yet, the importance of an issue at the societal level does not necessarily mirror the preferences and interests of every single individual. Such imbalance creates different conditions in which members of a given society interact with the media – while the proponents of the dominant position may find themselves surrounded by congenial information, the proponents of the alternative positions may experience a scarcity of content confirming their opinion. Those who are in the minority based on their identity or beliefs may choose to participate in a marginalized public sphere where they can discuss their views and identities in a separate space from the dominant group, if available (Squires, 2002). Today such spheres often form online and involve sharing and interacting with congenial media. Such marginalized groups are not typically labeled ‘echo chambers,’ which tends to have a negative connotation, but even though the behavior may be similar, the dominant view is often encountered by minority members who participate in the dominant society, and the social context is distinct.

Motivation for Exposure: Presence of Threats to the Integrity of One’s Opinions

In an experiment, Knobloch – Westerwick and Tsang (2017) demonstrated how the experience of a threat to the legitimacy of one’s identity or beliefs stimulates defensive mechanisms and associated with the selective approach and avoidance of media content. While those results demonstrated the general mechanism, in the real world, exposure to diversity does not always mean a threat. Societies differ significantly in how much diversity they permit (Zanakis, Newburry & Taras, 2016) and how those diverging from the mainstream are treated (Gelfand et al., 2011). Those differences may affect how much threat to their opinions people sense, with those experiencing high levels of threat relying more on defense motivation in their daily interactions with the media.

Ideologies and legal regulations. The value of political tolerance has been recognized by various institutions at national (e.g. as documented in the constitutions of many countries) and international (e.g. Universal Declaration of Human Rights, United

Nations, 1948) levels. Liberal democracies treat political tolerance as a norm and provide equal protection to anyone regardless of their positions (Merkel, 2001). In such a setting, the presence of political diversity does not objectively threaten the existence of anyone's ideological position. While the media environment may not trigger the defensive consumption of confirming information, overreliance on one-sided information may still occur as it is less cognitively demanding. Yet, reminders of the value of opinion diversity can restore the balance in one's media exposure habits (Munson, Lee, & Resnick, 2013).

Illiberal democracies and non-democratic regimes, in contrast, create conditions when supporters of the current administration feel entitled to claim their position as the normative one (Zakaria, 1997). That feeling may be reinforced by the presence of relevant legal regulations and sanctions, as they affect what people perceive to be normative (Nyborg et al., 2016; Acemoglu & Jackson, 2017). In the context of media consumption, those regulations specify which information becomes available to the public and, as Deutsch Karlekar, Radsch, and Sierra (2011) show, often focus on the threats to the security of the state, groups of people, or particular individuals. In that situation, ideological minorities are likely to experience their environment as threatening and may actively engage in selective exposure to congenial information to ensure the validity of their position (Fischer et al., 2011).

Strength of cultural norms and social sanctions. Non-institutionalized regulations can affect the sense of security as well. Social norms serve as a source of limitations on what people should consider right to do and believe in (McDonald & Crandall, 2015; Nyberg et. al., 2016, Nolan et al., 2008). A systematic account of how the strength of social norms regulates the life of people was proposed by Gelfand et al. (2011). Cultural “tightness”, as against “looseness”, is a characteristic of a society that describes how strongly members of a society are expected to follow social norms and how strict the punishments for those who deviate are. In tight cultures norms are strict; people are expected to follow them closely, with strict punishments for deviating behaviors. In those countries, supporters of non-mainstream ideas can feel threatened. Loose cultures, on the contrary, allow people to be different and apply less strict sanctions to diverging individuals. The strength of norms develops under the influence of ecological (e.g. presence of pathogens, climatic challenges) and human-made threats (e.g. wars) occurring throughout the development of a particular society. In modern days, the strictness of social norms may serve as an indicator of how likely members of society feel threatened if they

disagree with the mainstream. Another term for this distinction is the level of political tolerance in a society, which may be influenced by the amount of psychological dogmatism of individuals (Hinckley, 2010).

Both legal and social sanctions may apply when information is seen as threatening the security of the state, culture, or norms of morality (Howard, Agarwal, & Hussain, 2011). The strictness of sanctions then defines the conditions of interaction with information for proponents of different opinions, with those deviating from mainstream more likely to see their media environment as threatening (Tsftati, 2007). Legal and social sanctions also work through different channels. While the enforcement of legal regulations allows for the prosecution of violators on a case-by-case basis, implementation of social norms functions on a daily basis and can be applied, for example, through social media which provide ample opportunities for that (Crockett, 2017).

The diversity of available media content (FreedomHouse, 2018) as well as the presence of sanctions (Reporters without borders, 2017; Gelfand et al., 2011) regulating it vary across societies. These two characteristics may affect both the motivation for and the actual interaction with information at the individual level. Taking into consideration the societal characteristics, thus, may facilitate the interpretation of the observed patterns of media consumption.

Two Dimensions of Echo Chambers

The amount of diversity and its value vary across societies creating unique conditions in which people interact with information in their daily lives. As we outlined, societies differ in (1) how easily people can access information that corresponds to their beliefs, and (2) how likely people feel threatened for holding their opinion. We thus propose a two-dimensional continuum that will help to identify different types of echo chambers that may develop under the influence of societal characteristics. The first dimension is structural; it describes how the homogeneity in one's media diet was achieved. The second dimension is functional; it describes the motivational aspect of homogenous information consumption.

Structural Dimension: Self-constructed vs. Imposed echo chambers

The reason for the systematic consumption of homogenous media content is not the same in situations when there are many options to choose from and when the options are scarce, as, for instance, in free and non-free media environments. The non-free

environments provide individuals with highly homogenized information and leave little opportunities to choose the content. In that case, echo chambers are imposed on people and do not depend on their actions. In contrast, free environments provide substantial freedom of choice where people experience no limitations in interacting with information. In that case, echo chambers are self-constructed, as they are the results of the directed actions of people. The degree to which environments provide opportunities to choose affects the extent to which individual differences and actions play a role in constructing people's media diets.

Functional Dimension: Defensive vs. Energy-saving Echo Chambers

The function of homogeneous information consumption will differ for people who see their environment as threatening in comparison to those who do not. The threatening environments, which may exist in tight cultures or illiberal societies, are likely to activate defense motivation, as like-minded media consumption helps to assure the correctness of one's beliefs. Safe environments created in liberal societies and loose cultures, provide, in contrast, no need for defensive actions. Yet, while various pieces of content are equal in their "safety", they differ in how much effort they require for processing. Thus, the preference for like-minded information in a safe environment helps to stay informed about the current issues without investing too much. The continuum, thus, yields four types of echo chambers that can be observed in different conditions.

Majority vs. Minority Perspective and Dynamic of Intergroup Relations

Until now the discussion was mainly focused on how echo chambers can vary across societies. However, every society consists of groups that vary in size and status. Depending on the dynamics of intergroup relations, the members of those groups may see the societal-level media environment differently, and thus different types of echo chambers can develop within society simultaneously.

If a societal-level media environment covers different opinions proportionally to the number of their proponents, then for the majority, interaction with confirming information may require little effort. Most of the media content reflects the opinion of the majority, while the encounter of disconfirming information may never take place. For the minority, however, the media environment looks differently: confirming information is scarce and thus finding it requires certain efforts, while the encounter of the disconfirming opinions is almost inevitable. In that situation, majority and minority members not only have different

chances to fall into echo chambers but those echo chambers are likely to differ in their characteristics. The majority of members may find themselves in an imposed echo chamber. The minority members, in turn, would either keep a diverse media diet and stay outside an echo chamber or would have to deliberately search for like-minded content and may result in self-constructed echo chambers.

The groups are also likely to have an unequal sense of power and status, that is not necessarily connected to their sizes. The more powerful groups, who are certain in the normative status of their opinion, are unlikely to experience a need to defend their opinion. In that situation, they may either stay outside of the echo chamber and preserve diversity in their media diets or may slip into an energy-saving echo chamber. The less powerful groups, if feeling discriminated against, can search for support in the defensive echo chambers.

The dynamics of intergroup relations, the changes in the groups' sizes and status may also shift the dynamics in echo chambers development. The situations that challenge the status quo as, for example, periods of open confrontations, i.e. elections, conflicts, changes in policies, or the introduction of new regulations trigger the consumption of one-sided information. For example, Barbera et al (2015) found that users of Twitter are more likely to exchange information with like-minded individuals when the topic was relevant to the anticipated changes in the distribution of power between the groups, i.e. presidential elections in the USA, but not when no explicit change was in focus (the Olympic Games).

Interestingly, involved parties are not susceptible to selective exposure to the same extent. For example, Young and Anderson (2017) found a more homogenized media diet among supporters of the Democratic party in 2017, the year when the Republican party overtook the power in the USA. A few years earlier in 2012-2014, during the term of a Democrat president, supporters of the Republican party engaged less in cross-ideological information consumption and sharing (Barberá et al., 2015). These findings may confirm that the group that feels less powerful, in this case, the opposition to the government, is also more likely to become defensive. The attendance to disconfirming information and cross-ideological communication can be restored if all participants feel secure and respected (Cambre, Klemmer, & Kulkarni, 2017).

Echo Chambers and Political Participation Among Ideological Minority and Majority

Finally, the different echo chambers that can develop within different societies would also have different effects on political participation among ideological minority and majority members:

The first type of echo chamber is the Self-constructed defensive one. The majority may engage in media exposure resulting in a self-constructed defensive echo chamber if they believe the very presence of the minority threatens the status quo. For example, in a society where a majority tends to be suspicious about the minority, the majority may take preemptive steps towards the protection of their positions by deliberately discrediting the minority. They can even become aggressive towards the minority as they believe in the superiority of their position and a right to sanction the minority. In this situation, an echo chamber would stimulate political engagement.

The minority, although they have fewer chances to fall into an echo chamber, can choose to surround themselves with like-minded information. The strictness of the anticipated sanctions would however moderate the outcomes for the willingness to stand for their positions and enter public debate. When marginalized groups participate in the public sphere to add their perspective to the dominant conversation, Squires (2002) terms this type of marginalized public as a counterpublic. If the sanctions are to be mitigated externally, for example, when a minority can expect support from the state, engagement with like-minded information is likely to boost the minorities' self-confidence and increase participation. However, if the sanctions are too strict, the minorities can choose to become less politically visible by creating closed communities and going underground, what Squires (2002) terms a marginalized enclave.

Self-constructed energy-saving echo chambers can develop in societies where members of different ideological groups do not feel threatened by their opponents but at the same time do not wish to engage with the diversity of available positions. Such habits of media consumption may decrease political participation among both majority and minority members. In the lack of diversity in their media diet, the majority may perceive society to be more homogenous than it is. In that situation, they may believe that nothing needs to be done as the society moves in the desired direction without their active involvement. Among the minority members, the same habit may lead to a decrease in their

outspokenness as they may fall into the illusion that there are more proponents of their position than there really are. Minority members may then think that others would speak on their behalf.

The imposed echo chambers imply that most available media content presents an image of society that is more homogenous than in reality. That for instance may happen if certain topics are absent from the public discourse and never discussed in the media. In that situation, while part of the majority may prefer to remain quiet or fear speaking out, the other part may remain ignorant of the existence of minority positions. The minority in this situation may either abandon their position and join the majority of rebel and try to raise awareness of its position despite potential consequences. In all those scenarios, media exposure does not affect political participation as the media diet is not able to vary, and variations in the patterns of participation are affected by other variables.

Conclusion

This paper aimed to discuss how societal characteristics can affect the development and functions of echo chambers across societies. We relied on the methodological position of construct universalism (Fontaine, 2011) to identify the context-independent and contextually informed processes involved in the development of echo chambers in the social context of media systems (Halin & Mancini, 2004). Departing from the literature that explains why people sometimes prefer information that corresponds to their pre-exposure positions, we elaborate on the role of societal characteristics in the functioning of the processes involved in selective exposure. More specifically, we suggest that the available diversity of media content and the social mechanisms regulating that diversity can affect the chances to observe echo chambers across societies. Moreover, those echo chambers are likely to differ in their nature and functions. Finally, we argue that the effects of one-sided media consumption on political participation of consumers depend on the dynamics of intergroup power relations and the social environment. This paper proposes a multi-level framework for future research that will examine the mechanisms of like-minded media consumption more systematically.

Postface and transition to Part 2

The aim of Part 1 was to discuss how social contexts in which people live affect their experiences of interaction with the media content and how that can result in echo chambers of different types. Paper 1 also argues that it is important to consider those differences if the relationship between one-sided information consumption and real-life behavior are the focus of research. While presenting echo chambers as products of interaction of people with information in different conditions, Paper 1 focused on the contextual sources of variations in people's experiences but simplified those at the level of individuals. The paper only mentioned that people strive to maintain their beliefs, conceptualized as cognitive schemata, as long as those are useful in daily life. What was left outside the scope of the paper is that any belief has a content (e.g. a statement like "The Earth is a globe" is a belief about characteristic of an object that people may agree or disagree with) and that a person who interacts with the media may evaluate some content as (mis)matching her beliefs. How beliefs with different contents (in this project, individual values) relate to preference for the media content and its interpretation is the focus of Part 2.

It is important to highlight that while Part 2 searches for tools suitable for conducting research within the framework proposed in Part 1, i.e. for multi-country studies, Part 2 focuses on one country only – Russia. I intentionally narrowed down the scope of Part 2 to one country: first, the empirical evidence that individual values are relevant in the investigation of selective media exposure are very scarce. Because of that a comprehensive examination of the role of values in people's media consumption is needed. Second, Part 1 emphasizes that the context in which person interacts with the media matters in the interpretation of the observed outcomes of that interaction. As nobody resides in an ideologically homogenous environment, it is important to have an overview of available positions that a member of that society can be exposed to. That requires a lot of preparatory work: apart from gathering the variety of such positions (and some of them can be a subject to censorship even in relatively free environments, Herman & Chomsky, 2002) that exist at the societal level, it is also necessary to account for how people are likely to interpret those positions and link to values. In this light, the case of Russia should be treated as a pilot study, a first step towards larger multi-country studies.

Part 2. Individual values as a basis for selective media exposure

Selective exposure: Conceptualization, operationalization, measurement

Part 2 of this project further elaborates on echo chambers, this time from the point of view of their content. It is often assumed that what makes one's media diet an echo chamber is the homogeneity of its content and their correspondence with a person's beliefs (Lewandowsky, Ecker & Cook, 2017). In other words, there is a match between what a person believes in and the media content she usually prefers. Despite the simplicity of the definition, it is not very helpful in empirical research. For example, some past studies (e.g., Garrett, 2017; Karlsen et al., 2017; Dubois & Blank, 2018) conceptualized an echo chamber as a situation when a politically conservative/progressive person mainly consumes politically conservative/progressive media. People with such narrow media preferences indeed exist however they constitute a very small minority in the general population (Dvir-Gvirsman, Tsfaty & Menchen-Trevino, 2016, Flaxman, Goel & Rao, 2016). That however does not mean that echo chambers or selective exposure are not widespread in real life. If the reality of how people use the media is considered, expecting anybody to consume just politics when a wide variety of other types of content also exist, is strange. In reality, anybody's media diet contains also weather reports, TV shows, sports transmissions, hobby programs, social media, etc. Those, however, often cannot be classified as politically explicit, and then a political orientation of a person is not a suitable predictor of the exposure to those content. And yet they were chosen from a variety of available alternatives.

At the same time, political preferences do not navigate people's lives alone – numerous non-political beliefs, attitudes, and values guide people in different situations too. One strategy to make the analysis of someone's media diet more comprehensive is to consider a number of beliefs that a person holds at the same time as complementary sources of motivation of exposure. The problem is that people hold very many beliefs at the same time, and measuring them all is impractical and probably also impossible. The problem becomes even worse when the media diets of a group of people are considered because the composition of belief systems, as well as importance of different beliefs, can vary from person to person.

These two strategies have their advantages and disadvantages: it is likely that there are beliefs held by most people (e.g. political views), focusing on those, however, does not allow a comprehensive analysis of their media diets, as their components are always more diverse than politics. Increasing the number of beliefs-predictors could overcome this issue, yet it is unclear which beliefs are present in the minds of most people and could at the same time be relevant for the analysis of most media content. In the studies presented in Part 2, I aim to address this problem by testing whether individual values can serve as a universal tool for the comprehensive analysis of people's media diets.

Finding such a universal basis for the analysis of people's information behavior is especially relevant in light of comparative cross-cultural research on echo chambers. As Paper 1 discussed, the circumstances in which people interact with the media can vary a lot across societies resulting in the construction of echo chambers of different types. Each of those echo chambers however consists of some media content. The degree of the content's homogeneity is indicative of the presence of selectivity in people's exposure habits. However, the questions of which content should be taken into account and how it should be analyzed were left outside the scope of Part 1. Considering how much the experiences of different members of a society can differ and how diverse the available media content could be across societies, it is necessary to find a disposition valid in different contexts in order to enable comparisons. Part 2 of this project argues that individual values are suitable for these purposes and provides an in-depth exploration of values' potential among Internet-users from Russia. While this is the first examination of online media selectivity in illiberal democracy with censored media environment, the studies presented in Part 2 should be treated as a pilot study before future multi-country projects. Taken together Part 1 and Part 2 constitute a framework for the investigation and comparison of echo chambers in different societies.

Part 2 of the project is structured as follows: I first provide an overview of how past studies about selective exposure and echo chambers dealt with the choice of appropriate beliefs which were hypothesized to drive selectivity or lie in the center of an echo chamber and relevant media content. I will then discuss how reliance on individual values can overcome the limitations of past studies and expand the investigation of echo chambers. After that, I will discuss difficulties associated with value research and the ways to overcome them. Finally, I will present two pairs of empirical studies aiming at testing the utility of values in the investigation of media consumption.

Selective Exposure in Past Research

Empirical identification of echo chambers and their residents implies that predispositions of individuals (I label them *personal predispositions*) and those reflected in the media they consume (*reflected predispositions*) can be measured and matched. How researchers choose the pair “personal – reflected” affects the analytic strategies and conclusions. Past studies applied different approaches to the operationalization of both personal and reflected predispositions. The operationalization of personal predispositions varied on the level of abstractness. While some studies measured attitudes towards (or beliefs about) particular issues (e.g., same-sex marriage, immigrants, minimal wage policies), others were focused on relatively stable combinations of attitudes, for example, political views³ or religious beliefs (Bobkowski, 2009) which in turn refer to several specific issues. Measurement of reflected predispositions was even more diverse and varied not only in how it was operationalized but also in the selected units of analysis.

Personal Predispositions

In this project, the division of dispositions into “specific” and “abstract” is based on whether they can be applied to narrow or broad categories of objects. The difference between specific and abstract is arbitrary and for example, one can argue that only unique objects (“the bear”) are truly specific while a category (“a bear”) is already abstract as it does not refer to a particular specimen but signifies an infinitely large group of creatures. However, I will classify an object as specific if it refers to an entity of objects which all share some key characteristic and makes them a unique group. For example, all bears have something in common that makes them bears and not a single fox qualifies as a bear. The abstract object will stand for a group that brings together objects of different groups that have a shared characteristic. Bears and foxes are two distinct groups of animals, yet, both belong to wild animals. At the same time, nothing is a pure wild animal, it is always a group consisting of representative subgroups. Returning to social sciences, references to specific objects are typically operationalized through attitudes or beliefs about particular phenomena of social and physical environments (e.g., immigrants, abortions, jogging, etc.). Certain combinations of attitudes form more abstract constructs. For example, positions on

³ Political views here is an aggregated term to bring together constructs that different scholars labeled differently, but which all refer to the same idea: political attitudes, political beliefs, political identity, political values, partisanship, political predisposition, political self – all of them refer to person’s disposition towards political issues.

immigration and abortions together with few other issues constitute political views (liberal vs. conservative). The evaluations of jogging are irrelevant in that case but can be a valuable reference when lifestyle matters are considered. Political views are one of the most common abstract constructs in media consumption research (e.g., Iyengar & Hahn, 2009; Stroud, 2008; Tsfati, Stroud & Chotiner, 2014; Bakshy, Messing, & Adamic, 2015). This conceptualization of abstract and specific I will use in this project to categorize different psychological constructs. This definition does not match other conceptualizations of abstractness vs. specificity, for example, the prototype theory which distinguishes between (abstract) categories and (specific) prototypes of categories (Rosch & Mervis, 1975).

The variety of attitudes used in past studies demonstrates that mechanisms of selectivity are independent of the topics of media messages. Numerous studies investigating attitude-congruent selective exposure covered as diverse topics as gun control, abortion, health care, and minimal wage (Knobloch-Westerwick & Meng, 2009), ethnic minorities (Melican & Dixon, 2008), climate change (Feldman & Sol Hart, 2018), beauty standards (Thomsen, et al., 2002), gender stereotypes (Knobloch-Westerwick & Hoplamazian, 2012), pornography usage (Braun-Courville & Rojas, 2009), and so forth.

Some studies, instead of measuring every attitude separately, test whether people's preferences in media content correspond to their political views. (e.g. Iyengar & Hahn, 2009; Stroud, 2008; Tsfati, Stroud & Chotiner, 2014; Bakshy, Messing, & Adamic, 2015). Those studies show that a more general political orientation is a reliable predictor of exposure as specific attitudes towards political issues. Echo chamber studies which no longer test how the mechanism of selectivity works, but rather aim at the evaluation of people's media diets and seek to describe how widespread the phenomenon is in daily life, often rely on the political views of users as a starting point for the analysis (e.g. Lawrence, Sides, & Farrell, 2010; Dubois & Blank, 2018; Young & Anderson, 2017).

Reliance on abstract dispositions in past research was not limited to political views. For example, Bobkowski (2009) demonstrated that religious teenagers, who were assumed to hold traditional beliefs about social acceptability of sex and violence, tended to prefer V-rated entertainment shows less compared to their non-religious peers. Right-wing authoritarianism of users related to their choices of messages supporting or criticizing capital punishment (Lavine, Lodge & Freitas, 2005). Even more abstract cultural worldviews, which underlie political ideologies (Ripberger et al., 2012), predicted the preferences for right- vs. left- vs. moderate-leaning media outlets in the US (Newman,

Nisbet & Nisbet, 2018). These findings suggest that omitting the specific level can be a viable strategy in the prediction of media consumption.

Reflected Predispositions

While the measurement of personal dispositions usually relies on self-reports, the strategies of identification of the reflected dispositions are more diverse. This section provides a brief overview of what past studies were looking for in the media, where they would expect to find material suitable for analysis, and how the analysis was conducted:

The most common conceptualizations of reflected dispositions are attitudes towards specific issues (e.g. Knobloch-Westerwick & Meng, 2009) and political ideologies (e.g. Barbera et al., 2015). Reflections of other dispositions, like Christian fundamentalism (McFarland & Warren, 1992), morality (Tamborini, 2011), or worldviews affected by conspiracy theories (Warner & Neville – Shepard, 2014), were also included but less frequently. Studies that have dealt with reflected attitudes often presented their respondents with several stimuli materials where an object of an attitude and its evaluation were present (Knobloch-Westerwick & Meng, 2009). Operationalization of reflected political leanings were more diverse: a sum of positions on specific relevant issues (i.e. attitudes), or references to well-known examples of ideologically outspoken outlets like FoxNews or CNN (Stroud & Lee, 2013). More complex strategies to measure the valence of attitudes are also possible. For example, Newman, Nisbet & Nisbet (2018) asked respondents which media outlets they use and then inferred how positively climate change would be presented there.

The sampling strategies also varied from study to study. While some studies focus on the preferences in the specialized (e.g. Twitter, Barbera, et al., 2015; Gab, Zanettou, et al., 2018; Lima et al., 2018, or Reddit, Prakasam & Huxtable – Thomas, 2020, platforms designed to exchange opinions) or thematically narrow sources (blogs, Lawrence, Sides & Farrel, 2010; magazines, Knobloch-Westerwick & Hoplamazian, 2012; TV shows, Bobkowski, 2009) others attempt to evaluate the entire media diet of people and use, for example, web browsing histories (Flaxman, Goel & Rao, 2016; Dvir-Gvirsman, Tsfaty & Menchen-Trevino, 2016) or media repertoires (Dubois & Blank, 2018). Interestingly, those narrowing down the search to specific topics find the selectivity prevailing in human-information interactions (e.g. meta-analysis by Hart et al., 2009), while those looking “in general” report that only very few people reside in echo chambers (Gvirsman, Tsfaty &

Menchen-Trevino, 2016, Flaxman, Goel & Rao, 2016) and conclude that the widespread of selectivity is overstated (Dubois & Blank, 2018; Nelson & Webster, 2017). I found no empirical examination of whether this observation is indeed true.

The third source of diversity is more technical and refers to the selection of a suitable unit of analysis and analytic techniques. There is no consensus among scholars regarding which part of the media content reflects dispositions the best. Past research employed different approaches: from single words (Meraz, 2015) and phrases (Shin & Thorson, 2017) to entire news articles (Knobloch-Westerwick & Meng, 2009; Tsang, 2017) and media outlets (Nelson & Webster, 2017, Iyengar & Hahn, 2009). Finally, the analytic strategies also varied from strict quantitative (Meraz, 2015) to more flexible qualitative. However, the reasoning of how researchers decide whether a selected media material indeed reflects the studied predisposition or tests of the construct validity of those measures typically remain unreported.

To the best of my knowledge, there are no studies that would investigate how the outlined variations in the approaches affect the observed relationships between personal and reflected dispositions. This is a potential direction for future research.

Conceptual and Methodological Limitations of Past Studies

For research aimed at investigation of the motivations for media consumption, it is crucial to establish the match between personal dispositions and those reflected in people's media diets. That sets two requirements for the measurements of both personal and reflected dispositions: First, both personal and reflected dispositions should be available for measurement. Second, the motivational disposition should exist before exposure and not formed in the process of interaction with information. In case, when either of those conditions is not satisfied, one cannot be certain whether exposure was selective, because it is not clear what motivated selection. Each of the discussed above approaches to conceptualization and operationalization of personal and reflected dispositions has its advantages and disadvantages when these two conditions are considered.

Given that consumption of information is a behavior, findings on attitude-behavior relations should be considered relevant and useful for investigations of the mechanisms of selective exposure. The question of measurements in that field has been addressed in past research, which demonstrated that the magnitude of attitude-behavior relations depends on

how both variables are operationalized (Kraus, 1995). More specifically, narrowly defined attitudes predict specific behaviors (Vining & Ebreo, 1992), whereas more general attitudes require comprehensive measures of relevant behaviors (Weigel & Newman, 1976). Adapting those findings to the prediction of information consumption, it appears that the best strategy is to measure personal and reflected dispositions at the same level of generalization. In other words, personal attitudes need to be matched with reflected attitudes, while personal political preferences - with those reflected in the media. One problem of relying on either specific attitudes or political views is rooted in the difficulty to match individual characteristics and those reflected in the media at the same level of generalization.

One branch of research relies on specific attitudes (e.g. Hastall & Knobloch – Westerwick, 2013) to predict preferences in media content. However, the one potential problem of this approach is a chance that respondents do not hold any specific attitude towards the presented issue (Schuman & Presser, 1979), and thus those attitudes cannot be reliably measured. Reliance on specific attitudes, thus, limits the research to topics that are constantly available to media users. Yet, the media introduce new events and facts to their audience every day, which makes it hard to predict whether a new topic will immediately find a corresponding attitude in the user. Moreover, when a relevant attitude is formed, the media may not pay attention to that issue anymore. Operationalization of predispositions at a more general level may help to overcome the problem of specific attitude non-existence as they apply to a broader range of situations and objects.

Research relying on political views and partisanship as predictors for information preferences (e.g. Iyengar & Hahn, 2009) overcomes the problem of temporal mismatch between personal and reflected attitudes. Reliance on a more abstract construct allows a more flexible classification of media content which may present a very specific and novel to the audience issue. However, the focus on the realm of the political is the main limitation of the approach: respondents should know the content of available political positions, i.e. what exactly left-right or progressive - conservative positions mean. Some people have no clear political preferences, lack political sophistication, and generally have no interest in politics (Bennett, 2000, FOM, 2016a, FOM, 2016b). How reasonable it is to rely on measurements of their political views in the analysis of their media diets remains questionable. Another problem of relying on political views as predictors of information preferences relates to the measurement of those views in the media. Not all information is

explicitly political. Moreover, Dvir-Gvirsman, Tsfati, and Menchen-Trevino (2014) showed that political content is not the main ingredient in people's information diet. How the rest of the consumed media content should be analyzed remains then unclear. Thus, this approach limits research to politically sophisticated respondents and explicitly political media materials. In addition, the specific content of political positions varies from country to country and thus comparative multi-country research can be problematic to conduct.

Further issues are relevant to both abstract and specific approaches to the measurement of personal and reflected dispositions. First, some studies demonstrate that not every attitude or belief a person holds can stimulate selectivity in information consumption. The importance and certainty of attitudes moderate the relations between personal dispositions and the tendency to prefer congenial information (Hart et al., 2009). Other studies, however, show that people prefer information that they find relevant to themselves (Bolsen & Leeper, 2013) or useful (Knobloch-Westerwick & Kleinman, 2012; D'Alessio, 2015). These studies tend to juxtapose themselves to more traditional selective exposure studies because they show that people can be motivated to access information even if it presents "unpleasant" but useful or relevant facts. I, however, will not treat those processes as conflicting ones because the sense of relevance or utility is subjective and depends on the priorities of people, and thus can be interpreted as another measure of importance. What those studies show however is that conceptually different dispositions may compete for the role of the driving force of information selection and that those dispositions can have different importance in relation to each other. It is then the relative importance of dispositions that navigates the behavior at the end: the more important the disposition is, the more likely it will motivate the exposure. The problem here is that most of the studies dealing with personal dispositions do not address their hierarchical organization or interconnectedness.

Another issue that can potentially corrupt the results of selective exposure studies is the tendency of some people to give socially desirable answers when asked about sensitive issues. Although there is a number of topics that many people find sensitive (Blair et al., 1977), any topic can become sensitive if a person anticipates disapproval of her true preferences/ behaviors, or sees the topic as too private (Tourangeau & Smith, 1996). Political preferences can be considered a sensitive topic too. The cases when social desirability affected the results of opinion polls were referred to as the "Bredley effect" (Payne, 2010) or the "Shy Tory effect" (Skibba, 2016) by some authors. Although past

selective exposure studies argue that social desirability does not pose a serious problem to the research, nonreporting or misreporting can bias the observations and lead to misleading conclusions about the mechanisms and widespread of selectivity in daily life.

The outlined limitations show that an additional abstract predictor may enrich research instruments when dealing with respondents who do not follow politics, or when media content is not explicitly political. In this project, I propose individual values (Schwartz, 1992) as such abstract predictors.

Individual Values as a Basis for Selective Exposure

Values are abstract beliefs that refer to desirable end-states, they motivate actions and serve as criteria or standards against which situations, objects, and behaviors are evaluated. Values, unlike other beliefs, have a hierarchical structure, they are ordered by the level of subjective importance; according to Schwartz, people do not hold different values but rather ascribe different importance to different values from the same basic set. The system of value priorities characterizes people as individuals. Values are linked to affect, a person feels satisfaction when her important values are fulfilled and becomes defensive when feels that her important values are questioned (Schwartz, 1992, 2012).

The Schwartz model (1992) distinguishes ten values (Table 1), which are basic motivations that serve as guiding principles in people's lives. While some values express similar motivations and can be pursued at the same time, others are incompatible and mutually exclusive. These dynamic relationships between values have found their reflection in the position of each value type on a two-dimensional motivational continuum (Figure 1). One dimension represents values that share either orientation on oneself or orientation on others – Personal vs. Social focus. The second dimension describes whether the value emphasizes preservation of the existing order of things or the exploration of the unknown – Anxiety-avoidance vs. Anxiety-free focus. Classification of the value types in accordance with their position on both continua, yields two pairs of conflicting higher-order values – Openness to change vs. Conservation and Self-Enhancement vs. Self-Transcendence. Openness to change expresses the motivation to think and act independently and to seek new experiences; Self-enhancement expresses motivation for achievements and power; Conservation expresses motivation to maintain the status-quo, follow rules, and obey authorities; Self-transcendence expresses motivation

Table 1. *Basic human values and their underlying motivations (Sagiv & Schwartz, 1995; Schwartz et al., 2012).*

Value	Motivational goal	Key concepts
Self-direction	Independent thought and action – choosing, creating, and exploring	creativity, freedom, choosing own goals, curious, independent
Stimulation	Excitement, novelty, and challenge in life	a varied life, an exciting life, daring
Hedonism	Pleasure and sensuous gratification for oneself	pleasure, enjoying life
Achievement	Personal success through demonstrating competence according to social standards	ambitious, successful, capable, influential
Power	Social status and prestige, control or dominance over people and resources	authority, wealth, social power, reserving my public image, social recognition
Security	Safety, harmony, and stability of society, or relationships, and of self	social order, family security, national security, reciprocation of favors, clean, sense of belonging, healthy
Conformity	Restraint of actions, inclinations, and impulses likely to upset or harm others and violate social expectations or norms	obedient, self-discipline, politeness, honoring parents and elders
Tradition	Respect, commitment, and acceptance of the customs and ideas that traditional culture or religion provide	respect for tradition, humble, devout, accepting my portion in life, moderate
Benevolence	Preservation and enhancement of the welfare of people with whom one has frequent personal contact	helpful, loyal, forgiving, honest, responsible, true friendship, mature love
Universalism	Understanding, appreciation, tolerance, and protection for the welfare of all people and nature	broad-minded, social justice, equality, world at peace, world of beauty, unity with nature, wisdom, protecting the environment

to care about others and promote tolerance. A detailed description of what values have in common and how they differ from one another was presented in Schwartz (2012). Rather recently, the original model of values was refined by Schwartz et al. (2014): some of the original ten values were subdivided into subtypes (e.g. Self-direction was divided into Independence of thought and Independence of action) and two new values were introduced - Face and Humility. The motivational goal of Face is the preservation of one's public image, the value shares some characteristics of Power and Security. The motivational goal of Humility is acceptance of one's portion in life, the value locates between Conformity and Benevolence on the circle. The refined model specifies 19 values in total.

Although one person cannot pursue two conflicting values at the same time (Schwartz, 1992), each value seems to equally legitimately occupy the position of the most important one - people are typically satisfied with their values, regardless of the exact hierarchy of value priorities (Roccas et al., 2014). Unlike other belief systems (like political values, Schwartz et al., 2014), individual values were found to exist in nearly every society in the world (Schwartz & Bardi, 2001) and to have a universal dynamic structure (Schwartz, 2012). Those findings mean that people across cultures understand the core ideas of values similarly. Moreover, people tend to agree about (in)compatibility of different values. For example, an aspiration to gain personal independence (Self-direction) does not come together with obedience to authorities (Conformity) in all investigated societies.

Serving as standards for evaluations of objects, events, and actions, value priorities help people to navigate through their daily lives. It is a broad motivational construct that was found to guide behaviors (Rokeach, 1972; Bardi & Schwartz, 2003), intentions (Hansla, 2011), decisions (Feather, 1995). At the same time, important values affect how people interpret the world around them (Roccas & Sagiv, 2010) – values provide motivations for attitudes (Beierlein, Kuntz, & Davidov, 2016), define concerns (Schwartz, Sagiv & Boehnke, 2000), understanding of morality (Sagiv, Sverdlik, & Schwarz, 2011), and expectations about other people (Mokosińska, Sawicki, Bagińska, & Atroszko, 2016).

Four characteristics of values make them potentially useful for selective exposure research: (1) values motivate behavior; (2) values elicit the core idea of other beliefs, they underlie political preferences and group attitudes; (3) values are organized within individuals by the level of importance; and (4) values are desirable, i.e. people are typically satisfied with their value priorities (Roccas, Sagiv, Oppenheim, Elster, & Gal, 2014).



Figure 1. *Dynamic relationships between the 10 values (from Schwartz et al., 2014)*

Values motivate behavior (Rokeach, 1973, Schwartz, 1992), they provide an orientation of what worth doing and why. People strive to engage in those behaviors and activities that help to fulfill their important values and avoid those precluding (Bardi & Schwartz, 2003). Acting in line with one's important values is rewarding; it grants the sense of self-fulfillment and satisfaction (Sagiv & Schwartz, 2000). Relying on that theoretical mechanism, past research finds values motivating a wide range of behaviors from lending things to neighbors (Bardi & Schwartz, 2003) to political participation (Vecchione et al., 2014) to helping researchers (Daniel et al., 2015). Consumption of information, as a behavior, may also be guided by values. Besley (2008) and Meulemann (2012) show that values affect how people choose between TV and newspapers. However, research dealing with values – media use relations is rather scarce.

Past studies also find values motivating attitudes and political beliefs of people - the conventional predictors of selective exposure in past studies. Values serve as a system of

meanings that helps people interpret the world around them by locating different objects as favorable or unfavorable. While attitudes represent an evaluation of various objects (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993), values provide motivations for those evaluations. A person sees an object positively when that object contributes to the fulfillment of the value and negatively when it does not. Extensive research on value-attitude relations demonstrated that values relate to as diverse types of attitudes as tolerance towards minorities (Beierlein, Kuntz, & Davidov, 2016), environmental concerns (Schultz et al., 2005), or genetically modified food (Dreezens et al., 2005).

Values, as a hierarchical system of meanings, also help people to systematize their convictions about the world. Values represent very abstract ideas (e.g. “pleasure” or “success”), which people can recognize as a core idea behind different more specific beliefs and use them to explain relationships between objects of their reality. Beliefs connected by the same core idea, i.e. underlying value, can form internally consistent (not necessarily objectively logical) systems of beliefs. In other words, if a person perceives two beliefs compatible with one another it is because she sees them as sharing the same core idea. This function of values has found its reflection in the investigation of the relationships between basic and political values (Piurko, Schwartz, & Davidov, 2011; Schwartz et al., 2014). Schwartz and coauthors (2014), for example, found that such political values as equality or civil liberties are motivated by the values of Self-Transcendence, while traditional morality or law and order are valued by those also valuing Conservation values. Attitudes, which are a special type of beliefs, can also be grouped around values. For example, Beierlein, Kuntz, & Davidov (2016), demonstrated that Universalism equally motivates the attitudes towards various minority groups – immigrants, religious, sexual and gender minorities, homeless people. They argue that what makes those groups similar in the eyes of people is their social vulnerability; reduction of such vulnerability is one of the aims of people with high importance of Universalism.

Values, unlike other beliefs, have a hierarchical structure, which means that some values are held more important than others and are more frequently pursued in everyday life than others. That characteristic is especially relevant when predictions of behavior are concerned. Although Sagiv and Roccas (2017) argue that hypothetically any value can guide actions, past studies show that only cognitively activated or important values guide behavior (Maio et al., 2001; Verplaken & Hovland, 2002; Defever, Pandelaere, & Roe, 2011). Important values inform people’s selection of what they find worth attention. For

example, Hsieh et al (2014) found that people high on self-transcendence are rather interested in environment-related posts on social media, whereas people high on self-enhancement prefer posts related to career. Another study shows that people with high importance of hedonism are active users of television because of its primarily entertaining function (Meulemann, 2012).

Values are also less prone to the issues of social desirability. People can be unhappy about their personality traits, however, they are typically satisfied with their values, regardless of the exact hierarchy of value priorities (Roccas et al., 2014). Sagiv and Roccas (2017) explain this phenomenon through the inherent positivity of values. Each of the ten⁴ values represents *desirable* goals and embodies what different people find important and worthy. Direct estimations of how likely people would misreport their values due to social desirability also find no support for such bias (Schwartz et al., 1997).

Finally, values have another advantage over attitudes and political views - they are comparable across cultures. Results of the studies conducted in more than 80 countries of five continents demonstrated the universality of the structure of the relationships between value types (Schwartz, 2012). Those findings mean that people across cultures understand the core ideas of values (e.g. “equality of all people” in Universalism) similarly (Schwartz & Bardi, 2001). Moreover, the value circle has been replicated across societies, which suggests that people generally tend to agree about (in)compatibility of different values. For example, an aspiration to gain personal independence (Self-direction) does not come together with the approval of obedience to authorities (Conformity). What is important to note though, is that particular expressions of values can differ from country to country (Hanel et al., 2017, 2018). For example, what exactly people in different countries name as instances of equality or dominance are informed by their environments and personal experiences, yet, what all those instances will have in common is that they promote the fulfillment of the value with the relevant core idea. The utility of values for cross-cultural research on media use is yet to be discovered.

Overall, the characteristics of values, as a psychological construct, make them a plausible basis for selective exposure.

⁴ The refined version of the model proposes to differentiate 19 values on the same motivational continuum (Schwartz, et al., 2014)

Personal and Reflected Values: Measurement Issues

Measurement of Personal Values

The measurement of people's values is usually performed with self-reports. Values are cognitive representations of desirable goals which people use as guiding principles in their lives and to justify their actions. Those goals are likely to be available for a report when respondents are asked directly about their priorities. An in-depth discussion of why self-reports are the most appropriate way to measure people's value priorities is presented in Roccas, Sagiv & Navon (2017).

The first instrument to measure the ten values - Schwartz Values Survey (1992) - stems from Rokeach Value Survey (Rokeach, 1973). The instrument consists of the list of abstract values and their instantiations (e.g. "Wealth (material possessions, money)"). Respondents' task is to go through the list of 56 (later 57) items and rate how much each of the presented values functions as a guiding principle in their lives. Nowadays the approach is considered outdated and "respondent-unfriendly" because respondents are required to operate with highly abstract constructs. As Schwartz et al., (2001) point out, that can be challenging for people who, for example, did not attend Western-type schools where abstract, context-free thinking is trained. However, it does not mean, those people cannot verbalize what is important to them.

More modern instruments use a different tactic: they provide respondents with verbal (visual for young children, Picture-based Value Survey for Children, PBVS-C, Döring, et al., 2010; and Animated Values Instrument (AVI), Collins, et al. 2017) portraits of different people who treat different values important. Respondents' task is to evaluate how similar they find themselves to each person. The greater the similarity, the more important the depicted value is to the respondent. There are several versions of the same questionnaire that vary in length and wording of some items (PVQ40, Schwartz, et al. 2001; PVQ21, Davidov et al. 2008, PVQ-RR, Schwartz, et al. 2012; Cieciuch et al., 2014), which provide similar estimations of people's value priorities. Schwartz argues that this approach is more "respondent-friendly" and enables a more accurate estimation of value priorities (Schwartz et al., 2001). Nowadays, this group of instruments is the most used in social sciences to grasp the individual values of people.

Alternative approaches to the measurement of value priorities include evaluations of subjective fulfillment of values (Oppenheim-Weller, Roccas, & Kurman, 2018), or instruments that offer respondents a pairwise comparison of values. Each pair includes the definitions of two of the ten values (CPCV, Bilsky, et al. 2015). Some other methods do not ask people about their values directly but rather rely on the analysis of the products of their activity (e.g. public speeches Suedfeld & Brcic, 2011; Portman, 2014) to infer value priorities.

Measurement of Reflected Values

There is no consensus among researchers regarding which part of the media reflects values. In past literature, there are two approaches to conceptualize the reflected values through 1) the functions the media source or outlet has in the daily routine of people and 2) the content of media messages.

In some studies, it is assumed that values guide the choice of the media based on the function the media play in people's daily life - some media sources provide information and are used to inform decisions, while others have a primarily entertaining function. Such an approach was employed in at least two studies (Besley, 2008; Meulemann, 2010), their results are inconsistent. Analyzing the same dataset, European Social Survey, both Besley and Meulemann followed past findings and claimed that television plays a primarily entertaining role in the life of people, while newspapers are used to keep oneself up to date about current events. They however linked those needs to different values. Meulemann argued that the use of TV is powered by Hedonism values (Openness to Change group), while the use of newspapers – by Universalism (Self-Transcendence), because “universalism may be defined as a concern with equity the accomplishment of which requires knowledge about people and parties” (Meulemann, 2010, p.189). Besley (2008), in turn, claimed that those are people with high priority of Conservation and Self-Enhancement, who prefer televised entertainment; while newspaper readers are motivated by values of Openness to Change group. Although the predictions of the authors are incompatible with one another, both find empirical support for their hypotheses.

Another strand of research argues that those are content of media messages that reflect values and potentially attract people's attention. It is, however, important to note that only a few of them (e.g. Hsieh et al., 2014) were linking reflected values to those of users, the rest were only interested in the media content. Past studies used three different

approaches to decide which text units reflect values: The first, and the most abstract, way to identify value-relevant content suggests classifying the entire topics as expressing certain types of values (Hsieh et al., 2014). For example, Hsieh et al. (2014) classified all career-related social media posts as reflections of Achievement value regardless their actual content. Another approach to the operationalization of values in texts implies that even within topics the entire variety of values can be expressed (Suedfeld & Breic, 2011; Portman, 2014; Waheed et al., 2011). Yet, the interpretation of certain passages as expressing values depends on the context they appear in. This approach implies that the readers require certain prior knowledge to “correctly” recognize encoded values. The third strand of research argues that particular words infuse the entire text with value-relevant meanings (Bardi et al., 2008; Boyd et al., 2015; Sun et al., 2014). Those studies attempt to create dictionaries containing words unambiguously related to values independent of the context. For example, Bardi et al. (2008) argued that the word “strength” would be a marker of Power value in any text written in American English. While the proponents of these approaches argue they grasp how values are communicated in texts, no prior studies tested their utility for selective exposure research. Thus, whether the instruments relying on those approaches are useful remains unknown.

Potential obstacles to the empirical detection of value-based selective exposure

Tracing the connection between the values of a person and her choices of the media can be very challenging. By definition, values are very abstract and do not refer to specific objects and situations, they are only core ideas, like “equality”. Media materials, in turn, depict very specific situations, like an announcement of a political decision on refugee policies, which may be recognized by some users as an instance of a more global issue - “(in)equality”. How specific issues become instances of abstract ideas depends on the experience of people and their socio-cultural environment.

The abstractness of values is both their advantage and disadvantage. Values, unlike other beliefs and attitudes, are not tied to specific parts of reality (i.e. values are transsituational goals, Schwartz, 1992) and, thus, do not require people to have comprehensive knowledge of the world to know what their values are. Because values do not have a specific object, people may have in mind whatever they consider representing the value. They are also free to interpret any incoming information through the prism of different values. The utility of the universality of the construct is in its potential to reveal

the meanings people ascribe to various objects and actions (Roccas & Sagiv, 2010). Due to the breadth of objects and situations that can potentially embody values in the eyes of people, employing this construct for the comprehensive analysis of media diets can look very attractive to researchers.

The subjective nature of connections between values and evaluations of the objects of social reality is a disadvantage of the value-based approach to the investigation of selective exposure. It is a challenge because it requires to derive hypotheses about those links and argue how and why a value of interest should relate to exposure to various media sources or topics the media cover. In academic literature, the connections between values and other constructs of interest are often decontextualized, they are explained from the position of values' definitions and interrelationships between value types or stem from past literature. For example, Bayram (2016) investigated how values relate to the public support for foreign development assistance in 11 OECD countries. She argues (1) the support for such programs is common among those with high priority of equality and protection of the vulnerable members of global society because those programs are assumed to reduce global inequality; (2) support for those programs is also common among those prioritizing personal independence because they see the need to increase independence and agency of people in need through such programs; (3) the lack of support will be observed among those valuing Self-Enhancement because those people want to accumulate wealth at the expense of others, and (4) Conservation values will be unrelated to the evaluation of governmental aids programs because the author argues they are irrelevant to the issue. Although she finds support for three out of four hypotheses, the correctness of reasoning can be questioned. Another example, Meulemann argues that Universalists read newspapers because they want to be aware of the political situation in their country and use that information to adjust their behavior to aid society. This hypothesis has been confirmed. However, information from newspapers can also help to reduce uncertainty and anxiety that people with high scores of Security strive for. This hypothesis has not been tested.

The heterogeneity of meanings that objects can have, and hence, the diversity of patterns of the interrelationships between values and attitudes or behaviors has been first recognized in cross-cultural psychological research. As some studies show, some patterns of interrelationships between values and other psychological constructs replicate across cultures (e.g, Davidov et al., 2008), but others do not (e.g. Barni et al., 2016). Those findings show that people from different cultures have similar views on some issues but

not others. Within societies, however, people can also have diverse understandings of the same object or behavior (Belic et al., unpublished manuscript), or the context in which the object is presented can dramatically change its meaning, resulting in the multitude of potential connections to values (Ponizovskiy et al., 2019).

Another issue that has not been addressed before, is the extent of internal consistency of the objects of attitudes in the minds of people. In past research, most of the studied objects of interest were presented as internally consistent. Of course, members of different social groups can have dramatically different understandings of what exactly those objects mean to them and their society (for example, the meaning of social justice changes dramatically as we move from left to right on the political spectrum). Proponents of different interpretations can then engage in heated public debates and insist that only their interpretation is correct, for example, supporters and critics of immigration. The supporters of immigration would argue that immigration enriches the culture and facilitates the economic development of the country. Those objecting would insist that immigration is a threat. What is important to note, is that in such studies an option that some people may be undecided, or even feel confused, and see immigration as a gain and loss at the same time (or neither gain nor loss) is never discussed. Thus, past research mainly focuses on how values relate to internally consistent objects, at least at the individual level.

The social life, however, is full of inconsistencies, doubts, and internal conflicts. One situation when people may be encountering internally inconsistent objects is when those objects are new (e.g. VR headsets were not available on mass-market until recently), and hence comprehensive information about them, their significance for the society, and the consequences of use is not yet available. Another situation of inconsistency is when the status-quo of the familiar meanings of objects changes following the social and cultural development of societies. For example, in the '80s, voting for green parties was associated with environmental concerns exclusively (Curtice, 1989). Nowadays however greens became an attractive option for voters disenchanted with the political mainstream; that development diversified the green electorate (Mair, 2001). Thus, voting green can be perceived as an opportunity to exercise one's environmentalism and a protesting mood at the same time. Finally, the elites can attempt to "teach" people how they should correctly understand different processes and phenomena (Gramsci & Forgacs, 2000). Furthermore, when interacting with the media content, not all people interpret it in the way it was intended by the communicator, some people bring in their interpretations of the message

(Hall, 1973). In societies with restricted freedom of the press, where the dissemination of diversity of viewpoints is biased, at least a part of media users can be aware of the hegemonic position and know how things should be interpreted but at the same time may have their intuition about the “true” meaning of things. Life in a social environment full of double meanings can make objects internally inconsistent and linked to different values at the same time.

In sum, three issues make it unclear whether values are a useful predictor of the media exposure: the gap between abstract definitions of values and usually very specific content of the media messages; the subjective nature of value-attitude relations, and the unclear status of the value-laden meanings of internally inconsistent objects of the social world.

This Project

The following steps were taken to test the utility of values in selective exposure and echo chamber research:

First, I test whether values relate to the interest in media messages. Two papers (2 and 3) represent the consecutive steps towards the introduction of values as a predictor of selective exposure. Both studies focus on the topic Winter Olympic Games in Pyeongchang - one of the most debatable and salient in the media topics at the moment of these studies planning. Paper 2 seeks the relationships between the values of people and their attitudes towards the Olympic Games. Paper 3 makes a step forward and uses the same sample to test whether the same relationships can be observed when interest in the media messages about the Olympics is an outcome variable. As values are a rather abstract construct that refers to the general ideals of what people find right and desirable, while media messages typically describe very specific events, facts, and situations, I label this part of the project “From abstract to specific” to indicate the direction of reasoning, i.e. I interpret the observed relationships from the perspective of values’ definitions.

The next step seeks to establish, first, that media content can indeed reflect values (Paper 4), and, second, that the values reflected in texts correspond to those of readers (Paper 5). These studies use data from the browsing histories of people. As these studies start from real media messages and try to match specific words and phrases with abstract categories of values, this part of the project is labeled “From specific to abstract”, as I am trying to establish whether “real” passages from the media content can be categorized as

expressing values and then only calculate whether people indeed prefer content that communicates their important values, without making any hypotheses of how value priorities of people affect their interpretations of the content.

It is important to note that the studies of Part 2 make no claims about the generalizability of specific arguments I used to derive hypotheses in Papers 2 and 3 or specific results of Papers 2 – 4. Those arguments were built based on the analysis of relevant country-focused literature and results of opinion polls; the obtained results describe phenomena relevant in the modern Russian context. However, I argue that the underlying theoretical principles (e.g. that values motivate information consumption) are universal and can be used to derive further context-specific hypotheses about relationships between values and preference for media content that would be relevant in other societies. Similarly, the instrument proposed in Paper 4 can be used to collect value reflections in texts generated or consumed by members of different cultures and subcultures.

Part 2.1. From abstract to specific

Paper 2. Why Russians love the Olympic Games: How Individual values and nationalism motivate attitudes towards the Olympics⁵.

In the Western public discourse, Russia's involvement in the Olympic movement was recently often perceived quite controversially. The Sochi Winter Olympics received a lot of criticism for violations of human rights (Buchanan, 2013), for a lack of sustainability (Mueller, 2015), embezzlement (Levada-Tsentr, 2014), and for an instrumentalization for the consolidation of President Putin's authority (Persson & Petersson, 2014). And yet 79% of Russians believe in their positive social and economic impact (WCIOM, 2019). The doping investigations of 2016-2017 resulted in the suspension of the Russian National Olympic Committee (International Olympic Committee [IOC], 2017), which led to heated public debates in Russia. Some media outlets denied the doping infractions (Van Zundert et al., 2017), and some people even suggested to boycott the Pyeongchang Games in response (FOM, 2017). And yet more than 60% of the population followed the Olympics in the media and admired the participating national athletes (FOM, 2018).

These observations could prompt us to conclude that the primary ground of the Russians' interest in the Olympics is their nationalistic loyalty, as indeed some authors do (e.g. Alekseyeva, 2014; Grix & Karamareva, 2015). However, as a social phenomenon, the Olympics go way beyond modern Russia: Historically, they go further back than the Russian Federation which was founded merely some 30 years ago – and geographically, since its inception, the Olympic movement has emphasized its internationalist ideology and the status of global event. These circumstances make it seem doubtful that Russians follow the Olympics exclusively for nationalistic reasons. Indeed, a more in-depth analysis of the role of the Olympics in society (e.g. Sanina et al., 2014) and their place in Russian and Soviet history and culture (Simpson, 2004; Louis & Louis, 2013) suggest that there are different coexisting facets of the event that attract the attention of people and serve as grounds for their attitudes. To unfold those facets, we analyze how value priorities of people and the level of their agreement with nationalist beliefs affects attitudes towards the Olympic Games in Russia.

⁵ Khaptsova, A., & Fruchtmann, J. (2020). Why Russians love the Olympic Games: How individual values and nationalism motivate attitudes towards the Olympics. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1012690220957526>

We argue that complex social phenomena like the Olympic Games, can equally attract people with different value priorities, as those people would recognize different facets of the event. In our approach, reliance on value – attitudes relations allows us to indirectly assess, how people see the Olympics. Values are abstract ideas of what is good, right, and desirable (Schwartz, 1992; Knafo, Roccas & Sagiv, 2011), they define what people are concerned about (Schwartz et al., 2000) and provide motivations of why they evaluate events and objects in one or another way (Schwartz, 1992). Attitudes, on the other hand, are defined as such evaluations of objects with a degree of favor or disfavor (Eagly Chaiken, 1993). Therefore, as values give meaning to attitudes, the value/attitude relations we observe can reveal, which value-relevant meanings people recognize in the object of the attitude (Ponizovskiy et al., 2019). Do they, for example, recognize meanings of traditionality in the Olympic Games? If so, an association of a positive evaluation of the Olympics with high importance of the tradition value should be observable.

Since past research highlights the salience of the nationalistic component of the Olympics at the national level across societies (e.g. Barnard et al., 2006; Billings et al., 2013), we undertake to empirically measure the explanatory power of nationalistic motivations. We will, however, also try to identify more specifically, in how far nationalism may in fact *mediate* the relationship between values and attitudes.

Olympic Games in the Context of Russian Culture and Politics: Olympism, Nationalism, Tradition

The role of the Olympic movement in society is often seen from the perspective of the Olympism – nationalism debate (Hargreaves, 1992; Iowerth et al., 2010). While the official agenda of the Olympics calls for the promotion of solidarity and inclusion (IOC, 2018), participating states can use the event as a venue to exercise their soft power and to revive national pride in their citizens (Jiang, 2013; Grix & Karamareva, 2015). This section discusses how the two perspectives fit Russian social and political contexts. Based on the analysis of the available sources (e.g. Simpson, 2004; O'Mahony, 2006; Sanina et al., 2014) we suggest a third dimension – an interpretation of and interest in the Olympics as part of the cultural heritage.

Olympism today depicts sport as lifestyle of a “*peaceful society concerned with the preservation of human dignity*” (IOC, 2018, p.7) and emphasizes that all people must have equal access to practicing sports in “*the Olympic spirit, which requires mutual*

understanding with a spirit of friendship, solidarity, and fair play” (IOC, 2018, p.7). These statements go in line with more general propositions of the United Nations that propose sport as a vehicle for the development of inclusive societies concerned with the protection of human rights (United Nations, 2015).

These universalistic propositions of Olympism coexist with the perspectives of participating states, and the latter coexists with the perspectives of their residents. Residents of different countries do not see the Olympics in the same way (Puijk, 2000). All over the world, the local broadcasters tend to pay more attention to the national teams and events they participate in as much as sports commentators tend to favor athletes from their countries (Billings & Eastman, 2002; Billings et al., 2011). The presence of a national component becomes particularly salient with certain traditions of the Games: The Parade of Nations, national anthems at the medal ceremonies, unofficial medal counts, etc., - all this can become a venue for states to encourage nationalistic sentiments in their residents.

Understanding whether and how Olympism and nationalism find their reflections in the context of modern Russia is important for the derivation of further hypotheses. Some studies conclude that, in modern Russia, the Olympics serve the consolidation of Putin’s authority and are instrumentalized to demonstrate a dominant position of the country in the international arena to domestic audiences (Alekseeva, 2014; Persson & Petersson, 2014; Grix & Karamareva 2015). These studies emphasize the salience of the nationalistic perspective. However, it remains to be tested, whether nationalism really is the main or even only facet relevant to Russian audiences.

In fact, a recent study shows that Russian people actually focused significantly less on the political side of the Olympic event than their international guests when sharing their experiences on Twitter during the Sochi Games (Kirilenko & Stepchenkova, 2017), which indicates a separation of sports and politics in the minds of Russians. These findings also underline the conclusions of Grigoryan and Ponizovskiy (2018), who show that admiration for the sporting achievements of Russian athletes is an element of what they call *cultural patriotism* rather than nationalism – a form of pride of ones countries’ cultural heritage that does not imply a comparison with other countries.

In Russia, the importance of the Olympic Games developed during the communist period. The involvement of the Soviet Union in the Olympic movement was discussed somewhat controversially: Some criticized that the Soviet state used sports as an arena for

the demonstration of the superiority of the socialist ideology at the price of the wellbeing of athletes (Riordan, 1993a). On the other hand, the Soviet Union displayed a deep respect for the principles of Olympism (Riordan, 1993b). It promoted sports practicing among women (Kobchenko, 2010), facilitated sports relationships with neighboring states, offered instruction for coaches from developing countries (Riordan, 1988), and opposed South Africa's involvement in the Olympic movement (Kidd, 1988; Riordan, 1993b).

At the national level, the Soviet Union put a lot of effort into the de-elitization of competitive sports and made them an integral part of the Soviet "New Person's" lifestyle (Simpson, 2004). Starting at elementary school, children received compulsory physical education and were expected to join sports clubs in their free time. Adults had access to training facilities at their workplaces with an opportunity to participate in various competitions, including the "Ready for labor and defense" comprehensive examination of sports skills (Louis & Louis, 2013). The promotion of sports as an embodiment of socialist ideals was intensively facilitated by contemporary art and popular culture (Simpson, 2004; O'Mahony, 2006).

The peak of sports-related enthusiasm among the Soviet people came with the hosting of the Olympic Games in Moscow. Despite the boycott by Western countries, Russians even today consider the Olympics of 1980 a great success for the Soviet Union and see them among the most important events of the 20th century (WCIOM, 2008; WCIOM, 2010). Collective memories of the Moscow Games strongly affect the perception of the Olympics in modern Russia, even today. Sanina et al. (2014) show that the intensive marketing of the Sochi Games as a nationally significant event by the media did not influence attitudes towards the Games in Russia. Instead, it rather were informal conversations with friends and family and the nostalgic memories of senior family members about the Moscow Games that set a general atmosphere of festivity for the Olympic Games in Russia 2014. Such blending of memories about the past with perceptions of the present together with a general prevalence of nostalgic sentiments about the Soviet period (Levada-Tsentr, 2018b), and a juxtaposition of the USSR to modern Russia (Kasamara & Sorokina, 2015), challenge the proposition that the Olympics are merely a direct reflection of the current political situation. Rather than restricting ourselves to the mere dichotomie of nationalism vs. Olympism we therefore suggest to consider a third perspective on the motivation of attitudes towards the Olympics: Russians may see them as a part of their tradition.

Value – Attitude Relations as a Proxy for Meanings of the Olympics

In this study we argue that an analysis of the relationship between individual values (Schwartz, 1992) and attitudes towards the Olympics can provide insights into how people interpret this phenomenon. The following section outlines the theoretical link between values and attitudes and provides an overview of past studies which show how differently people with different value priorities see the world.

According to Schwartz (1992, 2006), values are abstract beliefs about what is important, worthy, and desirable. The theory distinguishes ten value types (Table 1) which serve as guiding principles in people's lives. According to Schwartz, people do not have "different values", instead they ascribe different importance to these same values. Values are the abstract principles that stand behind preferences and attitudes, they motivate what people like or dislike. Important values also serve as standards against which events, objects, situations, and people are evaluated. If, for instance, a person gives high priority to the value of Universalism, which emphasizes the importance of social equality, she would evaluate the world around her through the prism of that value. That person would see some object positively if it promotes equality, and negatively if it does not. This function of values was demonstrated, for example, by Beierlein et al. (2016).

The abstractness of values allows researchers to use them as a tool to uncover how people understand different social phenomena. For example, Schwartz and colleagues (2014) investigated cross-country differences in political value clusters by relating them to individual values. They found that values reveal significant differences in how people understand certain aspects of political ideology across European societies. These findings prompt that observed relations between values and an object's evaluation indicate that, in the eyes of the respondent, the object carries a meaning relevant to that value. If, on the other hand, no such relation is observed, an individual most likely does not recognize the relevance of the object to the value. This idea also found its reflection in a study by Piurko et al. (2011). They used values to interpret the differences in the content of left-right political orientations between liberal, traditional, and post-communist European countries.

We argue that the meaning of the Olympic Games can be decomposed through the analysis of value-attitude relations. Based on the review of past studies, we identified three coexisting interpretations of what the Olympics may mean to Russians: they can be predominantly seen as a vehicle for the promotion of Olympism, as a venue for exercising

nationalistic pride, or rather as a tradition. Each of those facets may stand out as the dominant one to people with different value priorities. We hypothesize that the following three values correspond to these three interpretations of the Olympics: Universalism, Power, and Tradition (Table1). A predominance of the value of Universalism resonates with the ideas of Olympism, a strong orientation towards Power will resonate with the nationalistic interpretation of the event, whereas a leniency towards the value of Tradition will correspond with a perception of the Olympics as a tradition.

The first facet of the Olympics we discussed was the promotion of Olympism. The Olympic ideals prioritize inclusion, solidarity, and fair play. We assume this to be particularly appealing to people who ascribe high importance to the value of Universalism. This value highlights the importance of “understanding, appreciation, tolerance, and protection for the welfare of all people” (Schwartz, 2012, p. 7). People with a high priority of Universalism are likely to see members of outgroups as equals and avoid prioritizing the ingroup over outgroups. Therefore, if people who value Universalism see the Olympics positively, we conclude that this would be because they perceive of the event in the spirit of Olympism, which centers on treating the representatives of different countries as equals. Consequently, we expect to observe a positive relationship between values of Universalism and attitudes towards the Olympics (H1a).

The second facet attractive to some people about the Olympics is that they can be seen as an opportunity to experience and express national pride. In contrast to Olympism, this emphasizes the differences not only between the athletes but rather between the nations they represent. Since most people have access to the Olympics only through their national media, which tend to favor national athletes (e.g. Barnard et al., 2006), a sense of superiority of their own country is likely to develop (Billings et al., 2013). Medal count and the achievements of national athletes may be seen as a sign of one’s own country’s superiority. Such a wish for superiority is likely to be appealing to people with a high importance of Power values, which emphasize the importance of “social status and prestige, control or dominance over people and resources” (Schwartz, 2012, p. 5). It therefore seems plausible to expect Power values to positively relate to attitudes towards the Olympic Games (H1b).

Third, we have shown that in Russia the Olympic Games can be seen as a tradition of their society, and a bridge between the Soviet past and modern days bridges the Soviet past with modern days. This might be especially appealing to people who feel nostalgic

about Soviet times or who are concerned about the preservation of their historic legacy. Now, if we look at the definition, we will find that there is clear grounds to expect this kind of sentiment to resound with the value of Tradition: “Respect, commitment, and acceptance of the customs and ideas that one's culture or religion provides” (Schwartz, 2012, p. 6). Clearly, the Olympics could be seen by people as one of the “symbols, ideas,... that represent their shared experience and fate” (Schwartz, 2012, p. 6). On this basis, we hypothesize that the high priority of Tradition values relates positively to attitudes towards the Olympics (H1c).

Nationalism as a Mediator of Value-Attitudes Relations

We have seen that many authors emphasize the importance of the nationalistic factor in explaining public attitudes towards the Olympics. Nationalism is often conceptualized as a belief that (despite all odds) one's own country is the best place in the world (Kosterman & Feshbach, 1989). Nationalism is often built on downward comparisons with other nations and a desire to see one's country succeeding in the international arena. As the environment of international sports competitions provides numerous opportunities for such comparisons, it seems plausible to expect that people with an enhanced national attachment will be attracted to the Olympics (Billings et al., 2013). Moreover, we have seen that recent studies claim that nationalistic sentiment prevails in how the Olympics are presented to Russians (e.g. Alekseeva, 2014). But there are no data so far that make it possible to estimate in how far nationalist beliefs actually motivate Russians' perceptions of the Olympics. We therefore wanted to empirically test whether and in how far nationalism relates positively to the attitudes towards the Olympic Games in Russia (H2).

But nationalism is not a *value*. It is a belief about the status of one's own country which people with different value priorities do not share to the same extent. As Schwartz et al. (2014) demonstrated, in 15 European countries, a high priority of Tradition values is a fertile ground for the development of nationalist convictions. Tradition values, emphasize the importance of ones' *belonging* to a social group and call to respect the symbols that help group members feel united (Schwartz et al., 2012). At the same time, values of Power directly manifest the importance of comparative elements in one's social life and the preference of unequal distribution of resources (Schwartz, 2012). This seems to coincide with convictions that tend to prioritize in-group over out-group members, the core idea of nationalism. Moreover, the context of international sport events emphasizes the

competition of different nations for a limited resource, medals, and provides the audiences with a ready-made scale to compare the countries – the medal count. It therefore seems plausible to expect that high priority of Power and Tradition would contribute to the development of nationalist beliefs (H3).

The same study by Schwartz et. al. (2014) shows that people with high importance of Universalism values are unlikely to demonstrate enhanced nationalistic attachment. This pattern of interrelations can be explained by the incompatibility of the two constructs: while nationalism emphasizes the inequality between nations, the values of Universalism deny groups' borders in order to provide equal treatment to all people in the world. On this basis, we hypothesize, that values of Universalism relate negatively to nationalism (H4).

The overview of the results of the past studies suggest the mediating role of the nationalism in the relations between values and attitudes towards the Olympics. First, nationalism seems to stand on a lower level of abstraction than values, which are “general” ideas not tied to specific situations (Schwartz, 1992). Nationalism, unlike values, has a defined area of applicability – it refers to the convictions about one's own country. However, nationalism, is still more abstract than attitudes towards the Olympics, which refer to a very specific part of the social reality. Nationalism, in its abstractness, only refers to the belief that the country is great, but does not specify the indicators of the greatness. Success of the national athletes in the Olympics can potentially serve as such indicator. Second, The levels of abstraction between general values and the specific attitudes to concrete social objects and situations (in our case, towards the Olympics) differ strongly. As a result, people may not even recognize the Olympics as an embodiment of one or other value. In that situation, a less abstract belief can function as a connector which helps to relate abstract values to specific objects (similar mechanisms were tested in Stern et al., 1995 and Livi et al., 2014) in a given context. In our case, nationalistic beliefs could be such a mediator between abstract values and the specific attitudes towards the Olympics. In other words, people might have firm nationalistic beliefs that are motivated by their values. At the next stage, people would “decide” whether the Olympic Games are an event that promotes their nationalist beliefs. In this case, the attitude towards the Games would be indirectly motivated by values, i.e. value – attitude relations would be mediated by (nationalist) beliefs. Our study sets out to evaluate this possibility: The pattern of interrelations where values affect nationalism, which, in turn, affects attitudes suggests a mediating role of nationalism in value-attitude relations (H5).

Overall, this study presents three innovations to research: First, it focuses on perceived meanings that people in Russia recognize in the Olympic Games. Second, we add and test empirically a new facet of the Olympics in Russia - interest in the event as a tradition. Third, the study uses an indirect way to assess how people interpret the Games through the evaluation of the statistical relations between individual values of people and their attitudes towards the Olympics.

Method

Sample and procedure

In April-May 2018, two months after the Pyeongchang Olympics, 421 citizens of Russia (59% female, age $M = 23.46$, $SD = 7.88$) participated in an online survey measuring their attitude towards the Olympic Games and the Olympic movement, nationalism, and values. Participants were recruited using a snowball technique: 39 interviewers approached between and 58 respondents ($M = 11.74$; $SD = 12.04$). No interviewer effect was observed in the data ($ICC < .10$, Lee, 2000), that means that respondents approached by one interviewer were not more similar to each other than to any other respondent in the sample.

The sample is not representative, as the study relies on non-probabilistic sampling. This is because its' aim is to test the general validity of the theoretical relations of the underlying categories, as, for example, whether and in how far tradition can be a source of public support for the Olympics. The study makes no claim to representativity – research relying on non-probability samples stresses the internal validity of the study and merely aims to introduce new hypotheses to the field (Baker et al., 2013; Landers & Behrend, 2015). The obvious and obviously relevant question as to how the sources of attitudes vary across social groups is waiting to be further explored as soon as these hypotheses concerning the underlying mechanism have been validated.

Measures

Individual Values

To measure individual values, we used the Russian version of the Schwartz Value Survey (SVS-21) from the European Social Survey. The questionnaire consists of 21 verbal portraits of people who find different values important. Participants had to evaluate how much described people are similar to themselves on a 6-pt response scale (from 1- “Very much like me” to 6 – “Not like me at all”). Although 2-3 items measure each value in the original questionnaire, we selected only those items that represent the most relevant to our

study aspect of the three values of interest. The items used in the analysis were: “*Tradition is important to her/him. She/he tries to follow the customs handed down by her/his religion or her/his family*” (Tradition); “*She/he thinks it is important that every person in the world should be treated equally. She/he believes everyone should have equal opportunities in life*” (Universalism); “*It is important to her/him to get respect from others. She/he wants people to do what she/he says*” (Power). All items were recoded so that the larger number stands for the greater extent of the similarity. The sample mean scores were $M = 2.96$ ($SD = 1.37$) for Tradition, $M = 4.26$ ($SD = 1.20$) for Universalism, and $M = 3.58$ ($SD = 1.25$) for Power.

Nationalism

To measure national attachment we used eight items from International Social Science Program (ISSP, 2013). Respondents indicated the extent of their (dis-)agreement on a 5-pt scale with the statements about their own country’s superiority in comparison to other countries, as, for example, “*Generally speaking, Russia is a better country than most other countries*”. The CFA of our data confirms that all items load well on the latent factor with factor loadings varying between .45 and .79 (CFI = .97 ; RMSEA = .06, SRMR = .04).

Attitudes Towards the Olympic Games

We asked respondents to evaluate their attitudes on a 4-pt scale (1 - negative, 4 - positive) in response to the question: “*In general, is your attitude towards the Olympic movement and the Olympic Games positive or negative?*”. The sample mean score was $M = 3.19$ ($SD = 0.73$).

The complete untranslated questionnaire is in Appendix 1.

Analysis

The hypotheses were tested with structural equation modeling (SEM) with an estimation of mediated effects. SEM is an extension of regression analysis which allows to test complex, e.g. consecutive, patterns of interrelationships between variables (Musil et al., 1998). In our case, we test how individual values first relate to nationalism and then how nationalism relates to attitudes. At the same time we expect values to have direct relations to attitudes. The method allows to test all hypotheses simultaneously and thus to obtain more accurate estimations of the magnitude of the relationships between values and attitudes. The simultaneous test of the relationships between several variables has several advantages over separate tests: It estimates the magnitude of the effect of one predictor on the outcome if all other predictors are held constant and therefore helps to “separate” the

effects of several predictors and show their unique contribution (Allison, 1999). In addition it shows the relative effect of multiple predictors, too.

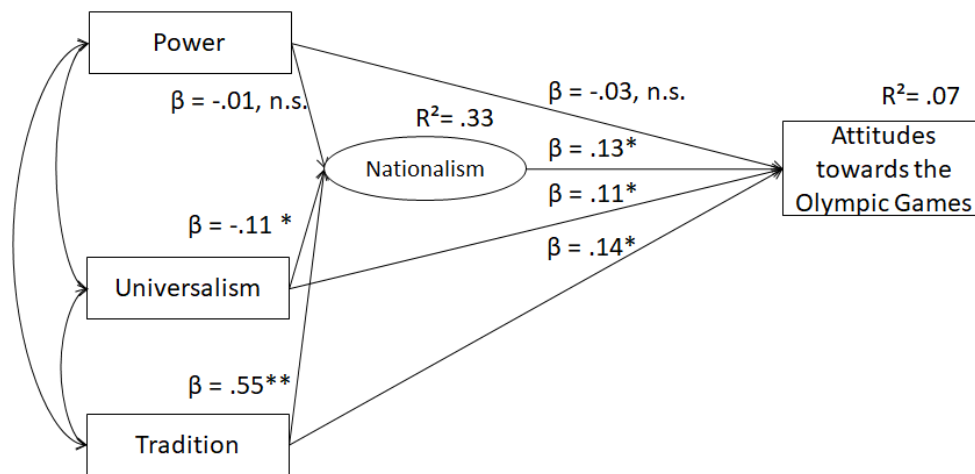
The results of the SEM analysis should be interpreted in the same way as the results of multiple regressions: The standardized regressions coefficients (β) displayed in the path diagram (see Figure 2) indicate the magnitude of the relationships between each of the predictors and the outcome, when the effects of other predictors are taken into account. To identify whether the theoretical model indeed describes the actual relationships between variables in the data, goodness of fit of the model should be estimated. We use the following indicators and their cut-off points to establish whether the proposed model describes the data well: CFI >.90; RMSEA <.08; SRMR<.08 (Hu & Bentler, 1998).

An analysis of mediated effects allows to trace the mechanism through which the predictors affect the outcome (Baron & Kenny, 1986). In an ideal scenario, the introduction of a mediator in the relationships between predictor and outcome eliminates that relationship. That demonstrates that the initially observed effect now “flows” through the mediator. In our study we argue that nationalism functions as a mediator of the relationships between values and attitudes. If this hypothesis were to be correct, the analysis of mediated effects should show no statistically significant direct effect of values on attitudes. Finally, we controlled for the effect of participants’ gender - none of the tested relationships were affected.

Results

Relationships Between Values, Nationalism, and Attitudes

The model of the relationships between values, nationalism, and attitudes towards the Olympic Games (Figure 2) shows fair fit to the data (CFI = .93, RMSEA = .07 (95%CI = .05 -.08), SRMR = .05). As predicted, Tradition, Universalism, and nationalism all relate positively to attitudes towards Olympics ($\beta = .14$ (SE = .03), $p = .02$; $\beta = .11$ (SE = .03), $p = .03$; $\beta = .13$ (SE = .05) $p = .05$ respectively). Also the model confirms that the values of Tradition relate positively to nationalism ($\beta = .56$ (SE = .03), $p < .01$), while values of Universalism relate negatively ($\beta = -.11$ (SE = .04), $p = .02$) to nationalism. However, Power values appeared to be unrelated to both nationalism and attitudes. Thus, H1a, H1c, H2, and H4 were supported, and H3 was supported only partially, and H1b was declined. Interestingly, the three values and nationalism explain only 7% of the variance in the attitudes towards the Olympics.



Note: CFI = .93, RMSEA = .07 (95%CI = .05 -.08), SRMR = .05, ** - $p < .01$; * - $p < .05$.

Figure 2. *Relationships between values, nationalism, and attitudes towards the Olympic Games*

Mediating Effect of Nationalism

The model in Figure 2 shows that, apart from direct effects, both Universalism and Tradition underlie the variations in the level of nationalism, which in turn relates to how people evaluate the Olympics. That suggests that values may affect the attitudes mediated through nationalism (H5). To test that hypothesis, we decomposed the effect of values and nationalism on the attitudes. We tested the mediation effect only for Universalism and Tradition because Power appeared to be unrelated to both nationalism and attitudes.

A mediation analysis estimates three types of effects: 1) the total effect, which is the effect of the predictor on the outcome before the effect of the mediator is taken into account; 2) the direct effect, which is a remaining effect of the predictor on outcome after the effect of mediator has been taken into account; and 3) the indirect effect, which refers to the amount of actual mediation (Baron & Kenny, 1986). Table 2 summarizes the results of the mediation analysis and shows that none of the indirect effects were statistically significant. On this basis, we conclude that the effect of values on the attitudes does not flow through nationalism it does not play a mediating role. Instead, Tradition and Universalism affect both nationalism and attitudes separately. H5 was not confirmed.

Table 2. *Analysis of mediated effects*

Value	Direct effect			Indirect effect			Total effect		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	β
Universalism	.07*	.03	.11	-.01	.005	-.01	.06	.03	.10
Tradition	.07*	.03	.14	.03	.02	.07	.10**	.02	.21

Note: * - $p < .05$, ** - $p < .01$

Discussion and Conclusion

This study investigated how people in Russia see the Olympic Games. The analysis of past research showed that three meanings of the event are relevant in the Russian social and political context: Olympics as an embodiment of Olympism, as a venue to experience and express nationalistic pride, and as a tradition. Those meanings, as we argued, are not mutually exclusive, but rather coexist and attract people with different value priorities. While the dialogue between Olympism and nationalism has been a subject for scholarly debate in the past decades (Hargreaves, 1992; Iowerth et al. 2010), the third facet of the Olympics in Russia was left outside the scope of research. To disentangle these three facets of the Olympic Games, we proposed to analyze the statistical relationships between the importance people ascribe to values of Power, Tradition, and Universalism and their attitudes towards the event. We also tested whether nationalist pride mediates relationships between values and attitudes.

Our analysis showed that two out of the three predicted values actually motivated attitudes towards the Olympics. The positive relationships between Universalism and attitudes indicate that the internationalistic perspective of Olympism is present when people evaluate the Olympics. But nationalist side of the event can also make the Games attractive. And Petersson and Persson (2014) argue that in the context of Sochi Olympics, humanism and internationalism of the Olympic movement were used to reinforce a sense of Russia's greatness. However, our findings also show a distinction between the facets of Olympism and nationalism – the relations between values of Universalism and nationalism were negative. That may suggest, that while the state and the media may have attempted to merge the two facets, people do see their distinction. Values of Power, which we originally expected to drive an interest in the Olympics of those seeking for hierarchy and prestige, appeared to be irrelevant to both nationalism and attitudes towards the Olympics.

However, the nationalistic facet of the event is still present, as the direct measure of nationalist beliefs related positively to attitudes. This result goes in line with existing research (Billings et al., 2013) and shows that the Olympics can be used as an opportunity to express and experience national pride by some people. Interestingly, our model shows that, other than Power values, Tradition values are a very strong predictor of nationalist pride. This corresponds to some past research (Panov, 2010), which argues that nationalism in Russia is associated with a sense of shared experiences and symbolic attachment.

Tradition also related positively to attitudes – the Olympics are attractive to people to whom tradition is important. But then – is its effect on attitudes therefore mediated by nationalism? To check whether Tradition has a direct effect on attitudes which does not overlap with that of nationalism, we ran a mediation analysis. But, although the analysis showed that values indeed affect nationalism, and nationalism, in turn, affects the attitudes, there is no evidence that nationalism functions as a mediator in these relationships. Instead, the analysis suggests that both nationalist pride and positive evaluations of the Olympics are likely to develop among people prioritizing Tradition, independently: “traditionalist” people see the Olympics in a non-nationalist light. While traditionalist values may motivate both nationalism *and* a love for the Olympics, both need not coincide: People may be drawn towards nationalism on the basis of a leniency towards “symbols, ideas, ... that represent their shared experience and fate” on a *national* level, too, as towards symbols that represent a “common fate” of an imagined, ideal *national* collective. And people can *also* be drawn to the Olympics as a “traditionalist” event, maybe experience nostalgic feelings here. But this does not, as we were able to show, imply that they love the tradition of the Olympics for nationalistic reasons.

It is important to note, that the estimation of the overall model of interrelations between values, nationalism, and attitudes showed that only 7% of the variance in the attitudes towards the Olympics are explained by values and nationalism together. On the one hand, this implies that the dominance of the “nationalistic factor” in previous academic discussion of the Olympics might be exaggerated, at least as far as the Russian case is concerned. On the other hand, this could suggest the presence of alternative predictors which were not measured in our study. These point towards the necessity of further research that opens up to new and innovative hypotheses.

Our findings show that approval of the Olympics can develop on different grounds and that different facets of the event, although coexisting, may not overlap in the minds of

people. These findings build on past research, which suggested the integration of traditional and internationalist perspectives with that of nation-building and power demonstration (e.g. Petersson & Persson, 2014; Alekseeva, 2017). As our model shows, Olympism and tradition exist independently of nationalism in people's minds. That suggests that how people understand the event does not necessarily correspond with what state or media want them to see (Sanina et al., 2014). The individual-level analysis revealed a greater heterogeneity in what the Olympic Games mean to Russian people than what past societal-level analysis has uncovered.

This opens new questions that should be further explored in future research, questions that are by far not restricted to only the Russian case: How do a possible political instrumentalization and nationalistic media narratives relate to popular sentiment? Are we missing a kind of undetected “natural barrier”, a separation between “genuine” feelings for the Olympics and “artificial”, politically motivated nationalistic media narratives that remain undetected, because there is a strong positive echo of the public to the event – only that both sides, politics/media and the public have a quite different understanding of their common object, react to different dimensions of the Games?

Our study showed that tradition is the third dimension of the Olympic Games in Russia. But it very well may exist in other countries as well. The historical contexts and the history of countries' participation in the Olympic movement are often left outside the scope of modern studies. However, collective memories about the past and continuity of national identity may provide people with culture-specific perspectives on the event. The focus on tradition could also help explain why the Games seem so well embedded in societies around the world even though they often are surrounded by controversy. A closer look at the place of the Olympics in culture and history of different countries could reveal additional meanings that people around the globe recognize in the event. A more culture-sensitive and inclusive research may thus deepen our understanding of how different societies treat the Olympic Games.

Transition: some clarifications on the relationships between Papers 2 and 3

Paper 3 continues the investigation of the role of individual values in the evaluation of complex social phenomena, like the Olympic Games, and focuses on their media coverage. Paper 2 was a preparatory step before Paper 3, it investigated how different values can motivate the attitudes towards the Olympic Games. The results of the study demonstrated that the reliance on attitudes, a conventional predictor in many selective media exposure studies, can be misleading because people can hold positive/negative attitudes towards objects for different reasons. However, if those reasons are not investigated, researchers may overlook some relevant but less common reasons and exclude those from the analysis. As a result, a phenomenon in focus may appear less complex on the one hand and distorted on the other - some of its dimensions will be overrepresented, while others will remain invisible. For example, past research dealing with the meaning of the Olympic Games in Russia would emphasize the nationalistic side of the event (e.g. Alekseyeva, 2014; Grix & Karamareva, 2015). Paper 2 however showed there at least two other meanings (Olympism and tradition) are present and coexist alongside nationalism. Departing from these findings, Paper 3 will attempt to further disentangle different aspects of the Olympic Games that may not attract people with different value priorities to the same extent.

Although Paper 3 is a continuation of Paper 2, it has a different focus – the relationships between individual values and the interest in media messages about national Olympic celebrities. This paper connects values to interest directly and skips the mediators – attitudes (the outcome in Paper 2) and nationalism. The two studies have some important differences that need clarification:

First, the two studies have a different object – while paper 2 focused on the attitudes towards the Olympics as a real-life phenomenon, paper 3 investigates Olympics as a media phenomenon. The differences between real life and its media representation can be dramatic when it comes to their evaluations and motivations for those evaluations. For example, many people like watching thriller movies but rather few would want to go through the same experiences as the movie characters for real. A mediated experience can be evaluated based on how entertaining it is; many real-life phenomena lack an entertainment component. That is why I introduce an additional motivation for exposure to the Olympic media coverage - Olympics as a source of entertainment. The objects of the

two papers differ in their abstractness too: Paper 2 investigates the attitudes towards the Olympics as a whole, while Paper 3 focuses on one precise element of the Olympics, the athletes. The choice of Olympic athletes as the focus of Paper 3 was driven by two considerations: a), the media often focus on athletes when covering the Olympics, and b) in the research literature, sports celebrities are well investigated which provided me with considerable theoretical and empirical basis to develop my argumentation about the relationships between values and interest in Olympic celebrities.

Secondly, there are also differences between the papers in how I build the theoretical connections between individual values (predictor in both papers) and attitudes (outcome in paper 2) and interest in the Olympic media coverage (outcome in Paper 3).

Paper 2 described how people who prioritize values of Universalism, Power, or Tradition see the Olympics in light of Olympism, nationalism, or tradition respectively, and whether relationships between values and attitudes are mediated by nationalist beliefs. The results of the study however did not provide support to all stated hypotheses: Power appeared to be unrelated to both nationalism and Olympics, while relationships between Tradition, nationalism, and attitudes were more complex than it was expected. The conceptual definition of Power highlights the importance of the sense of the dominance one has over important resources or other people (Table 1). Potentially, for people with nationalist beliefs, not personal successes but those of their country could be important enough to account towards the fulfillment of Power. However, the items of the PVQ-R rather highlight the respect and control one has in the immediate environment – “...*She/he wants people to do what she/he says*”. It, therefore, remains unclear whether pride and sense of superiority one can gain by extension when the country is performing well at the competitions can also be motivated by Power. Because of these uncertainties, I no longer use Power as a motivation for nationalist interpretation of the Olympics in Paper 3.

Paper 2 tested the hypothesis that nationalist beliefs partially mediate the relationships between Tradition and attitudes. In other words, it was expected that for people who value Tradition two interpretations of the Olympics are possible – as a venue to exercise nationalism (if the relations were mediated by nationalism), or as a tradition (if the link was direct). The analysis however revealed no mediated effect, although Tradition indeed motivated nationalism, while nationalism motivated positive evaluation of the Olympics. These results suggest that although some people with high priority of Tradition are also nationalists, it does not mean that all people who value Tradition necessarily see

the Olympic Games in the nationalist light. The direct link from Tradition to a positive evaluation of the Olympics was taken as evidence of the presence of the interpretation of the event as a part of the tradition. That is the main contribution of Paper 2, which, however, needs to be replicated in future studies.

Paper 3 does not further investigate the interpretation of the Olympic Games as a tradition – both due to the changed focus of the paper, as well as the shortcomings of existing literature that would confirm the presence of such a view on the Olympics. First, the paper has a different focus - Olympic sports celebrities of the Pyeongchang Winter Games (i.e. celebrities of the year when the data was collected). The focus on the sports celebrities separates this part of the Olympics from the rest of the phenomena associated with the event (e.g. Olympic ceremonies and rituals or the political side of the event). At the same time, the focus on the current edition of the Olympics may separate it from the rest of the Olympic history in the minds of respondents. As a result, people may not see contemporary Olympic celebrities as a part of the tradition, but rather as representatives of contemporary society. Secondly, in pursuance of the above-mentioned gap in past studies, there is no past academic literature that would discuss (either directly or indirectly) the interest in media messages about sports celebrities as something people do as a traditional routine. Past studies discuss sports celebrities either as a source of entertainment (Burr, 2010) or as national symbols (Jiang, 2013, Laine, 2005; Voolaid & Laineste, 2013). That is why I do not discuss the traditionalist view on the Olympics in Paper 3 but focus on those interpretations similar to those proposed in past research. Moreover, I link the value of Tradition with the nationalist-flavored interest in sports celebrities because of the emphasis on the contemporary edition of the Olympics, not on the Olympic movement as a cultural phenomenon with a century-long history.

Paper 3. Are Olympic celebrities equally Interesting to everyone? Individual values and interest in the Olympic news among Russians

The Olympic Games are very popular in Russia – whenever it comes, summer or winter edition, it becomes one of the most important events of the year (Levada-Tsentr, 2010, 2018a). Between 2000 and 2016 the number of those following the competitions in the media ranged between 59 % and 75 % (Levada Tsentr, 2016). Past research argues that such interest is powered by the nationalist pride of the audience in Russia (e.g. Alekseyeva, 2014) as well as in other countries (Billings et al., 2013; Billings, Brown & Brown, 2013). However, the Olympics is an international event that has an official philosophy, which declares the opposite of nationalism (IOC, 2018). The mission of the Olympic movement can be appealing to some viewers. Moreover, the Olympics is a show and a media event (Pujk, 2000) that can attract those seeking entertainment. It is then likely that the audience of the Olympic media coverage is diverse and tunes in to fulfill their different needs. At the same time, it is also likely that people do not perceive the Olympics as a whole, but rather differentiate between its different components and prioritize those that help to fulfill their needs. One such component is the athletes whose performances are the focus of many broadcasts. Notably, Olympic athletes do not have an equal status in the minds of people – some are celebrities and national heroes, others are mere participants of the competitions unfamiliar to the occasional viewers. This study investigates whether references to Olympic celebrities in media messages enhance the interest among those seeking entertainment or an opportunity to experience pride but mitigate among those loyal to the ideals of Olympism.

To investigate how far different motivations guide the interest in the Olympic media coverage among Russians and which role the status of presented athletes plays in the development of their interest, this study relies on two theoretical propositions. First, it uses individual values (Schwartz, 1992) to operationalize the motivations that power interest in the Olympic media. Values refer to a wide range of motivations, which were found to explain how people evaluate mediated information (e.g. Hsieh et al., 2014, Hansla, 2011), define what attracts their attention (Schwartz, Sagiv & Boehnke, 2000), and guide interests (Uitto & Saloranta, 2010). Second, this study relies on past findings in the field of selective media exposure (see meta-analysis by Hart et al., 2009). It is assumed that people favor those content that confirms their pre-exposure beliefs, in the case of this study, values.

Values as Motivation for Interest in the Olympic Media

According to Schwartz (1992), values are beliefs about desirable end-states and represent what different people find important in life. The function of values is to provide orientation in life, they are the standards against which objects, situations, and actions are evaluated. Unlike beliefs and attitudes, values vary in the level of importance a person ascribes to them (Schwartz, 2012). The theory distinguishes ten value types (Table 1) which express different end-states relevant in different contexts. Based on the extent of the similarity of the motivations the ten values express, they can be grouped into four higher-order values – Openness to change, Self-enhancement, Conservation, and Self-Transcendence. According to Schwartz, people do not have “different values” but rather ascribe different importance to these same values.

Values serve as motivations for people’s actions and judgments (Schwartz, 1992). Bardi & Schwartz (2003) argue that people strive to fulfill their important values, they are motivated to pursue those actions which they believe promote their important values and avoid those precluding. The same mechanism applies to behavioral intentions (Hansla, 2011) and decisions (Feather, 1995). Similarly, values motivate how people evaluate the world around them: if a person sees some object positively (negatively) it is because she believes it helps (prevents) the fulfillment of her important values (Schwartz, 1992). Extensive past research confirms that important values indeed motivate various behaviors (e.g. Bardi & Schwartz, 2003) and underlie a wide range of attitudes (e.g. Beierlein, Kuntz, & Davidov, 2016; Bayram, 2015).

The motivational capacity of values makes them useful for studying how people deal with mediated information. For example, past research on value-relevant framing effects demonstrated that people prefer messages framed in a way that makes their important values salient. This effect was observed in responses to messages about the promotion of eco-labeled electricity (Hansla, 2011), and donations to charity (Dens, de Pelmasker & de Meulenaer, 2017). The same effect was found in marketing studies—people do prefer slogans that communicate their important values (Torelli et al., 2012). Furthermore, people pay more attention to messages and process them more thoroughly if they express their important values (von Borgstede et al., 2014). Following these findings, the first hypothesis of this study is: People prefer Olympic media messages framed to match their important values (H1).

There is also another strand of research that suggests that people with different value priorities have different concerns (Schwartz, Sagiv, & Boehnke, 2000) and interests (Uitto & Saloranta, 2010). In the context of media consumption, it may mean that people with different value priorities are likely to prefer thematically different content with few overlapping components in their media diets. This approach was adopted by Hsieh and coauthors (2014) who studied interest in social media posts. They treated all posts about the environment as reflecting Universalism; posts about work and career - as Achievement, and those about leisure - as Hedonism. They found that people indeed show a preference for topics that express values congruent to their own. These results suggest that how interesting the Olympics as a topic is would vary across people with different value priorities, and consequently, some people would show more (less) interest in the Olympic messages regardless of their particular content. To identify which values are likely to motivate exposure to the Olympic media coverage, it is first necessary to elaborate on how different people may see the event and whether those various perspectives exist in the target society - Russia.

Traditionally, research literature connects the interest in the Olympics to the enhanced sense of nationalist pride among the viewers. Indeed, traditions of the event like the display of national symbols (Housel, 2007), the unofficial medal count (Billings, Brown & Brown-Devlin, 2015), and the way the national media broadcast and comment the performances of athletes (Billings, Angelini & Wu, 2011) make the national component very visible. Some researchers argue that the Russian state uses the event as a tool of public relations in the international arena (Persson & Petersson, 2014) and as a venue to market itself to domestic audiences (Grix, & Kramareva, 2017). The representative surveys among Russians confirm that nationalistic motivations are indeed present: when evaluating the Sochi Olympics 44% reported they liked the event as it provided an opportunity to experience patriotic feelings and pride for their country (FOM, 2014a). When talking about international competitions in general, 22 % believe that successful performances of national athletes are important for the improvement of the country's public image (FOM, 2016c); 80% say that the successes of the national athletes are important to them personally (FOM, 2014b) and 52% experience pride when watching performances of the national team (WCIOM, 2014). Although this side of the event is the best investigated one, the Olympic Games is an international event that cannot be reduced to how some viewers perceive or states present them.

The International Olympic Committee [IOC] declares the philosophy of Olympism to guide the movement. As the Olympic Charter states, sport is a lifestyle of a “peaceful society concerned with the preservation of human dignity” (IOC, 2018, p.7), where all people must have equal access to practicing sports in “the Olympic spirit, which requires mutual understanding with a spirit of friendship, solidarity, and fair play” (IOC, 2018, p.7). Moreover, the IOC stresses that the Olympic Games are a competition between individual athletes, not countries. At the same time, promotion of the Olympic disciplines often becomes a tool of various social and humanitarian aid programs at both international (e.g. *Sport for protection toolkit*, UNHCR, IOC, & Terre des Hommes, n.d.) and national (e.g. *Willkommen in Sport*, DOSB, n.d.) levels. Such programs use sport as a tool of promotion of tolerance and social cohesion and emphasize that the Olympics serve to unite societies, not divide them. It is likely that at least some viewers are aware of the content of the philosophy and the position of the international organizations on the role of sports in society. Indeed, among Russians, 14% believe that the opportunity to watch performances of top world athletes is more important than successes of the national team (Levada-Tsentr, 2002), and 33% like to follow international competitions without taking sides (FOM, 2016d). When asked about the benefits of hosting international sports events, 41% mentioned that the experience of hosting, first of all, promotes sports and a healthy lifestyle, especially among the youth. 17% specify that international competitions “bring nations together” and make Russia a more attractive tourist destination (FOM, 2016c). These numbers suggest that some people follow the Olympics for their philosophical stand.

Finally, the Olympic Games are a global media event (Puijk, 2000) with large audiences tuning in around the world to follow some of the more popular sports events as well as the increasingly glamorous opening ceremonies. 17% of Russians perceive the Olympics as a very engaging sports festival during which all their current problems become less important (WCIOM, 2019). At the same time, strong emotions associated with sports consumption is one characteristic that makes sport different from many other industries (Stewart & Smith, 1999). Mehus (2005) found that the experience of intense emotions is one of the components of a more general entertainment motivation that attracts spectators to sports events. In Russia, although pride is the most common emotion associated with the performance of the national athletes (52%), the experience of admiration (35%), hope (31%), respect for athletes (26%) are also common (WCIOM, 2014). The entertaining function of the Olympics is the third motivation to follow the event in the media.

Each of the three perspectives on Olympic media consumption can be operationalized through values. First, the Olympic Games, as an opportunity to experience nationalistic pride and commit to cultural traditions, may attract people with high importance of the Tradition value. This value emphasizes the commitment to one's ingroup and its lifestyle and appreciation of symbols uniting the group (Schwartz, 1992). Past research also finds Tradition to motivate nationalistic beliefs across societies (Schwartz et al., 2014). Considering the emphasis on the national component in the presentation of the event to the audience, it is likely that some viewers use the competitions of athletes to compare countries and see the Olympic successes of their national team as manifestations of their own country's greatness. Second, the philosophy of Olympism and its emphasis on the bridging function of the event can attract those with a more cosmopolitan worldview, people concerned with the wellbeing of society without differentiating between their compatriots and everyone else. Such position corresponds with the conceptual definition of the value of Universalism – orientation on tolerance, equal treatment of all people, and concern for their welfare (Schwartz, 1992). Past empirical evidence demonstrates that people valuing Universalism tend to be tolerant to various discriminated minorities (Beierlein, Kuntz, & Davidov, 2016) and see humanitarian aid programs more favorably (Bayram, 2015), they are also less likely to be nationalists (Schwartz et al., 2014). Finally, the entertainment component of the event can attract people with high importance of Hedonism. The value emphasizes the role of pleasures in daily life and motivates exposure to entertainment TV programming (Meulemann, 2012). Based on these considerations this study proposes the following hypothesis: Higher priority of Universalism, Hedonism, or Tradition associates with a greater interest in all Olympic-related messages (H2).

Status of the Olympic Athlete as a Moderator of Value-Interest Relations

This study argues that first, people have different motivations to follow the Olympics Games in the media, and second that people do not perceive the Olympic Games in the same way – they pay attention to different components of the event. The focus of the Olympic media coverage is competitions and participating athletes. Moreover, the overview of the past opinion polls in Russia suggests the divide in the audience – those enjoying the competitions per se, and those mainly interested in the national athletes and their (successful) performances (FOM 2014b, 2016d). It is then likely that people with different value priorities do not react in the same way to the broadcasts featuring athletes

of different status – national celebrities and everyone else. In other words, the status of an Olympic athlete is likely to function as a moderator of a value – interest relationship.

Some Olympic athletes are celebrities - they are national heroes (Jiang, 2013) and role models (Biskup & Pfister, 1999), some appear in show business, others become political actors. All that enriches their public images which transcend the realm of sports. Successful Olympic athletes are often seen as the pride of the nation if they win and as a national disgrace if the heroes fall (Laine, 2005; Voolaid & Laineste, 2013). Given the emphasis on the affiliation of Olympic celebrities with the countries, they represent (Liston & Kitching, 2019), their presence in a media message might be an additional trigger of sportive nationalism to some viewers. As past research has shown (Schwartz et al., 2014), nationalist beliefs are prevalent among people valuing Tradition. It is also likely, that those people focus more on national celebrity athletes and pay more attention to messages featuring them. The first moderation hypothesis is: People with high importance of Tradition will show more interest if a message features a celebrity than non-celebrity (H3a).

Not every participant in the Olympic Games becomes a celebrity. Non-personalized Olympians, whose presence in the media is limited to sport performances, can be seen as a closer embodiment of the IOC's view on the Olympic Games, which “are competitions between athletes in individual or team events and not between countries” (IOC, 2018, p.21). As it was argued above, such an internationalist perspective and individualistic focus of the event can be appealing to people valuing Universalism. Moreover, those with high priority of Universalism tend to see all people as equals (Schwartz, 1992), potentially eliminating the distinctions between athletes of different status. On this basis, the next moderation hypothesis is: people with high importance of Universalism will be equally interested in messages featuring celebrity and non-celebrity athletes (H3b).

Keeping up with the news about celebrity athletes can be very engaging (Burr, 2010). Nowadays when the media focus on the social and personal lives of athletes as much as they do on their careers, the audiences receive access to a diverse menu of pastime options. Social media also provide an insight into the daily routines of the celebrities providing fans with pleasant emotions (Kowalczyk & Pounders, 2016) and enable direct interactions with them (Frederick, et al., 2012). Interest in celebrities is particularly pronounced among those with high importance of Hedonism values (McCutcheon et al. 2020). Hence, the third moderation hypothesis: People with high importance of Hedonism will show more interest if a message features a celebrity than non-celebrity (H3c).

Method

Design, Sample, and Procedure

This study uses an online experiment administered in a form of a factorial survey (Ausprung & Hinz, 2015). 467 residents of Russia (59.3 % - female, age $M = 22.94$, $SD = 7.26$) first reported their knowledge about four Olympic athletes from Russia – two celebrities and two fictional. After that, participants were informed that they will see eight randomly selected headlines of news about some of the presented earlier athletes – eight vignettes. The headlines were designed specifically for this study, each headline consisted of two randomly matched parts: a name of one of the four athletes and one of the eight content parts, which described the athlete's value-relevant beliefs or behaviors (Table 3). In other words, each headline is a vignette with two independent variables – athlete (with 4 levels) and value (with 8 levels). The total possible number of vignettes was $4 \times 8 = 32$, where each of the value-statements would be performed by each athlete. To provide respondents with a more natural experience of exposure to news, as it never happens in the real world that two different athletes appear in otherwise identical headlines, the vignettes were grouped in the three subsets (conditions). In the first condition participants received headlines featuring only sports celebrities, in the second condition – only non-celebrities (fictional athletes), in the third condition both celebrities and fictional athletes received equal coverage. Each respondent saw all eight beliefs or behaviors, but within the conditions, different athletes performed those behaviors or held the beliefs. The participants' task was to indicate how interested they would be to read the articles under each headline. Because it was not the aim of the study to compare the effect the composition of the headlines within a set has on the interest respondents show in the message, the levels of interest were not compared between conditions. After the task with the headlines, participants reported their values, attitudes towards the Olympics, Olympic media use, age, gender, and level of education. In the end, all participants were thanked and debriefed. The data were collected in April - May 2018, two months after the Pyeongchang Olympics.

Measures

Stimuli Materials

Each headline consisted of two parts: the name of an athlete (celebrity or non-celebrity) and some belief or behavior of the athlete. To offer a variety of messages that

can potentially attract respondents with different value priorities, presented beliefs and behaviors were designed to resemble each of the four higher-order values 1) Openness to change; 2) Conservation; 3) Self-Transcendence; and 4) Self-Enhancement (Schwartz, 1992). An example of such headline is “Evgenia Medvedeva believes sport should be accessible to all people”, where Evgenia Medvedeva is a famous figure ice skater, and the statement “...believes sports should be accessible to all people” expresses Self-Transcendence. To ensure construct validity of both parts of the headline, I pretested them separately:

Celebrity vs. Non-Celebrity Athletes. To select Olympic celebrities familiar to the Russian audience, I compared how many times each member of “The Olympic Athletes from Russia” team ($N=168$) was mentioned in the two most popular news aggregators in Russia: Google. News and Yandex.News. The correlation between the two aggregators’ rankings was $r = .47$, showing that their audiences are likely to see Olympic news differently. The ten athletes most frequently mentioned in both rankings were selected for further pretesting. 88 residents of Russia (66 % - female, mean age = 26.2 ($SD = 11.7$)) filled in an online survey, designed to identify athletes that people are more likely to know. The most well-known athletes were Alina Zagitova and Evgenia Medvedeva: shares of respondents who correctly recognized them as figure ice skaters were 86.5% and 89.9% respectively. This result corresponds to the results of a representative national survey which revealed these two athletes to be the most popular Olympic athletes in Russia in 2018 (FOM, 2018b). The share of respondents who admitted they do not know which sports other eight athletes practice varied from 38% to 66%. Two fictional female athletes (Ekaterina Shishova, Arina Antonova) were created for the non-celebrity condition. They were introduced to the main study without a pretest.

Value-Expressing Statements Stimuli. To select value-relevant stimuli, a poll of value-expressing statements ($N= 22$) was designed based on items of the Russian version of PVQ-R inventory (Schwartz & Butenko, 2014). Eight native Russian speakers (four researchers familiar with the model of individual values and four people not involved in social sciences) evaluated how well each statement fits the conceptual definitions of the higher-order values: 1) Openness to change; 2) Conservation; 3) Self-Transcendence; and 4) Self-enhancement. The eight least ambiguous statements, two for each value, were selected for the study (Table 3). The complete untranslated questionnaire is in Appendix 1.

Table 3. *Value-expressing parts of headlines used in the experiment, and comparison of their interestingness scores within conditions.*

Higher-order value and their value types	Headline label	Headline	Mean (SD) interestingness rating / condition *		
			Celebrity only	Mixed	Fictional only
Openness to change: <i>Self- direction, Stimulation, Hedonism</i>	OP1	[Name of athlete] is always independent and self-sufficient	3.35(1.48) ^{abc}	3.34(1.56) ^e	2.79 (1.39) ^g
	OP2	[Name of athlete] values the risk and excitement of competitions	3.30(1.44) ^{ab}	2.83(1.34) ^d	2.80(1.27) ^g
Self-Enhancement: <i>Power, Achievement</i>	SE1	[Name of athlete] believes the triumph awaits her	3.45(1.43) ^{abc}	2.96(1.96) ^{de}	2.82(1.33) ^{gh}
	SE2	[Name of athlete] added a new medal to her collection	3.87(1.35) ^{bc}	3.79(1.54) ^{ef}	3.41(1.45) ^{hi}
Conservation: <i>Security, Tradition, Conformity</i>	CO1	[Name of athlete] avoids stressful situations	3.36(1.40) ^{abc}	2.77(1.29) ^d	2.79(1.33) ^g
	CO2	[Name of athlete] is against innovations in sports	3.80(1.35) ^{abc}	3.84(1.37) ^f	3.24(1.39) ^{hi}
Self- Transcendence: <i>Benevolence, Universalism</i>	ST1	[Name of athlete] always ready to help her teammates	3.55(1.36) ^{abc}	3.40(1.47) ^e	2.91(1.32) ^{gh}
	ST2	[Name of athlete] believes sports should be accessible to everyone	3.88(1.34) ^{bc}	3.41(1.48) ^e	3.30(1.49) ^{hi}

Note: * - The differences in interestingness of headlines with the same superscript are not statistically significant within a condition

Individual Values

Individual values were measured with the Russian version of the Schwartz Value Survey (SVS-21) from the European Social Survey. The questionnaire consists of 21 verbal portraits of people who find different values important. Participants had to evaluate how much described people are similar to themselves on a 6-pt response scale (from 1- “*Very much like me*” to 6 – “*Not like me at all*”). Although 2 - 3 items measure each value in the original questionnaire, in the analysis only those items that represent the most relevant to the study aspect of the three values of interest were used. The items used in the analysis were: “*Tradition is important to her/him. She/he tries to follow the customs handed down by her/his religion or her/his family*” (Tradition); “*She/he thinks it is important that every person in the world should be treated equally. She/he believes everyone should have equal opportunities in life*” (Universalism). The mean score of two items “*Having a good time is important to her/him. She/he likes to 'spoil' herself/himself*” and “*She/he seeks every chance she/he can to have fun. It is important to her/him to do things that give her/him pleasure*” ($r = .35$, $p < .01$) was used to capture the importance of Hedonism. All items were recoded so that the larger number stands for the greater extent of the similarity. The sample mean scores were $M = 2.96$ ($SD = 1.37$) for Tradition, $M = 4.26$ ($SD = 1.20$) for Universalism, and $M = 4.23$ ($SD = .88$) for Hedonism.

Attitudes Towards the Olympics

The measure represents a mean score of two items “*Are you rather positive or negative about the Olympic Games and Olympic movement in general?*”, and “*Are you rather positive or negative about the Russian athletes who participated in the Winter Olympic Games in Pyeongchang*” (from 1 – “*Very negative*” to 4 – “*Very positive*”) which correlated with each other at the level of $r = .67$ ($p < .01$); sample $M = 3.27$, $SD = .79$.

Olympic Media Use

The scale consists of two items “*Had you been following the competitions of the Winter Olympic Games in Pyeongchang?*”, and “*Had you been following the news about Winter Olympic Games in Pyeongchang?*” (1- “*Not at all*” to 4 – “*Followed very carefully*”), which correlated with each other at the level of $r = .82$ ($p < .01$); sample $M = 1.86$, $SD = .87$.

Reading Interest

Respondents rated how interested they would be to read news messages under the displayed headlines on a 6-pt scale (from 1 – “*Not interested at all*” to 6 – “*Very interested*”).

The analysis also controls for participants' age, gender, and education level.

Manipulation Checks

In the main data collection phase, participants indeed recognized the existing athletes correctly (71.5 % - Zagitova, 72.8% - Medvedeva), and the majority admitted they have never heard of the non-existing ones (80.3% - Shishova and 79.3% - Antonova).

Repeated measures ANOVA showed that all value-expressing parts of headlines differed in their level of interestingness within conditions (Table 3). However, the multi-dimensional scaling of the headlines' evaluations did not reveal the grouping of headlines by the values they were supposed to express (Figure 3). These results indicate that people were unlikely to rate the interestingness of messages based on the values they express, instead some other characteristics of the messages influence their interestingness. It also made unclear whether people recognized in the headlines the values they were supposed to express. Because of that, H1 was not tested. In the further analysis, the main effect of the headlines' content on their interestingness was controlled for but not interpreted.

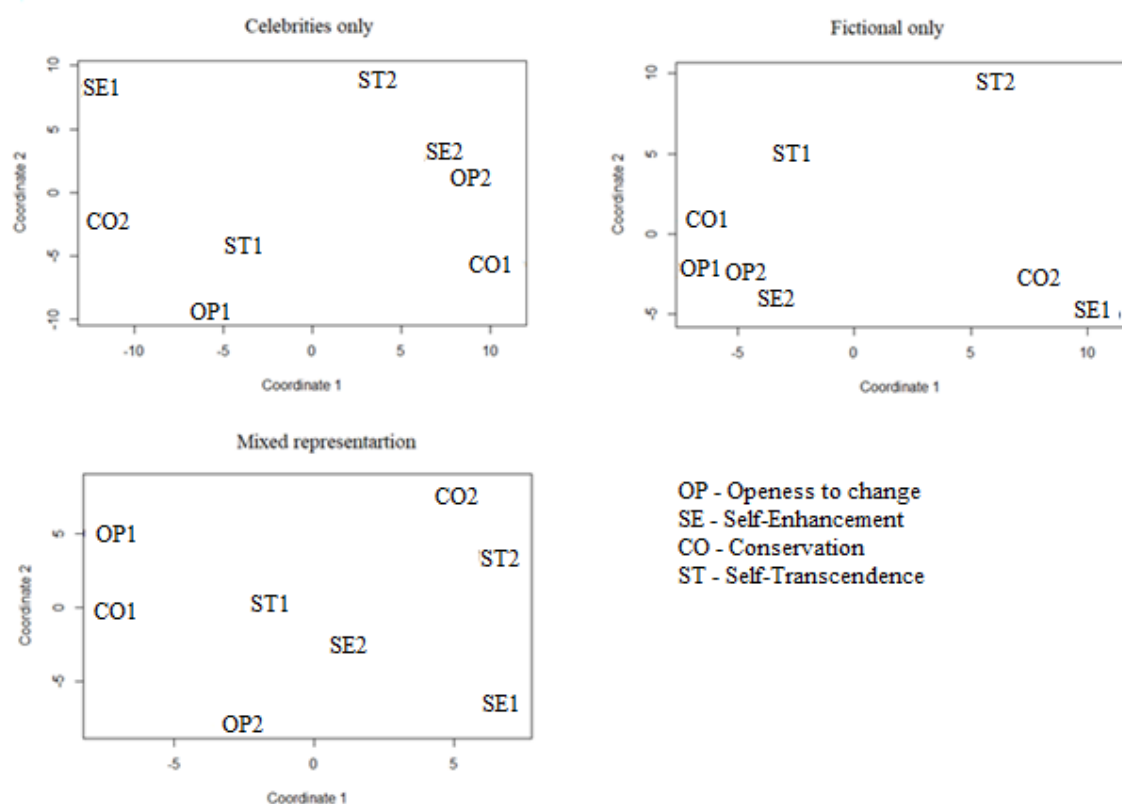


Figure 3. Location of the value-expressing parts of headlines based on MDS analysis of their interestingness ratings in the three conditions

Analysis

As the data have a hierarchical structure, where ratings of the headlines are nested in respondents and the latter in conditions, I first tested the variance of the intercept by running two intercept-only mixed-effects regression models. The first, two-level, model accounted only for differences between respondents as a source of intercept variation. The second, three-level, model added the condition as a higher-level source of variance. The comparison of model fits of the models, however, indicated no differences in model fit between the two-level and the three-level models. That finding indicates, that variation in interest in the messages is rather a matter of individual differences and not of the grouping of messages in the conditions. The two-level model was chosen for further analysis of the effects of individual and messages' characteristics as well as their interaction effects on the level of interest in the messages. To test H2 and H3, I ran six mixed-effects regression models (Table 4).

Results

Model 1 (Table 4) tests how the characteristics of the messages affect the interest of respondents. First, messages featuring Olympic celebrities were significantly more interesting than those about non-celebrity athletes ($B = .50, p < .01$). Model 2 introduces socio-demographic characteristics of respondents and shows that male respondents were significantly less interested in the presented headlines than females ($B = -.26, p < .01$), however, no effect of age or education on the level of interest was identified ($B = .02, n.s., B = -.14, n.s.,$ respectively). Model 3 controls for the attitudes towards the Olympic Games and demonstrates that people with more positive attitudes also tended to show more interest in all messages ($B = .48, p < .01$). Model 4 shows that past exposure to Olympic media coverage also stimulates interest ($B = .26, p < .01$). Model 5 introduces the values, it shows that people with higher scores of Tradition and Universalism rated all the headlines as more interesting ($B = .13, p < .01, B = .10, p < .05$, respectively), values of Hedonism, however, appeared to be unrelated to the interest ($B = -.01, n.s.$). Thus, H2 was only partially supported. The final model introduced the interaction effects between the values and the content of the messages. As predicted, people with higher importance of Tradition evaluated messages featuring celebrity athletes as significantly more interesting than those about non-celebrities ($B = .11, p < .01$). People, with high importance of Universalism, in turn, did not make such differentiation and were equally interested in celebrities and non-celebrities ($B = -.08, p < .05$). The interaction effect of

Hedonism and interest in athletes of different status did not reveal any statistically significant relationships ($B = -.05$, n.s.). Thus, H3a and H3b were confirmed, while H3c was rejected. Figure 4 plots all tested interaction effects.

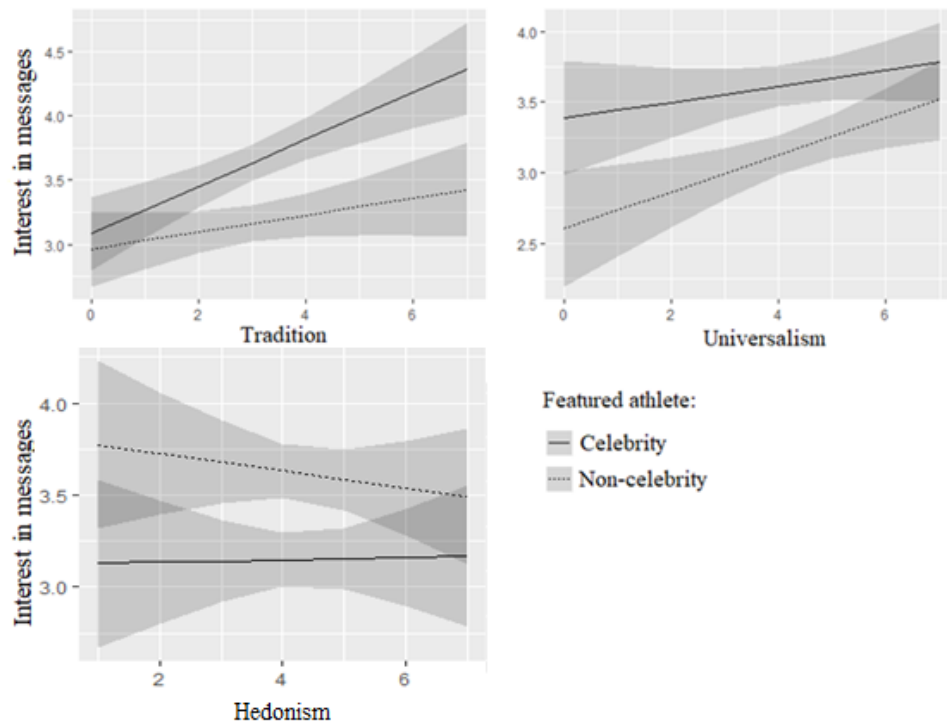


Figure 4. *The effect of values on the interest in messages featuring celebrity and non-celebrity athletes*

Table 4. *Effects of individual values on the interestingness of the Olympic messages about celebrity and non-celebrity athletes.*

[illegible]

Universalism * Celebrity featured						-.08*	.04
Hedonism * Celebrity featured						-.05	.07
Random effects	SD	SD	SD	SD	SD	SD	
Intercept: Respondent	.96	.94	.89	.87	.86	.85	
AIC	11818	11472	11376	11362	10464	10458	
Δ -AIC		346**	96**	14**	898**	6**	
No of observations	3707	3595	3587	3587	3304	3304	
No of respondents	467	453	452	452	416	416	

Note: ^a - All models control for the main effects of the content of the messages, however, these effects are not displayed in the table; ** - $p < .01$, * - $p < .05$

Discussion and Conclusion

This study aimed to disentangle different motivations for interest in Olympic media coverage in Russia. The analysis of existing empirical evidence and relevant documentation yielded three facets of the event that can potentially attract the audience – the opportunity to experience nationalist pride, the experience of a global event, and entertainment. Each of those facets was operationalized through individual values of Tradition, Universalism, and Hedonism. It was hypothesized that people with high importance of those three values would show high interest in the event. To further nuance the mechanisms linking values to interest, the status of the Olympic athletes were introduced as a moderator of value-interest relations. As Olympic celebrities embody their nations on the one hand and can be seen as a part of entertaining media materials on the other, they could be particularly interesting to people with high importance of Tradition or Hedonism. At the same time, people with high importance of Universalism values would be less concerned with the status of the athlete and will be less likely to differentiate between celebrities and non-celebrities when rating the interestingness of presented messages.

The results of the study revealed that out of three relevant values only two - Tradition and Universalism – were motivating the interest in the presented messages. These findings suggest that people in Russia see the Olympics as a venue to witness the greatness of their country and at the same time as a global sports festival celebrated in the spirit of Olympism. These findings show the coexistence of nationalism and Olympism in the minds of people and enrich the knowledge of the place of the Olympics in Russian society. While, past studies show strong nationalist sentiment in the modern Olympic discourse in Russia (e.g. Alekseyeva, 2014), this study demonstrates that people have more diverse interpretations of the event. Also, the analysis demonstrated that values predict interest over and above attitudes towards the Olympic Games or past attendance to actual Olympic media coverage. That demonstrates how values, which can unveil the meaning of events and objects in the minds of people (Roccas & Sagiv, 2010), serve as predictors of interest in the media events.

Further analysis revealed that people with different value priorities are not equally interested in Olympic celebrities. Although messages about celebrity athletes invoked more interest among all respondents, that effect was especially strong for people with high importance of Tradition. People prioritizing Universalism, in turn, showed equal interest in

celebrity and non-celebrity athletes. Such differentiation can point to what different audiences are looking for when consuming Olympic news. Audience with the higher priority of Traditions looks for examples of national success, while more Universalistic people are interested in the event and its participants per se. This study demonstrates how the same message can have different interpretations depending on who sees it.

Interestingly, values of Hedonism were unrelated either to the overall evaluation of the presented messages or to the interest in Olympic celebrities. This finding can indicate that although the Olympic Games are an entertainment show to many people, the Olympic news has other functions. However, the relations between the value of Hedonism and interest could be more pronounced, if the content of the messages was more explicitly entertaining. Information about the Opening ceremony, interesting facts about the event, or gossips from the Olympic village, perhaps, would attract the attention of those with high scores on Hedonism. The focus of the presented messages on athletes is the first limitation of this study.

Interest in the messages was independent of respondents' age and education level. However, men showed significantly less interest than women. Perhaps, this difference was observed because all presented athletes were females, and past studies show that people tend to identify more with media characters of their gender (Hoffher & Buchanan, 2005) and trust celebrities of their gender more (Edwards & La Ferle, 2009). This is another limitation of this study which precluded testing whether the audience equally sees different sport disciplines or athletes of a different gender as a source of national pride. However, as the aim of the study was to investigate the role of the Olympic celebrities in news consumption as realistically as possible, the choice of celebrities was made based on the pretest. At the time of the pretest and main data collection (March-April 2018), two female figure ice skaters (Evgenia Medvedeva and Alina Zagitova) were the best-known members of the Olympic Athletes from Russia (FOM, 2018a).

Overall, this study contributes to the knowledge of motivation for Olympic media consumption in two ways: First, it uses individual values to disentangle the different motivations for interest in the Olympics. Second, it shows how information about Olympic celebrities attracts those with high priority of Tradition and does not stand out for those valuing Universalism. Future research should address the limitations of this study and investigate how the audience with different value priorities treat media messages about

different sport disciplines or athletes of different genders, for example, on the materials of Summer Olympics, where more sport disciplines and athletes are presented.

Part 2.2. From specific to abstract

This part of the project aims to evaluate the extent to which individual values of people guide their online media choices in daily life. This section consists of two studies that investigate how the media reflect values (Paper 4) and tests whether people indeed prefer content that reflects their important values (Paper 5). In contrast to the previous section, studies presented here do not make assumptions about how people with different value priorities interpret texts. Finally, I discuss the limitations and contributions of the proposed approach to the identification of values in texts and propose directions for future research.

Paper 4. Identification of the values' reflections in texts

The idea that the media communicate values is not new. There is, however, little consensus among scholars on how they are communicated and which parts of the media (the entire outlet, an individual message, or various keywords) reflect values. Although values are frequently studied in communication and media studies (e.g., cultural values in Shahin, Kalliny, & Shahin, 2019; Western values in Han & Shavitt, 2004; Asian values in Massey & Chang, 2002), only a few studies address how the media communicate Schwartz values (e.g., Bardi et al., 2008; Waheed et al., 2011, 2013). The existing approaches for measuring these values in texts can be divided into two streams – context-independent and context-dependent. Context-independent studies are more focused on semantics and look for specific words that may communicate values. Context-dependent studies account for language pragmatics and consider how the context of a text shapes the meaning of individual words. However, existing instruments have important limitations to their construct validity. For instance, they do not offer clear procedures that would help differentiate between values as conceptualized by Schwartz and everything else people may find important or motivating. This study aims to introduce a new measure of reflected values and to demonstrate how it identifies values in different texts.

Measurement of Value Reflections in Past Studies

The first approach for identifying values in texts is semantics oriented. Past studies employing this approach argue that certain words stand for values. The proponents of this approach assume that some words can function as universal markers of values (Bardi, Calogero, & Mullen, 2008; Maheshwari et al., 2017; Ponizovsky et al., 2020). Across these studies, value vocabularies range between 30 (Bardi, Calogero, & Mullen, 2008) and 1,068

(Ponizovskiy et al., 2020) words. What these studies have in common is the assumption that the presence of the word markers infuses the entire text with value-relevant meanings, while the context in which those words appear does not affect their meaning. Ponizovskiy et al. (2020) argue that their value vocabulary can soundly identify the 10 values in any kind of text.

The research investigating how words stand for values is divided into two camps that do not conceptualize values in the same way. The first camp comprises the theory-driven studies; this camp searches for different ways that the 10 values can be expressed (Bardi, Calogero, & Mullen, 2008; Ponizovskiy et al., 2020). This camp decides which words stand for each of the 10 value types and then tests whether the co-occurrences between selected words in a sample of texts resemble the theoretical circular structure. They treat the extent to which the motivational continuum is replicated as a measure of the construct validity of their measure. The second camp comprises data-driven studies and does not take the existence of the 10 values for granted. Instead, they explore “what people find important” (de Raad & Van Oudenhoven, 2008), “a positive goal worthy of achievement” and “virtues” (Christen et al., 2016), or “guiding principles” (Renner, 2003). In other words, values are treated as a super category. These researchers start from a dictionary (or any other corpus) of a target language (Dutch in de Raad & van Oudenhoven, 2008; Spanish in Morales-Vives et al., 2014; Austrian German in Renner, 2003; German and American English in Christen et al., 2016) and select all nouns and sometimes adjectives that they believe refer to values. These studies tend to arrive at their own emic classifications of value types. While some of them replicate the circular structure proposed by Schwartz (Borg et al., 2016), others only weakly resemble the theoretical model (Renner, 2003, Morales-Vives et al., 2014). De Raad et al. (2016) use the latter findings to question the ecological validity of the Schwartz model.

The second (pragmatics-oriented) approach includes studies that take a more context-dependent approach to measuring values in texts. These studies do not rely on individual words but rather consider the content of an entire passage to conclude which value it communicates. These studies are more methodologically diverse than the semantics-oriented studies. Some studies use qualitative content analysis, which aims to identify references to the 10 values within some thematically narrow samples of texts: rulers’ speeches (Portman, 2014), testimonies from the U.S. Senate, or Federal Communications Commission hearings on net neutrality (Cheng et al., 2012). These studies

have uncovered specific manifestations of values that are informed by the context they appear in. Other studies do not analyze individual sentences or passages but rather assume that the general topic of a message refers to a value. For example, Hsieh et al. (2014) treated all social media posts about the environment as reflecting Universalism, posts about work and career as reflecting Achievement, and those about leisure as reflecting Hedonism. Taking an alternative approach, Samaniego and Pascual (2007) studied which values television communicates to the audience not by coding the content but rather by asking the viewers to indicate which of the 10 values a TV show they watch endorses.

The third group of studies employs a mixed strategy. These researchers use word markers to decide which parts of the material contain variables of interest, but they also account for context when coding. For example, Sun et al. (2014) used a list of value-expressive word markers to first identify in which contexts these words appear. They then retrieved additional context-specific words and phrases associated with the original markers and used that extended list to analyze the data. In a qualitative study, Suedfeld and Brcic (2011) used a list of “code words” (e.g., “successful” and “capable” are code words for Achievement). However, a coder was free to decide whether a given passage contained meanings of the code words. With this instrument, references to values were analyzed in the memoirs of and interviews with the rescuers of potential victims of Nazi persecution and members of resistance organizations during World War II (Suedfeld & de Best, 2008), messages of terrorists (Suedfeld & Brcic, 2011), and speeches of astronauts (Suedfeld, Legkaia, & Brcic, 2010). Hoffman and Slater (2007) used the same methodology to reveal how newspaper articles frame health policy issues. A more complex procedure was used in two other studies (Waheed et al., 2011, 2013). First, a “value dictionary” containing value words and their synonyms suggested by a thesaurus was designed to guide the coding. However, the coder had to decide on a sentence-by-sentence basis which value any given sentence expressed. In addition to the presence of word markers, the coder had to consider the tone of the message and the motivations of the described people. Some studies in this group did not seek to identify the 10 values but rather investigated what “values” as an abstract concept means. Hansson et al. (2010) identified how the use of the concept changed in the social sciences between 1990 and 2009. The research procedure Hanson et al. (2010) used first found the word “values” in academic articles and then analyzed the context in which the word appeared. Finally, it is also worth acknowledging the studies that investigate value-relevant framing effects in information processing research (von

Borgstede et al., 2014) and marketing (Torelli et al., 2012). Although these studies do not measure values' reflections directly, they do assume that the stimuli material presented to respondents reflects different value types. Paper 3 of this dissertation belongs to this group of studies.

In sum, the existing instruments address different aspects of the Schwartz model, including the definition of values as an abstract super-category, the reflections of the 10 values, the dynamic relations between the values, and the influence of context on the values' manifestations.

Limitations of Existing Instruments

The main limitation of all existing approaches is that none of them provides a means of differentiating between reflections of values and other things people may find important or motivating. In the pragmatics-oriented studies, researchers were free to code any word they liked as a value without discussing how they made such decisions. This procedure could have produced inaccurate estimations of the frequency that the values occurred in the examined texts and also could have led to overfitting of the coding frames to the data.

The semantics-oriented studies used diverse procedures to identify values in the raw data. Theory-driven studies used the definitions of 10 value types as the starting point of their inquiries, while data-driven studies began by considering values as a super-category (e.g., something "people find important" de Raad & Van Oudenhoven, 2008). The theory-driven studies do not detail how values and non-values should be differentiated. To mitigate the threats to the construct validity of their instrument, Bardi et al. (2003) decided to use only those texts that included all word markers of a value of interest. For example, the co-occurrence of *power*, *strength*, and *control* within the same document indicates that the text refers to the value of Power. This conclusion is, however, unlikely to be true if the data is the transcript of a sports commentator's report about an athlete's performance, where the three indicators will refer to the physical abilities of the person rather than values. This hypothetical example illustrates how ignoring pragmatics can bias the results of an analysis. Researchers have used other means to ensure the validity of their instruments: estimation of the pattern of the interrelationships between the 10 values (Bardi et al., 2008; Ponizovskiy et al., 2020), evaluation of the convergence between the pattern of interrelations between values reflected in texts and those obtained from self-reports (Bardi et al., 2008; Maheshwari et al., 2017), estimation of the relationships between reflected

values with self-reported values of the texts' authors (Sun et al., 2014; Ponizovskiy et al., 2020), and using other reflected variables (Bardi et al., 2008; Ponizovskiy et al., 2020).

The data-driven studies took some steps to differentiate between values and everything else. Summarizing the three studies that relied on the lexical approach, De Raad et al. (2016) reported that, in those studies, all words that “were attitudes rather than values” (p. 1057) and words that “clearly did not express human behavior or thoughts and words that clearly did not describe values” (p. 1058) were excluded from the analysis. However, they did not specify how these decisions were made. Finally, the data-driven studies do not classify the word markers according to the 10 values but rather explore which value types emerge from the raw data. Only one study evaluated how well the data fit the Schwartz model (Borg et al., 2016).

It is, however, important to note that these two approaches also address the measurement of values from different perspectives – the data-driven studies investigate values as a super-category (e.g., as a “guiding principle” in Renner, 2003), while the theory-driven studies aim to identify the 10 values. The Schwartz model, however, specifies both. It first defines what values are and how values differ from other constructs, and then, it provides a classification of specific value types. Combining the two approaches could thus provide a more accurate measure of values that addresses both values as the main category of analysis and the 10 values as subcategories. This is the first objective of this study.

Schwartz's definition of values emphasizes their function as guiding principles in people's lives that motivate actions and serve as standards for evaluating events and objects. Sagiv and Roccas (2017) even define values as cognitive representations of basic motivations. That means that values can serve as explanations people give for their actions and attitudes. Most past studies, however, focused only on their direct definition, which is that values refer to what people find important or desirable (de Raad & van Odenhoven; Portman, 2014; Christen et al., 2016). To date, only one study addressed the motivational aspect of values. Renner (2003) selected all words from a dictionary that refer to something people may consider to be a “guiding principle.” However, since this study did not investigate the context in which these words appeared, it is unclear whether people indeed use them to explain their behaviors or decisions. Written language and spoken language communicate importance and motivation in different ways. Expanding the scope of the research and including expressions of motivations will not only increase the amount of material potentially suitable for analysis but will also help to further differentiate values

and non-values. The inclusion of the motivational aspect of values is the second objective of this study.

The Schwartz model conceptualizes values as desirable end-states. However, individuals rank values according to their level of importance, which means that a person may believe that some values are indeed important and desirable while others are not. A recent study of the construction of the 10 values showed that nine contain elements that have a clear negative connotation (Belic et al., unpublished manuscript). There is no consistency across studies regarding whether the valence of the relationship of the word markers to the content of the value matters in text analysis. While some studies treat both positively and negatively connotated words and phrases equally (Portman, 2014; Ponizovskiy et al., 2020), others include only those with positive connotations (Morales-Vives et al., 2014; Christen et al., 2016). No quantitative study has reported whether the research procedure specified how the presence of negations along with word markers (e.g., not benevolent, not safe instead of malevolent, dangerous) in the analyzed text should be interpreted. The qualitative and mixed-methods research has included various ways for estimating whether passage describes value as desirable. Hoffman and Slater (2011) analyzed whether values were endorsed in newspaper articles. Waheed et al. (2011, 2013) included the “tone of the value” in their analysis. However, they used that tone as a characteristic of the context in which the value appears and not of the value per se. Some studies (e.g., Cheng et al., 2012; Maheshwari et al., 2017) do not report how they addressed the issue of valence. The third objective of this study is to address the issue of the values’ valence.

The pattern of the interrelationships between the 10 values is an important characteristic of the Schwartz model. The investigation of these interrelationships in the textual data has been done in different ways across past studies. The theory-driven semantics-oriented studies (Bardi et al., 2008; Ponizovskiy et al., 2020) designed their instruments with the intention to replicate the circle (as they treated convergence between the theoretical and empirical models as an indicator of their instruments’ validity). That, however, also means that any markers that did not contribute to the replication of the circle were excluded from the poll of items even if they were conceptually relevant. Consequently, all instances of value markers that did not comply with the theory or load on multiple values were unaccounted for. From the data-driven studies, only one successfully replicated the circle (Borg et al., 2016); others tended to use exploratory

analytic procedures (e.g., de Raad & van Oudenhoven, 2008; Morales et al., 2014). Neither Hofman and Slater (2011) nor Portman (2014), of whom, both took a more context-dependent approach to value measurement, replicated the theoretical model. However, these researchers worked with very specific samples of texts. Constructing an instrument that would identify the relationships between the 10 values is the fourth objective of this study.

Another characteristic of the Schwartz model is the organization of the values along two motivational continua – Personal versus Social focus and Anxiety avoidance versus Growth. In past research on value reflections, those continua have not been addressed. In the Schwartz model, the two continua help display the position of each value in relation to other values (Figure 1). The two continua also uncover the similarities and differences between the 10 values. The Personal versus Social focus of values refers to whether the achievement of goals typical to a value are beneficial for the person themselves (Self-direction, Stimulation, Hedonism, Achievement, Power) or for other people or a larger community (Security, Tradition, Conformity, Benevolence, Universalism). The Anxiety avoidance versus Growth continuum refers to whether the achievement of a goal typical to a value helps achieve or acquire something new (Benevolence, Universalism, Self-Direction, Stimulation, Hedonism, Achievement) or preserve the status quo (Power, Security, Tradition, Conformity). This additional information is potentially useful for differentiating between the value types in a pragmatics-oriented analysis of textual data. For example, if an analyzed segment contains some information that indicates the focus of the value (e.g., Personal versus Social), it can facilitate the interpretation of the segment and more accurately identify the specific value type. The fifth objective of this study is to integrate the information of motivational continua in the analytic procedure.

A final limitation of past studies concerns the semantics-oriented studies. Such an approach ties the analysis to a given language and therefore makes cross-country comparisons problematic. First, different languages have neither general nor value-related vocabularies of equal sizes. A study comparing the value-related vocabularies of Dutch, Austrian German, and Spanish reported that these vocabularies varied in size (de Raad et al., 2016). This may potentially entail that a value marker taken from one language may not exist in another. Second, the semantic differences between languages represent further limitations to word-based measures. Christen et al. (2016) provide examples of how the same word markers appear in very different semantic fields in German and American

English. Another study investigated how Russian-speaking respondents understand the items of SVS (Efremova et al., 2017). The cognitive probes session revealed that, for example, “ambitious” (one key concept of Achievement) stood for vanity more than it did for skills and performance,⁶ as its definition would entail. The context in which a word appears may also affect its meaning. Schwartz and Ros (1995) discuss how the meaning of liberty in the Declaration of Independence differs from *liberté* used in the motto of the French Revolution – *liberté, égalité et fraternité*. Finally, some words have multiple meanings (e.g., “power” in politics and physics). This issue was not discussed in past research. The final objective of this research is to design an instrument that will be as language independent as possible while simultaneously accounting for language pragmatics. The guiding research question of this study is as follows: How do online media reflect the 10 values?

Method

Sample and Procedure

The sample of analyzed texts consists of webpage content retrieved from the browsing histories of nine volunteers. These browsing histories were collected through the *WebHistorian* browser extension (Menchen-Trevino, 2016). Respondents were instructed to delete all pages that could contain their personal data, pages concerning their professional activities or studies, and pages they did not wish researchers to access. The data were cleaned before the analysis. The sample excluded pages that contained private information of the respondents (personal correspondence and social media, online shopping, banking, etc.), pages that contained less than one complete sentence, pages that were updated after they were visited by the respondent, and pages whose links referred to the home pages of the websites (e.g., news portals, search engines). The number of suitable web pages from each respondent ranged from 27 to 376. Two respondents provided significantly more suitable material than the others; one provided 172 pages, and the other provided 376 ($M = 39$, $SD = 14.2$ in the rest of the sample). From the browsing histories of these two respondents, 39 pages were randomly selected for further analysis. The total number of analyzed pages was 390. The sample consisted of blogs, news articles, interviews, thematic websites (e.g., gardening, child development, sports), Wikipedia and

⁶ Efremova et al. (2017), however, do not discuss the differences between two synonyms, амбициозный and целеустремленный, which both mean ambitious.

similar resources, online forums and portals with user-generated reviews, marketing texts, and advertisements. The main content of each page and associated user-generated comments were used in the analysis.

Instruments and Analysis

To identify value reflections in the sampled texts, I used qualitative content analysis. I relied on the guidelines for the development of the coding frame and analytic procedures outlined by Schreier (2012). This section presents the decision rules for each of the three stages of the analysis:

1) *Segmentation*. In this stage, researchers identify passages in the raw data that refer to the studied phenomenon, which, in this study, is values.

2) *The main category of the analysis*. This stage aims to register the presence of a variable of interest in a selected segment. This stage helps one recognize descriptions of values in texts and helps one distinguish these from all other types of psychological constructs (e.g., personality traits, habits, etc.) a text can describe.

3) *Subcategories – the 10 value types*. In this stage, researchers assign one of the value types to a selected segment based on a) correspondence between the content of a segment and either the social or personal focus of the identified values (see p. 29 for definition and p. 89 for procedure); and b) the correspondence between the conceptual definition of the values (see Appendix 4) and the content of a segment.

The unit of analysis was the thematic segment, which referred to either a manifestation of importance or motivation (see definitions of Value Reflection Types 1 and 2 on p. 83). Overall, the coding frame underwent six rounds of revisions. The final version of the instrument is presented here.

Segmentation

As a starting point, I used the following definition of values from Schwartz (Schwartz et al., 2012):

“Values are trans-situational *goals*, varying in *importance*, that serve as guiding principles in the life of a person or group. Values serve as standards or criteria. The relative importance of multiple values *motivates* action” (italics added).

The definition above has three key concepts:

1) **Goals** are something people want to achieve. A goal, unless it has already been achieved, lies in the future. Action precedes the attainment of a goal. This observation

was made by Peng, Nisbet, and Wong (1997, p. 330): “It is our opinion that if a value is something that one desires or prefers, then it could be something that one does not have yet; by the same token, if a value is only a standard or criterion, then it could mean that one has not successfully accomplished it.”

2) **Motivation** is a reason to do something. To claim that an action was motivated by something, the motivating element must exist before the action occurs. That means values can be described as causes of actions. This characteristic of values is used in the PVQ questionnaires. Items of the PVQ describe people who see different things as important because of their value priorities. For example, “It's important to her/him to show her/his abilities” (Achievement). It is assumed that it is the high importance of the value of Achievement that causes the desire to demonstrate abilities.

3) **Importance** is an essential quality of values; the hierarchical structure of values makes them distinct from other beliefs (Schwartz, 2006). Although people may disagree about the importance of different values, it seems that each value can occupy the position of the most important one in someone's personal hierarchy.

From the above definition, it follows that values are likely to be expressed in passages that refer to goals, causes, and manifestations of the importance of something. Conventional value research does not separate the three elements, as they are integral characteristics of values and are always present whenever human values are concerned. If a value motivates action or judgment, it is because the value is sufficiently important. The analysis of textual data, however, requires such separation. First, when writing or speaking, people may refer to one characteristic of values and only imply the others. The implied part will then be missing from the data. Second, language does not use the same means to communicate importance and motivations. The differences lie not only in relevant vocabulary but also in the way statements are structured. Based on these considerations, I will present two distinct types of value reflections – values as manifestations of importance (Value Reflection Type 1) and values as references to motivations (Value Reflection Type 2).

Value Reflection Type 1. The first way to talk about values regards how they directly manifest themselves. Since values are guiding principles one finds important, they can be reflected in passages that emphasize the importance of something: “it is important,” “my life motto,” “her life principles,” “the top priority,” “it is a must,” and so on.

Value Reflection Type 2. The second way to communicate values is to refer to their motivational function, that is, to name them as a goal or cause of some action. The differentiation between goals and causes is rather obscure in the social sciences and philosophy. Language, however, uses different means to communicate them (Pekelis, 2015).

Consider three examples:

- The **goal** of recycling is to protect nature.
- The **reason** for recycling is the protection of nature.
- The protection of nature is the **cause** of recycling [practices].

The three sentences communicate the same idea that recycling and the protection of nature are not independent of each other. However, the expression of this idea takes different forms.

Direct manifestations of goals and causes, such as in the examples above, are not the only ways to communicate the relationships between objects in a sentence. The use of subordinate clauses is an alternative. Since we are interested in goals and causes, the corresponding types of subordination should be considered:

- *Clause of purpose.* I recycle **in order to** protect nature.
- *Clause of cause.* I recycle **because** recycling protects nature.

Although these examples do not directly state that the protection of nature is an end or a reason for actions, this is implied in these sentences.

Finally, it is important to pay attention to the deep structure of the text – a series of sentences can be connected by their meaning. For example, in spoken language, conjunctions are often implied. For example, the statement “I left the beach because I was bored” can also be expressed with “I was bored. I left the beach,” or “I was bored and left the beach.” Participials and adverbs can express goals and causes too (Bikkulova, 2011). “Anticipating the day full of adventures, I could not wait to wake up next morning” can be expressed as “I could not wait to wake up the next morning because I was anticipating the adventures of the coming day.” Regardless of the exact way, these types of passages communicate causes and contain potentially relevant data for this study and therefore need to be included in the analysis.

Finally, when explaining how different events and objects are interconnected, people can use causal constructions, such as “A results in B,” “A affects B,” or “A leads to B.”

- Widespread recycling practices **affect** the state of the environment.
- Ocean pollution is **the result** of insufficient recycling.

Overall, there are two groups of indicators that potentially reflect values in a passage:

1. Direct manifestations of the importance of something; and
2. Expressions of goals and causes.

2.1. Statements indicating that something is a goal or a cause of something else. The indicators would be the words “goals,” “cause,” and their synonyms.

2.2. Conjunctions of goal and cause – subordinate clauses of goals and causes can indicate how certain actions are caused by something or lead to some goal. Conjunctions of goal and cause, e.g. “in order to,” “because,” and all their synonyms (see Apresyan & Pekelis, 2012) would be indicators of such relationships. To identify implied conjunctions, a coder tries to fit “in order to” or “because” into a given passage. If the meaning of the passage remains the same, it should be marked as a relevant segment and used in further analysis.

2.3. Construction of cause and effect – the use of causal language is an indicator of potentially relevant data.

Main Category: Differentiation Between Values and Other Constructs

Although values have a clear motivational function, they are not the only force in the world that can affect people and change the status quo. This point is particularly relevant for causes – events external to humans, like weather conditions, can cause actions and feelings too. However, these events must be excluded from the analysis. Based on the analysis of past literature on values and their relationships with other psychological constructs, I propose further indicators that help with deciding whether a described goal or cause refers to values.

Who: Values are Attributes of Agents (relevant for Value Reflection Type 1 and Type 2). To be directed by values, one has to be agentic. Although the Schwartz model of values describes values as characteristics of humans and reserves them to humans exclusively, agency is not unique to humans. Outside scientific discourse, the distinction

between humans and non-humans can be rather obscure. People's imagination can humanize everything just as much as it can dehumanize anyone. Art grants human qualities to animals (e.g., *The Lion King* from Disney), plants (e.g., flowers from *Alice in Wonderland* from Disney), and objects (e.g., *Toy Story* from Pixar), not to mention all sorts of fantastic creatures (e.g., *Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles* by Eastman and Laird). In real life, humanizations happen too: people can refer to their pets, house plants, and possessions – such as cars – as thinking, feeling, planning, and so on. Despite the diversity of people and things that can possess human characteristics, all of them are agentic. That means they can potentially have values, manifest these as their guiding principles, and act upon them.

Different types of agents can be described in texts:

- 1) *First person*. In personal blogs, opinion columns, etc., the author of the text is the one whose actions or feelings are explained. Some texts include direct speech, when the third person makes a statement about themselves. Example: “**I** pet the dog.”
- 2) *Second person (+ imperative mood)*. Marketing texts often address readers and try to motivate them for some actions: “Pet dogs whenever **you** meet them!”
- 3) *Third person*. It is a description of the actions and motivations of someone mentioned in the text. Example: “**The girl** pets the dog.”
- 4) *Impersonal sentences and passive voice*. Many texts use this strategy and refer to an abstract “them” or “one.” In the Russian language, such sentences use no pronoun, but a) a declination of a verb that corresponds to the third person in plural (“[they] bake a cake”) or b) a reflexive verb in the form corresponding to number and gender of the grammatical patient (“Cake bakes [itself]”). It is, however, obvious that someone is in charge of baking. Some texts also use the passive voice and only imply that an action was performed by an agent: “The dog was pet (by someone).”

There is also another, more practical reason for identifying who the text is about, whose worldviews a text describes, and whose actions it explains. Most texts do not describe the worldviews of their authors but rather refer to various situations where multiple characters interact with each other. To decrease the ambiguity in the interpretation of the texts, it is important to identify whose perspective is presented and whose actions are explained. The identification of grammatical agent(s) and recipients(s) is therefore necessary.

Finally, the identification of an agent in a segment helps exclude all irrelevant materials that do not reflect values from the analysis. The following are examples of data excluded during this step:

- 1) It is colder in the mountains than on the plain because of the altitude.
- 2) It rains less because of climate change.

What: Values Motivate Behavior, Affect, Cognition (Relevant for Value Reflection Type 2). The next indicator refers not to values per se but rather to their outcomes, to the realm of what can happen because of values. Differentiating plausible and implausible value outcomes helps make the selection of relevant material even more precise and decreases the chances of erroneously treating irrelevant material as relevant. The definition of values points to the three types of psychological constructs that can be motivated by values – beliefs, emotions, and behaviors.

1) *Beliefs (and attitudes)*. In the previous chapter, I described the mechanisms of the relationships between values and beliefs and attitudes. Here, I only emphasize that, although a wealth of empirical evidence has demonstrated that values can relate to a wide range of beliefs, the particular value-belief pairs depend on people's personal experiences and their social environments. This information should remind coders to avoid using the results of past studies as heuristics in coding different value types. For example, one can assume that the maintenance of positive interpersonal relations is always an expression of the value of Benevolence. However, as Belic et al. (unpublished manuscript) demonstrated, people can evaluate relationships with others from the perspective of different values. Consequently, different value types can potentially motivate any beliefs and attitudes as long as an individual sees the connection. In accounting for these theoretical considerations, I argue that text segments that describe beliefs, convictions, preferences, or attitudes of agents can also describe their values.

2) *Affect*. People experience positive emotions when they have an opportunity to pursue their important values and negative emotions when their attainment is threatened. This line of argumentation has been reflected in studies addressing relationships between values, affect, and subjective wellbeing. Several theoretical approaches explain the link between values and people's wellbeing. Some studies show that the importance of some values is associated with the frequency of experiencing positive emotions (Sagiv & Schwartz, 2000). Moreover, the congruence between one's own value priorities and those of people one interacts with contributes to positive evaluations of one's own life (e.g., Sagiv

& Schwartz, 2000; Soerthix & Loennqvist, 2015). Finally, Oppenheim-Weller, Roccas, and Kumar (2018) argue that the sense of value fulfillment is what contributes to subjective wellbeing. Regardless of the exact mechanism, these studies show that values associate with affect and evaluations of one's life. On this basis, I argue that text segments that describe emotional states and reactions of agents or their evaluations of their lives can also describe values.

3) *Behaviors and intentions.* Past studies tested the relationships between values and a wide range of behaviors and actions – from choosing TV shows (Besley, 2008), to political participation (Vecchione et al., 2014), to helping researchers (Daniel et al., 2015). Although the definition of values states that values motivate behaviors, the empirical literature on this matter remains inconclusive (for review, see Fischer, 2017). In the search for moderators that would clarify the mechanism of value-behavior relations, Verplaken and Holland (2002) discovered that values have stronger ties to behaviors if those behaviors require planning. Indeed, an overview of past research reveals that past studies were mainly preoccupied with behaviors that require at least some volition and intention, for instance, wearing a campaign badge (Hafner-Fink, 2012) or composting food scraps (Schultz et al., 2005). There are no studies that argue that people can unintentionally fall on the ground, overhear something, or die⁷ because of their values. Moreover, when people are asked to directly list behaviors motivated by different values, those behaviors also require volition. For example, Bardi and Schwartz (2003) found that “lending things to neighbors” is something a person motivated by Benevolence would do, whereas “studying in the night” indicates the high importance of Achievement. These findings suggest that expressions of volition represent an additional indicator of value-motivated actions.

Interestingly, although the three constructs – beliefs, behavior, affect – are very distinct from a psychological point of view, differentiating them in texts can be complicated. All of them can be expressed with verbs: “she goes for a walk” is a description of her behavior; “she likes documentaries” is a description of her attitudes; “she smiles” refers to her emotional state. There is, however, a group of verbs that describes none of these – for example, “to see,” “to hear,” “to notice,” “to die,” and “to fall.” This category of verbs describes what happens to a person regardless of their will and worldview. The

⁷ Of course, it is possible to say “He died for his values,” but that does not mean that he lied on the ground and died intentionally.

latter category must be excluded to avoid overfitting the coding frame and seeing values where they do not exist. Of course, different languages have different ways to express actions, thoughts, and feelings. For example, English frequently combines verbs with adjectives, for example, “she **is** sorry,” or “he **was** **absent** [from the class].” In Russian, both examples would be expressed with verbs only. The language-specific means of expression should be considered in the design of the coding manual.

Sometimes, it can be difficult to decide whether described actions and processes are (in)voluntary. In such situations, indicators of volition can be helpful. Whether a described action was planned by an agent may be indicated with words such as, for example, “intentionally,” “on purpose,” “as she planned,” or “as she wanted.” A lack of volition is expressed by words such as, for example, “accidentally,” “unintentionally,” or “against her will.” Sometimes, volition is only implied (compare “seeing” versus “looking” or “overhearing” versus “eavesdropping”). Paying attention to these details can further help in the analysis of value reflections.

Finally, it is important to note that agents act, feel, and think not only because of their values.

Why: Values are Goals and Causes Intrinsic to Agents. After discussing who and what can be guided by values, the next step is to discuss what makes values different from the rest of the possible goals and causes. Values are intrinsic to agents. The analysis of the sources of goals and causes reveals another distinction between goals and causes. All goals are intrinsic, whereas causes can be extrinsic or intrinsic.

Goals are intrinsic to agents. Particular objectives formulated into standards or milestones does not have to be generated by a person, but rather given externally. However, one must still internalize a goal and accept it as something important enough to motivate actions. Take, for example, the following sentence: “He studies hard to meet the requirements of his school”. The requirements are set externally, but the implied desire to meet those requirements is intrinsic. This example expresses a very different motivation from “He studies hard to outclass his sister” or “He studies hard to decode Egyptian hieroglyphs by himself.” It is important to keep in mind, however, that not all goals in the world are values. Some of them can be situational. For comparison, consider the following sentences: “He opened the window to let some fresh air in;” and “he opened the window to enjoy the fresh air.” In both sentences, an agent acts to achieve some goal. The difference

between the sentences is that the second one emphasizes that the anticipated experience of pleasure motivated the agent, and this emphasis matches the conceptual definition of Hedonism. The match between the content of a described goal and that of one of the 10 values is what differentiates values and other types of goals.

Unlike goals, causes can be extrinsic or intrinsic. Many things happen independently of an agent's will or convictions. One can act, think, and feel in response to the social or physical environment. The category of extrinsic causes includes everything that is out of an agent's control – weather conditions, laws and rules, actions of others, and so on:

- She screamed because of the sudden thunder and lightning.
- He applied for that college because his GPA was too low for him to apply to any other.
- She dislikes ice cream because she is lactose intolerant.

In these examples, all causes refer to circumstances that are out of the agent's control and are not a part of their psychological functioning. Consequently, these causes cannot be values and have to be excluded from the analysis.

The category of intrinsic causes includes everything that refers to the psychological phenomena of agents. People's actions, feelings, and thoughts can be caused by their convictions, values, personality traits, habits, and so on:

- "She likes ice cream because she has a sweet tooth" (a reference to her personality).
- "She dislikes ice cream because she believes ice cream is for children" (a reference to her non-value beliefs).
- She dislikes ice cream because last year she stained her new dress with ice cream right before she was called on the stage" (a reference to past experience).

These sentences do not refer to values.

Subcategories: Differentiation Between Value Types (Relevant to Value Types 1 and 2)

This step applies only to the segments that have not been filtered out in the previous steps. Once a value reflection is identified and the who, what, and why questions are

answered, one can move to the coding of particular value types communicated in a given segment. To identify which value (if any) is present in the data, a coder needs to compare the content of the “why” part with conceptual definitions of the 10 values and apply decision rules (Appendix 3). The most suitable value label should then be assigned to the segment. Some text segments refer to several goals or name several reasons simultaneously. Each of these should be considered as an independent unit of information and coded separately.

To facilitate the identification of the reflected value type, there are two rules.

The identification of who performs an action (semantic role agent) and who that action is directed to (recipient) facilitates the identification of value types. Schwartz differentiates between values with Personal and Social focuses. Personal focus values (Self-direction, Stimulation, Hedonism, Achievement, Power, Security) all emphasize outcomes for oneself. Social focus values (Conformity, Tradition, Benevolence, and Universalism) emphasize outcomes for others. The following two examples demonstrate this idea:

- “I bake often because I enjoy a fresh pastry” (Hedonism: Own pleasure motivates actions).
- “I bake often because my children enjoy a fresh pastry” (Benevolence: Care for others’ wellbeing motivates actions).

In other words, actions motivated by values with different focuses differ according to their recipients. For values of a Personal focus, the agent and recipient are the same (**I** bake ... because **I** enjoy ...), whereas, for values of a Social focus, the agent and recipient are not the same (**I** bake ... because of **my children** ...). These examples demonstrate that it is the context (here, the focus on oneself or others) and not the expected result (“joy,” which is a part of the definition of Hedonism) that helps to identify a value type.

Values are trans-situational goals that can be relevant in any context and any situation. Considering how diverse the world is, it is helpful to use the context of a passage to better understand how world described in that passage functions and which parts of it manifest values. For example, the value of Achievement may have different manifestations in different contexts. In business, revenues are indicators of success; an animal shelter might measure its success by how quickly they find new homes for their animals; a blogger may measure their influence by their number of followers.

The Importance of a Value: Promotion/Demotion

The importance of values is their essential quality – some values are important and desirable, and others are not. The straightforward way of talking about values is to promote them or, in other words, to present them as something important or to refer to them as valid sources of motivation. Sometimes values are demoted, that is, they are presented as unimportant or as an invalid source of motivation. Demotions of values happen when a value reflection comes with a negation (not success, not self-expression) or a negative evaluation (Christmas is an atrocity) or appears in the form of a synonym that has a negative connotation (annoying overachiever, control freak). Another way to express the importance of a value is to compare it with alternatives (e.g., “It is more important to be independent than popular among peers”).

Figures 5 and 7 depict the steps of the data analysis from text segmentation to the assignment of a subcategory label. Figures 6 and 8 provide examples of analyzed segments.

Reliability Test

The coding manual presented here is the result of six rounds of revisions. Each round introduced or revised the coding rules. In rounds 1–4, 30% of the data were randomly selected for reliability analysis, and in rounds 5–6, 10% of the data were randomly selected for reliability analysis. Rounds 2–4 were performed with the assistance of one of two second coders involved in this project. Both coders were bilingual (Russian and Kyrgyz) undergraduate students who received around 15 hours of training before the coding. The training covered the theoretical aspects of Schwartz value theory and practice in using the coding manual and the software. The training was performed using a training dataset – a collection of randomly selected webpages from popular blogs on different topics. After the training was completed, the second coder and I independently coded up to 30% of the data and compared our results. I used Krippendorff’s alpha (K) coefficient to make conclusions regarding intercoder reliability. Each coding round ended with a discussion of the sources of disagreement in coding. Although revision rounds 1–5 did not demonstrate a satisfactory level of intercoder agreement (i.e., $K < .80$), they did provide useful insights into how the segmentation and coding rules should be changed. Most of the changes in the coding manual concerned the segmentation and identification of the values as the main category of analysis. In other words, the main difficulty was identifying the relevant materials and differentiating between values and non-values. Rounds 5 and 6 were performed without the involvement of the second coder. The coding procedure in these rounds was very complex and cognitively demanding, requiring high proficiency in the Russian language and a

profound knowledge of the Schwartz model, content analysis procedures, and software skills. However, the intra-coder reliability was tested with a single coder who analyzed 10% of the data twice, with an interval of two weeks between each time. In the sixth round of revision, a satisfactory level of intra-coder reliability was achieved, with mean $K = .88.15$ ($SD = 8.62$) across the analyzed documents. The main threat to the reliability was overlooking relevant segments, especially passages with omitted conjunctions, imperative moods directed at the reader, and impersonal sentences.

Results

Overview

The overall number of coded segments that contained either various manifestations of importance or motivations was 1,956. From these, 756 (38.6%) were coded as reflecting values. From these, 98 (12%) communicated values as something important (Value Reflection Type 1), and the rest referred to values as motivations (Value Reflection Type 2). In most of the analyzed segments, values were promoted, meaning that values were presented as desirable ends or valid motivations. However, demotions of values were also present in the data. These included when a value was presented as undesirable or when it was described a less desirable than other values in the same segment. The frequency of demotions varied greatly across different value types. The values of Achievement and Power had the largest shares of demotions – 16.4% and 12.7%, respectively. No demotions were mentioned for the values of Face and Humility.

The main results present the reflections of the 10 value types. To structure the interpretation of the results and to demonstrate the different ways that values can be used in texts, I inductively developed themes that highlight different aspects of the values. Not all analyzed segments belong to one of the themes nor are themes mutually exclusive. Their use, however, helps demonstrate the breadth of the values as theoretical construct and grasps some aspects of the values that are not explicitly discussed in the theory. During the analysis, I came across segments that referred to two newly introduced values – Face and Humility (Schwartz et al., 2012). These were coded accordingly and presented in the main results. I then presented examples of how the references to the multiple values within a segment illustrate the relationships between different values. Finally, I identified some segments that potentially refer to values that are not present in the theoretical model. I present these at the end of the Results section. Table 5 provides the overview of the main results.

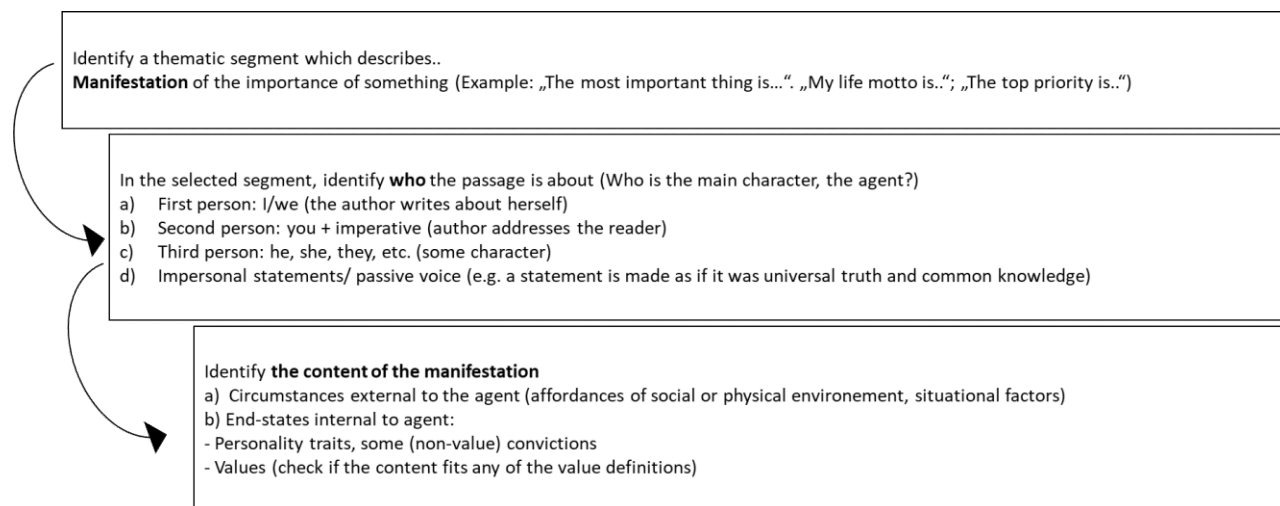


Figure 5. Example of the coding algorithm for Value reflection Type 1 (manifestation)

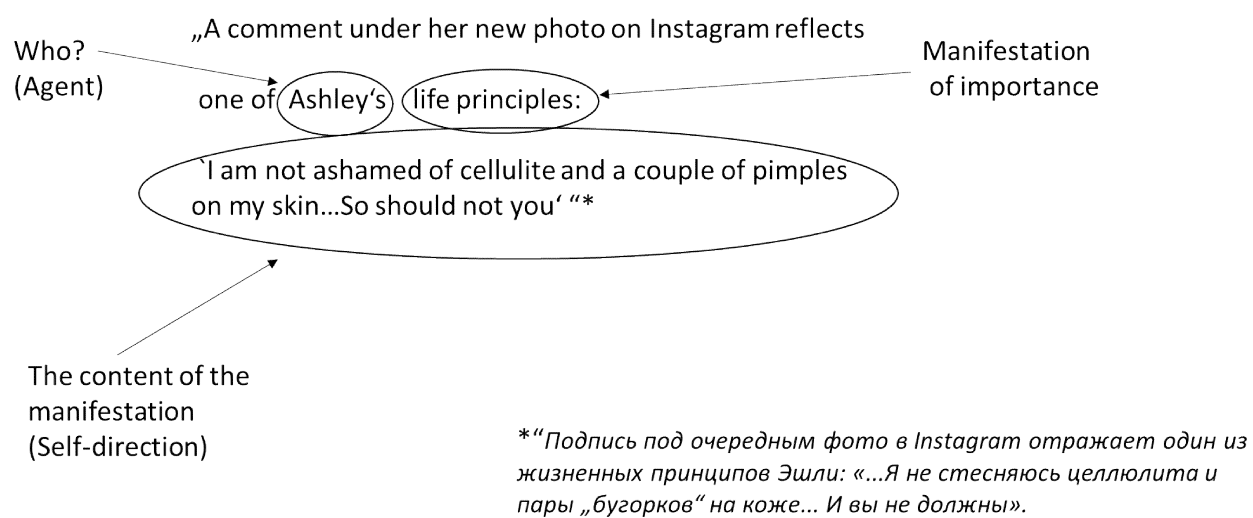


Figure 6. Example of the analysis of the segment with Value reflection Type 1.

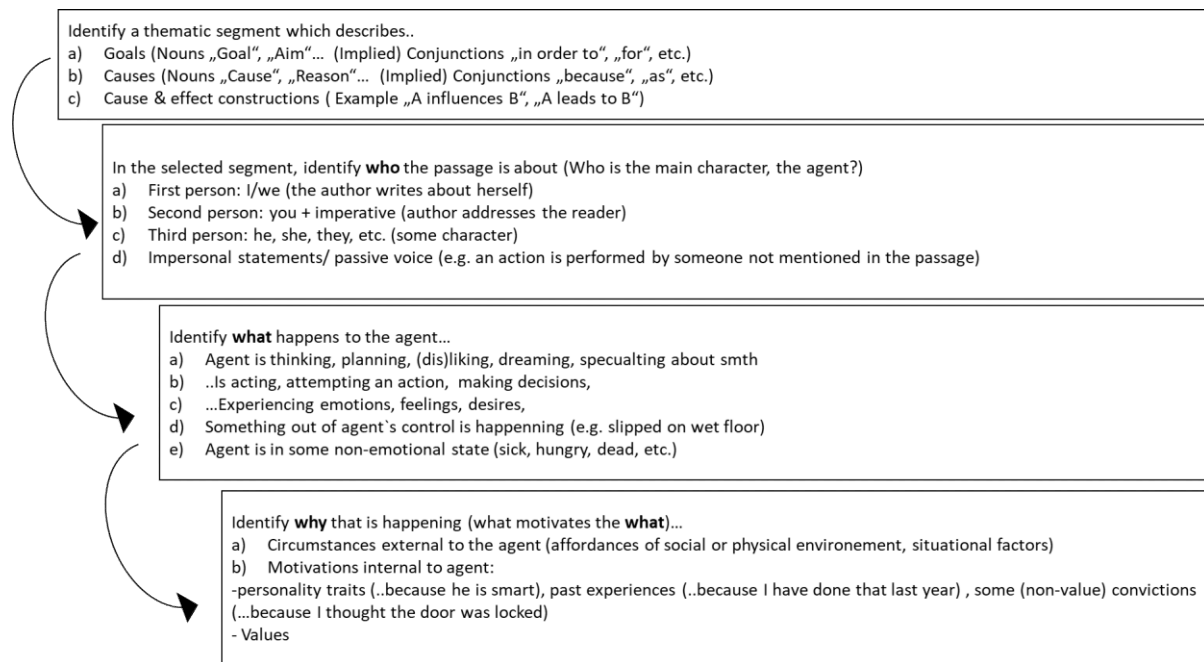
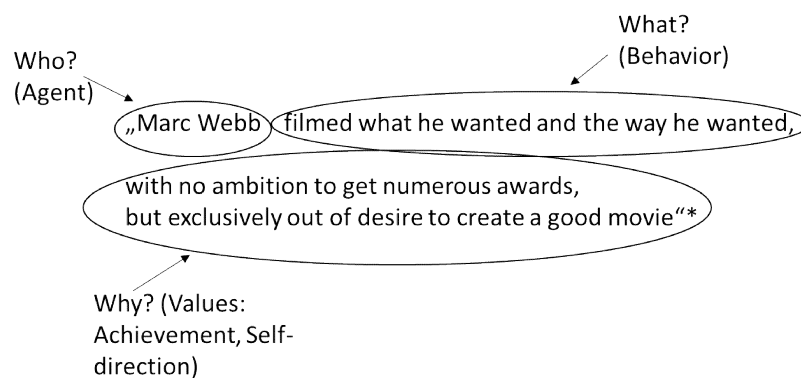


Figure 7. Example of the coding algorithm for value reflection Type 2



* „Марк Уэбб снял то, что ему нравится и так, как нравится, без претензий на ворох наград, исключительно из желания создать хороший фильм“

Figure 8. Example of the analysis of the segment with value reflection Type 2.

Value Types

Self-direction

There were 51 segments coded as expressing Self-direction, with only one of these expressions demoting the importance of the value. Overall, Self-direction was present in the browsing histories of all respondents and accounted for 6.8% of all value-coded segments. The analysis revealed six themes reflecting Self-direction: self-expression, assertiveness in the pursuit of self-chosen goals, independence of thought and action, challenging existing standards, disregard of others' expectations, and control over one's own life. From these, only independence of thought and action directly reflects the value's conceptual definition, while the other five themes highlight additional aspects of the value.

The first facet of Self-direction is the **need for self-expression** and for finding one's true self. This facet is exactly what a certain popular psychology book helps its readers achieve. An advertisement about the book was one of the analyzed segments, and according to it the book (1)⁸ *“will reveal how to know what you really want and how to achieve it. A great audiobook for those who do not know yet what they want in life. You will realize how to believe again in ‘long-forgotten’ goals, overcome barriers on your way to success, and finally decide who you really want to be.”* The idea that self-expression is important and requires special attention when underdeveloped appears in the context of child development and education. In an online discussion about non-conventional schools, a psychologist stated that such schools do not satisfy the needs of all children in the same way. She⁹ then wrote that parents whose children have well-developed intelligence but are less developed emotionally or physically need (2) *“to remember that, for smart kids, not studies but self-expression is in first place. The intelligence won't go anywhere.”* The next example is rather unusual as it demonstrates how the need for self-expression can be extended from an individual to an entire community. In this case, a person sees herself as an inseparable part of her ingroup, while the group becomes homogenous and possesses the desires and qualities of an individual. For example, a pro-Soviet blogger wrote, (3) *“We are a great country, and we must have our path [Sonderweg], our idea, and our word in this world.”*

⁸ The quotes provided here are rough translations from Russian and do not reflect the precise content of each quote. Because of the linguistic differences between Russian and English, some quotes in English lack the elements present in Russian, and sometimes the quotes lack elements crucial for the identification of a segment or a value as a main category of analysis. The original quotes and their sources and access dates are in Appendix 4.

⁹ When referring to a statement's author, I use the pronoun “she” whenever the gender of the author is unknown. In all other instances, the pronoun corresponds to the gender the author uses to refer to her/himself.

Table 5. *Overview of the main results of content and thematic analyses*

Value	Share of all value-coded segments (%)	No of segments promoting/demoting value	Share of value reflections Type 1 (%)	Themes
Self-direction	6.8	50/1	23.5	Independence of thought and action; self-expression; assertiveness in pursuit of self-chosen goals; challenge existing standards; disregard others' expectations; control over own life
Stimulation	7.6	53/5	8.6	Diversity of experiences; challenge in life; anticipation of unique experiences
Hedonism	7.2	54/1	9.1	Trait-like hedonism; situational hedonism; reduction of efforts; avoidance of unpleasant experiences
Achievement	12	76/15	15.4	Demonstration of competence; success as a lifestyle; aspiration towards best possible performance; orientation on social standards
Power	13.5	89/13	11.6	Dominance & status; control, attempts to diminish the power of others
Face	1.7	13/0	23.1	Protection from threats; tool of power management
Security	15.2	114/1	6.1	Personal security: concern for one's physical safety; health; financial well-being. Societal security: the need for protection from external threats; fear of treason; fear of dysfunctional institutions; threatening social norms
Tradition	3	22/1	4.3	Practices and rituals specific to some community; habitual lifestyle; submission to idealized authorities; abstract "order of things"
Conformity	3.2	20/4	25.0	Interpersonal conformity; compliance with the rules; submission to authorities; self-censorship
Humility	0.3	2/0	0	Accepting one's portion in life
Benevolence	18.5	139/1	8.6	Care; dependability; desire to understand others
Universalism	4.9	36/1	18.9	Appreciation of nature; equality of all; tolerance in intergroup relations; protection of the vulnerable; common good

The emphasis the nationalist rhetoric puts on the need for “uniqueness” makes it fit with the self-expression facet of Self-direction.

The next reflection of Self-direction is **assertiveness in the pursuit of self-chosen goals**. Being self-directed requires some effort and perseverance. It is not enough to simply set a goal. It is necessary to pursue it. Those who do not know how to achieve what they want can use the guidelines provided in a special self-help book. The book’s marketing text promises, (4) *“by listening to the audiobook, you will get a step-by-step algorithm of how to get from point A (where you are now) to point B (where you want to be).”* However, some people know exactly what they need to do to achieve their goals. On a forum about hiking, one user wrote about his preparations for a trip to the mountains: (5) *“physical exercise is obligatory – I do not want to be unable to complete some route not only because of the weather but also because of my own abilities.”* Achieving one’s own goals is pleasant. On the same forum, another user finished his report about his day spent in the mountains with the following: (6) *“The day turned out to be just perfect. I managed to accomplish everything I had planned”*

Another aspect of self-direction is one’s relationship with others’ expectations. Self-directed people strive to **think for themselves and act according to what they believe is good for them** rather than what others expect them to do. Such independence can take two forms: the development of one’s own standards and resistance to existing social norms. References to one’s own standards appear in the data in the form of subjective measures of goodness, which do not have fixed meanings. An article about knitting explains why it is a good idea to knit a hat instead of buying one. Among other reasons, the article mentions that (7) *“knitting a hat for your (grand)son ... will allow you to choose good materials, your favorite style.”* Goodness can also be replaced by what people find as optimal or rational solutions for themselves. For example, on a platform where people share their experiences of different holiday destinations, one user wrote, (8) *“I was choosing the hotel carefully. I wanted an ideal combination of price and quality, and I think Aska Bouquet [the hotel] meets this requirement.”* Needless to say, the understanding of what a good yarn is, or how much a hotel should cost will not be identical for everyone. Nevertheless, an idea of “good,” regardless of its actual content, can function as a benchmark for aspirations.

Sometimes people do not explicitly set their standards but rather **challenge** the existing ones. Resistance to the expectations of others can take two forms. The first is more interpersonal and applies to situations where people refuse to submit to others and act upon

their own wishes. This is what motivated one woman to participate in the reality show *Khuligany [The Bullies]*. Participants of this show are couples, where the man is an abuser and the woman wants to make him a better partner. The show aims to help the participants overcome their difficulties and develop more functional relationships. The synopsis of the show describes one of the couples in the following way: (9) *“The guy claims that she is everything to him, but he does not think it is necessary to protect her from his alcoholic benders and aggression. The girl tried to leave him more than once, but Pavel kept returning her. Now, Kristina decided that she wouldn't tolerate this any longer. That is why [she applied for] Khuligany, [which] is the last chance for them to keep their relationship.”*

The second form of resistance applies to situations when people choose to **disregard the expectations** of abstract others and social norms. An article “Just like us: 17 celebrities who are not going to hide their imperfections” describes how Keira Knightley and Mila Jovovich do not wish to comply with beauty standards: (10) *“Of course, small breasts do not affect one's talent, and still it can be difficult to live not in accordance with the standards of beauty, even if you are a celebrity. For example, Keira [Knightley] has to ask [her photographers] to not enlarge her bust when they process her photos. It seems that both actresses are indifferent to public opinion and wear clothes that show the real size of their breasts without hesitation.”*

The last facet of self-direction emphasizes **control over one's own life**. This facet is similar to the achievement of self-chosen goals or the development of one's own standards. However, it does not focus on the content of standards or actions needed to achieve certain goals. The focus is rather on freedom of choice and the ability to control what happens in one's life. An online course for mothers of children with special needs that aims to teach parents to see the potential of their children, not their limitations, emphasizes exactly the sense of control. One of the alumni wrote why she liked the course: (11) *“This approach allows [mothers] to stop being victims of doctors and their own guilt and puts the control over the situation in the hands of moms.”* The motivation for control seems to be perceived as something that develops rather early in childhood. An article about characteristics of different periods of childhood explains that three-year-old children interact with adults with the aim to (12) *“reveal what adults do and how they do that to become more mature and have the opportunity to control reality.”* Interestingly, although the article starts with the description of infants, the period corresponding to three-year-old children is the first one where value-relevant motivations are mentioned.

Self-direction (especially self-expression) is not always treated as something important or necessary. Replying to a critical blog post about negative experiences with ballet classes for children, a user wrote, (13) *“I think you should have chosen a less challenging discipline of dance [classes for your child], not ballet. There [i.e., in ballet] are different goals, ... not self-expression”*

Stimulation

There were 58 segments coded as expressing Stimulation, with five segments demoting the value. Overall, Stimulation was present in the browsing histories of seven respondents and accounted for 7.6% of all value-coded segments. The analysis revealed three themes of Stimulation: diversity of experiences, the anticipation of unique experiences, and challenges in life. All these themes correspond to the conceptual definition of the value.

The first dimension of the Stimulation value is the need for **diverse experiences**. It can be both a trait-like characteristic of an individual and a motivational force that guides actions in specific situations. The trait-like Stimulation is presented in a horoscope, which reveals the difficulties an Aquarius woman and Pisces man can experience as romantic partners: (14) *“The Aquarius can experience dissatisfaction with the not-very-engaged Pisces. As a rule, she wants to have a more colorful and vibrant life [than he does].”* Furthermore, the general expectations about the amount of diversity can affect how people perceive the world around them. On a forum where people exchange their opinions about different holiday destinations, one user wrote (15) *“[I rated] the catering as 4 [out of 5]. ... it was not very diverse, too scarce on fish and meat, ... but if you are not picky, you won’t starve!”* This example is especially illustrative because another user described the same menu of the same hotel as very diverse. The second case – situational Stimulation – was even more prevalent in the analyzed data. For example, the desire for new experiences can motivate career choices. In an interview, a manager explained why he decided to accept a position in a new company: (16) *“I did not want to become an operating manager in Russia; it seemed that this milestone has already been reached, and I wanted new impressions.”* The next example demonstrates an even more situational character of Stimulation as a source of motivation. A blogger reported her road trip in the Moscow region. She explained her choice of destination as follows: (17) *“Since we have been visiting the Western direction quite a lot lately, [this time] we decided to go to the North.”*

The anticipation of **unique experiences** is the next dimension of Stimulation. This motivation is especially pronounced among tourists and travelers. One blogger described how he witnessed a photographer rushing for a viewing platform to photograph how a train crossed a bridge. His follower then commented that he had seen an entire crowd of photographers in very similar circumstances. The follower then concluded that (18) “*some have probably come to Norway from faraway just to make such a shot.*” Another blogger shared the difficulties she and her partner had to overcome to visit a particular destination: (19) “*Already spoilt by Finnish and Norwegian [i.e., well-maintained] roads, we kept thinking about turning back, but the desire to see a real, non-touristy fishing village took over.*” However, one does not have to travel half the world and search for hard-to-reach destinations to experience something unique. A third blogger revealed how new impressions are also available in one’s hometown: (20) “*... if you are looking for something unusual in St. Petersburg, my advice to you is, if possible, get a guided tour to the rooftops of the city.*”

The need for **challenge** is the final side of the Stimulation value reflected in the data. Some challenges are responses to specific life events or experiences of past failures. A blogger described how she planned her road trip around Norway. She provided a list of destinations she wanted to visit and adds that some of them she tried to visit during her previous trip, but they were too remote and some roads were too challenging for her old car. In explaining this, she added the following: (23) “*In addition, I wanted to test what my new car is capable of.*” Sometimes, the practice of challenging oneself can be presented as a tool of personality development. An entire book guides its readers through a week full of challenges with no mercy for oneself. The marketing text presents the book as suitable (24) “*for all those who want to push their boundaries in just one week.*”

Stimulation was not always found to be desirable. Novelty can be presented as a source of negative emotions. A description of a board game for children that is supposed to help them learn how to read explains that, for a young child, a book is as unfamiliar and scary as a jungle to an inexperienced tourist: (25) “*Of course, a newcomer to this jungle will be scared – so much is new and unfamiliar, everything is frightening and discouraging.*” Another example reveals that overwhelming new experiences can reduce one’s need for novelty and diversity. A travel blogger wrote (26) “*Again my day ended much earlier than it became dark, but I had so many impressions that I did not want to go*

anywhere else, although I still had enough time to visit Sass Stria.” This points to the fact that values, like needs, become inactive when satisfied.

Hedonism

There were 55 segments coded as expressing Hedonism, with only one segment demoting its importance. Overall, Hedonism was present in the browsing histories of seven respondents and accounted for 7.2% of all value-coded segments. The analysis revealed four different aspects of hedonism: trait-like hedonism, situational hedonism, reduction of effort, and the avoidance of unpleasant experiences. Notably, the original definition of hedonism only focuses on the maximization of pleasant experiences.

Hedonism can be one’s life motto and can structure one’s entire lifestyle when every part of one’s daily routine is centered around pleasures and comfort. An example of such Hedonism appears in a horoscope that specifies that a typical man named Dmitry is (27) *“a sybarite, loves comfort, coziness, and appreciates self-care. It is pointless to invite him on a trip with a tent and tea by the fire. Dmitry prefers staying in fashionable hotels and eating in expensive restaurants on trips.”* An even more straightforward manifestation of the importance of Hedonism appears in a description of the participants of a reality show: (28) *“The girl is convinced that the most important thing in life is to do everything one pleases and to have fun.”*

Hedonism does not have to be the guiding principle of a person’s life to motivate them. Situational hedonism can motivate an active search for pleasure too. For example, a travel blogger wrote the following to his followers: (29) *“I am only happy if someone from the [blogger’s] community will keep me company for several routes (but not the entire trip!). ... It is always more fun to wander together around the mountains in search of a correct hiking route”* Another travel blogger described a particular episode of a journey with her family: (30) *“Remembering our experience of sending postcards from Bulgaria, we decided to repeat this pleasant experiment: we chose a card and signed it for ourselves; the shop assistant glued a stamp on it, and we put the card into the mailbox.”* The anticipation of the pleasant emotions connected to the postcard motivated the family to send one to themselves.

However, pleasures do not have to be energy consuming. The **reduction of effort** can be pleasant too. A blogger provided a detailed report on a hiking route he had just completed. The report contains the author’s opinion about different sights and

recommendations for those considering taking the same route: (31) *“Well, for those who have no desire to walk around but still want to see the mountains, some perfect views open even from a parking lot (in good weather).”*

Avoidance of unpleasant experiences is another side of Hedonism-motivated actions and judgments. Aversion to unpleasant situations appears across various contexts. The first example comes from a page where people leave their reviews of different holiday destinations. One user wrote (32) *“Well, for me, a person who likes to swim in the sea, and the water has to be as warm as fresh milk, the sea in March is of course unacceptable.”* On a gardening forum, several users discussed when the best time to plant tulips is. Despite the professional gardener’s advice to plant the bulbs when the temperature drops to +6 C, one user wrote (33) *“I don’t like planting late [in the year]. As I have written earlier, it is very unpleasant for hands when it is so cold outside.”* Beauty procedures can also be associated with unpleasant sensations. One person described her experiences with a particular recipe for a homemade hair mask. Although she liked the effect, she did not find the procedure pleasant: (34) *“The only thing that makes me hesitate is the fact that the kefir-mask is leaking, you need to tightly wrap your head with towels. And it smells funny. But one can put up with it.”* Although the value of Hedonism emphasizes the active search of pleasant experiences, one needs to be a hedonist to pay special attention to unpleasant aspects of a daily routine.

One single passage in the analyzed data reflects a negative view of Hedonism. One person wrote about a movie she watched: (35) *“Well, the movie must have been created for a simple popcorn-eating viewer who has no desire to delve into modern science and only wants a life-affirming show seasoned with platitude and banality.”* This example is very interesting, as it shows that the movie in question is suitable for those seeking pleasures; however, the author of the statement expresses her disapproval of such desires and behaviors.

Achievement

There were 91 segments coded as expressing Achievement, with 15 segments demoting its importance. Overall, Achievement was present in the browsing histories of all respondents and accounted for 12% of all value-coded segments. The analysis revealed four themes of Achievement: orientation toward the best possible performance, success as a lifestyle, the desire to comply with social standards, and demonstration of competence.

While all these themes are present in the conceptual definition of Achievement, the orientation on social standards is an aspect of the value one can overlook.

The first way to present achievement reflects the motto *Citius, Altius, Fortius* – the promotion of the ambition to achieve the **best possible result**. Competitive sports are perhaps the most obvious venue for exercising this type of Achievement. An online newspaper reported on a rowing competition: (36) “*More than 500 people competed for the title of the strongest team.*” This type of Achievement is also very pronounced in the context of business. In an interview, a founder of one Russian chain of supermarkets links explicitly success and being results oriented: (37) “*Like all successful people, successful retailers share a desire to work and achieve results.*” A competitive component is further emphasized in an audiobook about very successful corporations. The book teaches one how to make a breakthrough in business: (38) “*After learning about the success secrets of Kimberly-Clark, Gillette, Philip Morris, Wells Fargo, and other companies with stable high results, you can adapt their experiences to your organization. And finally, go from good to great results.*” A race-like motivation for Achievement is not unique to sports and business. An article promoting beauty procedures promises the following: (39) “*Follow the fashion, use the know-how of style experts, and you will always stay on top.*” In a familial context, parents may also demonstrate a motivation for success (40) “*by enrolling [their child] in a dozen development centers and clubs, demanding from the child achievements and results [so that they can] boast before other parents.*”

Success can sometimes become a **lifestyle**. Among those for who it is, there is a pressure to demonstrate one’s best performance in everything one does. A marketing text advertises a book that will teach anyone to be a “Jedi” of daily routine: (41) “*Pragmatic, reliable, and reasonable techniques that will help clean the ‘Incoming’ folder, save the most important resource – ‘mindfuel’ [cognitive resources], make a feasible to-do list, and achieve the results 100%.*” A very similar message is conveyed by a different source: (42) “*In the audiobook, you will find all the necessary instruments you need to maximize the outcomes of the most important ten years [of your life, i.e., when you are 20–30 years old].*”

Another way to present Achievement is to emphasize the presence of **social standards** one has to meet to become successful. These standards can be very diverse across different social situations. For example, an article on dining etiquette reminds its readers: (43) “*After memorizing the basic types [of tableware], one still has to serve the table correctly in order to demonstrate true manners of aristocracy.*” In this example, the

aristocratic lifestyle is a benchmark a regular person should strive to reach to impress others. An idea of what social standards are can come from one's family, especially when children are concerned. A biography of the spokesperson for the ministry of foreign affairs of the Russian Federation, Maria Zakharova, reveals, (44) “[As a child] *she dreamed of doing work as difficult and serious as her father's and of writing as good as her mother. Perhaps that is why little Masha's [informal for Maria] favorite TV show was International Panorama, where the main issues of international relations were discussed.*”

Furthermore, the way people recognize standards as standards is very sensitive to the norms of one's immediate environment and can change once a person loosens their connections to the reference group. A former student of a ballet academy shared her experience of anorexia during her studies: (45) “[*The instructor*] used to tell me that I was doing great, that I was in the perfect physical condition and used to present me as a role model to other girls. Now, I understand that I looked awful. But if anybody back then would tell me about it, I would only think that they were jealous.” The ex-ballerina compared her perceptions of the fitness ideals she used to have at the academy with those she developed after her dancing career.

The focus of Achievement can also be on the **demonstration of one's competence** for the sake of public admiration: (46) “*Everyone wants to be appreciated.*” Anticipating an opportunity to impress others can function like the motivation to develop a new skill. A text promoting tango among women notes that (47) “[*if you take tango classes*], you can always sparkle with your ability to dance the tango at any event because one can dance the tango to any music.” Interestingly, people may desire to demonstrate not only their skills but some socially desirable personal characteristics too. The following examples illustrate this idea. An article giving instructions on how to use the livestream function on Instagram starts as follows: (48) “*Have you ever dreamed of becoming a star of livestreams who impresses others with her beauty, sparkling humor, and stunning intelligence?*” A similar opportunity to impress others with one's abilities is highlighted in a description of a multiplayer board game: (49) “*You will have to help them [seals, protagonists of the game] in this fascinating business [‘earning fish’] by showing your rivals your dexterity and a trained eye.*”

Achievement is not always presented as something desirable. Both the importance of others' approval and the authority of social standards can be challenged. A popular psychology article about desirable qualities parents should nurture in their children reminds

the reader of the following: (50) “*A child does not always understand that popularity is not the most important thing in life... .*” The possibility to disagree with social standards appears in a discussion of what body positive means. One user wrote, (51) “*[A person who is] body positive is a person ... who denies excessive fitness and dieting for the sake of something invented by someone out there.*”

Power

There were 102 segments coded as expressing Power, with 13 segments (13%) demoting the importance of the value. Overall, Power was present in the browsing histories of all respondents and accounted for 13.5% of all value-coded segments. The analysis revealed three themes of Power: dominance and status, control, and desire to diminish the power of others. The last theme does not explicitly appear in the conceptual definition of Power.

The reflections of Power varied in how abstractly the idea of **dominance** was presented. Some passages do not delve into details of what exactly embodies power but rather refer to abstract ideas of control. For example, in the context of a discussion of the relations between Russia and the EU, a news article states, (52) “*Russia is trying to restore and increase its influence.*” An abstract idea of power also appears in a popular psychology article, which advises its readers to quit “toxic” friendships: (53) “*You are not there to nurse them [your toxic friends]. They will somehow survive on their own, even if they are trying to convince you otherwise to squeeze out some more benefits for themselves [from you].*” It is not specified what exactly stands for increased influence in the context of international relations or which particular benefits toxic friends might desire.

However, most of the instances of power were more specific and show how particular indicators of control and status vary across social contexts. Some refer to money, one of the most universal indicators of status: (54) “*He tends to value the external indicators of status. That is why he wants money, which grants power and various pleasures.*” This segment comes from a horoscope of the typical traits of men named Dmitriy. Access to status goods is another attribute of power. The variety of such goods is tremendous. In one example, the status of a product is defined by the current trends in show business: (55) “*The girl’s [a celebrity] popularity declined, and people no longer want to buy goods under her brand.*” Another example shows that the idea of status builds on the popular beliefs shared by members of some social group. A travel blogger shares his observations on the drinking culture in Burundi: (56) “*... the locals prefer not to drink*

Primus beer. It is considered a drink for gopniks [lower class] and the poor. That is why they buy Heineken."

Certain personal characteristics can function as indicators of power too. For example, a participant of the reality show *Khuligany* saw his physical strength as a key to the maintenance of his high status: (57) "*His life strategy is to find the strongest guy in town and to defeat him.*" One's physical appearance can also be presented as a resource. An article promoting tango among women says, (58) "*Do you want to have wonderful fit legs?¹⁰ – Then tango is for you!*" It is interesting that desirable appearance can be presented as something people can acquire through training as if it was an object. Finally, specific knowledge and skills can grant a sense of one's own exclusivity and function as tools of status management. An anonymous user wrote a comment under a book review: (59) "*We used to fancy such books at the faculty of literature. They are created in order to [give readers a chance] to enjoy their own knowledge in the circle of their kind.*" Developing such characteristics is then similar to control over valuable resources.

The **control** side of Power was also present in the data. Control over the actions of other people can be presented as a desirable end. A news article reported on a strike among bank workers in Finland: (60) "*Employers want to receive the full right to call their employees to the workplaces during weekends if needed.*" Such straightforward examples of someone's right to command and affect other people are rather scarce. Instead, discreet ways to affect others are more common. For example, attempts to obtain someone's loyalty (somewhat) against their will were described in several contexts. In an interview, a businessman said, (61) "*Our strategy is to become a supermarket of the 21st century. The aim is to make people stop going to shops [but to shop online exclusively], and we are constantly moving toward that aim.*" In a completely different setting, a similar attempt to control others took a different form. A synopsis of a TV show reveals, (62) "*Irina refuses to accept the breakup by saying that she loves Tony and will commit suicide if he abandons her.*" Moreover, the same character, Tony, later has a conversation with his wife who says that (63) "*she wants him to be faithful.*" In both examples, the women express how they want the man to behave, while nothing is said about whether that is what Tony wants.

The third way of expressing power does not focus on gaining status but rather on **attempts to diminish the power of others**. Such a representation of Power as zero-sum

¹⁰ The exact translation of the statement reads, "*Do you want to be an owner of fit legs?*" Although this version emphasizes that fit legs are a possession one may desire to have, it sounds strange in English.

games takes place in situations of conflicts or rivalry. In reporting the details of a scandal around the doctoral dissertation of Russia's former minister of culture, a witness wrote, (64) *"An order was received from the ministry of education and science to do everything possible to renounce the decision of the dissertation committee."* A similar process is described in a paper about the history of Cheka (the Soviet secret police) and their first official case: (65) *"According to the materials of the case, under the cover of diplomatic missions, the British and the French secret services organized a conspiracy in order to defeat the Bolsheviks' regime."* In both these examples, the actions of agents are aimed at challenging the power of their rivals.

Face

There were 13 segments coded as expressing Face, and no none demoted the value. Overall, Face was present in the browsing histories of four respondents and accounted for 1.7% of all value-coded segments. The analysis revealed two themes of Face: reputation as protection from threats and as a tool of power management. These themes correspond to the conceptual definition of the value.

The value of Face belongs to the newly distinguished value types – it first appears in the model with 19 values (Schwartz et al., 2014) and takes its position between Power and Security. Although this value has a rather narrow goal – maintenance of one's public image, there are still some variations in how it can be communicated. The first source of variations concerns the function of reputation – **protection from threats** (which is more similar to Security) or **increase of one's influence** (which is more similar to Power). In 11 identified cases of Face reflections, reputation indeed became functional in situations of crisis and served as a tool of crisis management. For example, a synopsis of a TV show describes the conflict between spouses: (66) *"In an attempt to appear in a more positive light, when Carmela accused him of infidelity, Tony tells her about Irina's [his mistress] suicide... ."* In this example, the husband attempts to restore his good reputation and, by doing so, to protect himself from his wife's anger. Another example further demonstrates how the maintenance of a positive public image comes hand in hand with security. In a report describing the events of the scandal caused by the non-scientific character of the dissertation of Russia's former minister of culture, the author of the report explained that, in his opinion, the academic environment itself made it possible for such a dissertation to be defended. He then wrote that, to prevent similar situations in the future, (67) *"it is*

important to put the reputational mechanisms at work, to develop a scientific community intolerant to plagiarism and shirking.”

Two examples demonstrate the second function of reputation – power management. A popular psychology article presents (68) “*7 scientifically proven fail-safe ways to make a good impression on others*” to people who are new to their organization and need to introduce themselves to new colleagues, clients, business partners, and so forth. In this example, one’s reputation is assumed to have not been built yet and cannot serve as an instrument of protection. However, as the article reveals, the correct steps toward the development of a desirable reputation can increase one’s status in the group. People can also believe that a certain established public image can help them get ahead of others. This is what one participant of a reality TV show believes: (69) “*He thinks that the reputation of a rough and aggressive conqueror of hearts gives him an advantage over other participants.*” In these two examples, public image is a resource people may want to possess.

The second source of variations in how Face was presented in the analyzed texts relates to whose reputation was in focus. As the analysis shows, not only individuals but also different social groups and even entire societies can have a public image. In the report about the scandalous dissertation, the author explained how the council of experts was making their final decision on whether the manuscript met the requirements of scientific work: (70) “*In the opinion of most members of the council, that [i.e., to conclude that the dissertation was of high quality] meant to disrespect themselves, their work, and most importantly, to bury the reputation of the professional community of Russian historians.*” Expanding the scope of the reputation to the entire country, a pro-Soviet blogger discussed the reasons for the problems in elite sports in Russia: (71) “*One has to treat the main disease: to change the criminal-oligarch regime, to get rid of the elites – miserable, cowardly, greedy, dependent on their Western master. It is them [the elites] who brought the country to disgrace and humiliation.*” In both examples, the reputation of a group extends to their individual members, and individual members can affect the reputation of the group.

Security

There were 115 segments coded as expressing Security, with only one segment demoting the importance of the value. Overall, Security was present in the browsing histories of all respondents and accounted for 15.2% of all value-coded segments. The value

of security was perhaps one of the most complexly structured in the analyzed data. The analysis revealed two major themes of Security: personal security and societal security. Personal security concerns one's concern for their own physical safety, health, and financial wellbeing. Societal security concerns the need for protection from external threats and treason, the fear of dysfunctional institutions, and the need to protect oneself from existing societal norms. While the major themes correspond to subtypes of the value described by Schwartz et al. (2014), the subthemes help specify the value and highlight its different aspects.

Generally, there are two ways to talk about security. The first way refers to the **active preservation of the current state of affairs**. In this case, a person resists changes for the worse. The following passage illustrates this idea: (72) *"At home [in Russia], we are so used to the idea that one has to stand up for oneself and that, at every corner, one can be fooled ... that we request to see the ID of a ticket controller in a bus and demand a traffic police officer to explain why exactly¹¹ he stopped our car."* The second way to express security concerns the **passive avoidance of risks** even if these risks could lead to potential changes for the better. In a report of the events surrounding the scandal in the Russian academic circles, the author says, (73) *"However, the dissertation committee of Belgorod University decided not to 'flirt with impartiality' and to avoid risks, as they decided that loyalty [to the ministry of education and science] stands above decency [i.e., academic integrity]."* Interestingly, the concept of loyalty, which had already been discussed in the context of Power, appears here again but this time as an instrument of submission.

Regardless of whether the analyzed texts were describing resistance or avoidance, there were some common themes. First, both personal and societal security were mentioned in the data. Instances of concerns for personal security were, however, more numerous and diverse, varying from a generalized fear of a hostile environment to a preference for avoiding very specific situations. For example, in a rather non-specific way, a woman described how she was planning her recent vacation: (74) *"Although I have never been to Egypt, I did not want to go there out of principle: I mean, it is dangerous to travel there by bus."* In contrast to the first example, another article on the dangers of traveling gives very

¹¹ This is a well-known cliché of the pattern of communication between drivers and traffic police officers. In Russia, traffic police officers have to explain to the driver which rules were violated without any special request from the driver. However, some drivers become defensive and demand such information in a passive-aggressive manner even before the officer has a chance to say anything.

specific advice: (75) *“There are 280 species of scorpions in Mexico. Most of them are not poisonous but some can kill a human with just one bite. Keep an eye on your feet while walking.”*

Health concerns, a specific facet of the Security value, also takes different forms. For example, one popular psychology article presents health as a top priority: (76) *“Neither bad marks nor disapproval of the teacher should be the reason why the child is afraid to talk about her health. Health is more important than anything. And parents should communicate this idea to their children as early as possible.”* Moreover, one’s mental health can also be seen as something that needs protection. Another popular psychology article advises the following: (77) *“Find time for the hobby you have abandoned or find some new one. ... All those activities increase the level of endorphins, hormones that help to cope with stress.”*

The idea of personal security can be sometimes extended to **concerns about one’s financial wellbeing**. A blogger shared what she learned at an exhibition about the resettlement of Finns in the 1930s: (78) *“For the most part, the resettlers hoped to reunite with their home country and improve their life situation, as many had lost their businesses in the US at the time.”* Further extensions to concerns about the integrity of one’s property also occur. In a discussion about why rich Americans do not surround their houses with fences while rich Russians do, one comment reveals that tall fences around the houses of millionaires are there (79) *“because, first, Russians who live in Rublyovka [famous village for rich people] have not necessarily earned their money honestly. ... Second, there is still no respect for private life and private property in Russia. This is an evolutionary process, not a rapid one ... [Trespassers] can poison the dogs or shit on the lawn – anything can happen”* Interestingly, the two arguments point to the perception of existing social norms (both formal and informal) as a source of threat. In the first case, those living behind fences are assumed to wish to avoid prosecution for their past crimes. In the second case, the lack of respect for private life is described as a characteristic of a dangerous social environment. The idea of social norms as a source of danger reappears in the description of how one person was selling his old car: (80) *“[The customers] have tested everything before the purchase because [the proverb advises] trust others but check everything yourself.”* This proverb advises one not to trust others.

Concerns about **societal security** were mentioned in the context of politics. It is important to note that people have different views about what exactly threatens their

society. The first type of societal threat is **the one coming from outside the country**. For example, in an interview, one of the organizers of the referendum in Crimea explained the circumstances of the preparations for the referendum: (81) *“Everything was done quickly in order to hold a referendum and to not let them [the Ukrainian state] come to their senses – so that they wouldn't have time to work out a plan and wouldn't organize a massacre in the Crimea.”* The second source of instability comes from inside one's country. I will describe it in more detail, as this type of concern has not been addressed in the original model of values. The internal threats can be presented as **treason**, as problems of **dysfunctional institutions**, or as the instability of **society itself**. A news article commented on a statement about Russia's ex-minister of finance, who, the article claims, said that Russia needs to abandon its “national egoism” and stop “protecting its sovereignty” for the sake of economic growth. An anonymous reader reacted to this article in the following way: (82) *“First of all, one has to start a criminal case in accordance with Article #257 ‘Treason’ of the criminal code, as his actions compromise the national security of the Russian Federation.”* Another example illustrates the fear of dysfunctional institutions. A news article about the protests against the judicial reform in Poland states, (83) *“Fearing that there will be no fair courts in the country, they [citizens] took to the streets to protest.”* Although fairness is a typical attribute of the Universalism value, this example highlights how it is fear of the state that motivates people. Finally, society itself can be considered dysfunctional. In a review of a dystopian movie, the author of the review writes, (84) *“As for the ‘life in miniature’ [the fictional world], it looks like some madness, where everyone is an ostrich: I just close my eyes and try to pretend everything is fine.”* As follows from this review, the characters of the movie start a new life in a problem-free world. It then becomes apparent that the problems of their old society did not disappear, yet the inhabitants prefer to remain ignorant.

An interesting feature of the security value, which seems to make it different from other value types is that the importance of security is very sensitive to the circumstances of one's immediate environment. Unfavorable life conditions, such as the continuous experience of domestic violence, can make the value of security predominate and foster the development of security-enhancing behaviors. Such a case occurs with one participant of the reality show *Patsanki [The Tomboys]*, where deviant girls try to learn more socially adaptive behaviors: (85) *“Perhaps her interest in martial arts is rooted in the fact that Katya's father, a military officer, used to physically abuse her, her mom, her brothers, and*

her sisters. That is why Katya learned how to protect herself: she strikes first to not to get beaten.” Particular situations can also have a strong effect on people’s concerns about security. For example, on a blog, a hunter shared a story of how he was once attacked by cockroaches in an unequipped hut and could not sleep all night because he had no means to scare them away in the darkness. He concludes his story with the following statement: (86) *“That situation was a lesson for my entire life. It taught me to keep a small torch by my side wherever I go and at any time (during the day – in my pocket; during the night – under my pillow), which continues to help me avoid various unexpected situations.”*

The only instance when Security was not presented as a positive life strategy appears in the context of child development and upbringing. A popular psychology article discusses what parents should teach their children: (87) *“It is important to make use of your defeats. Teach your child not to be afraid of losses or mistakes.”* Notably, this passage encourages people to not avoid changes for the better and to not accept changes for the worse.

Tradition

There were 23 segments coded as expressing Tradition, with only one segment demoting the importance of the value. Overall, Tradition was present in the browsing histories of six respondents and accounted for 3.0% of all value-coded segments. The analysis revealed four themes of Tradition: practices and rituals specific to some community, habitual lifestyle, submission to idealized authorities, and the abstract “order of things.” From these themes, only one – practices and rituals of a community – is a direct reference to the value’s conceptual definition, while the other themes refer to more implicit aspects of the value.

The first representation of Tradition includes references to specific **practices and rituals**. Cultural traditions are perhaps among the most obvious ones. In an interview, an expat manager shared his experience working abroad: (88) *“[At the beginning], I used to schedule meetings without paying attention to lunch breaks. On the fourth day, a delegation [of employees] came [to my office]: ‘Maksim, you probably do not know **that, in Portugal, it is a custom to have a proper lunch**. Let us show you a good restaurant.’ And I realized that there shall be no meetings between 12:00 and 14:00.”* Communities smaller than an entire nation can have their specific traditions too. An article promoting tango classes among women promises, (89) *“Your circle of acquaintances will expand [because] it is a custom to hug each other in the tango community because what is tango in the first place?*

Yes, exactly, it is a hug! Therefore, there should be as many hugs as possible.” In both examples, following the tradition is presented as a strategy that will bring positive outcomes: the manager developed a better relationship with his employees, and a tango dancer found new friends.

Traditions can also refer to the **lifestyle** of some specific group. A blogger who writes about life in the United States discussed why rich Russians go to Miami: (90) *“All of them can choose any coast of the world, but why does Miami attract them like honey attracts flies? Because it looks like home! If you put the new buildings of Khimki right on the beach of Anapa, you will hardly notice any difference with Miami. Living in an apartment block, showing off with a cool car, and eating in chain restaurants – these are the established habits [my] compatriots do not have to change.”* This example is particularly interesting, as it presents the demonstration of a “cool car” as something belonging to the realm of habits, not the Power-driven desire of dominance.

A rather specific type of tradition is expressed through the idea of **submission to idealized authorities**. Unlike previous types of traditions, which in a way describe how things are, these refer to how things should be and these ideas derive from a specific person. A blogger discussed her thoughts about Waldorf education. She first expresses her concerns about the didactics and then switched to the realities of modern Waldorf schools in Russia: (91) *“It may be that, inside [the school], everything is not happening at all in accordance with Steiner’s [the founder of Waldorf education] didactics, ... but on the tablets, it is still written so, and nobody is trying to rethink anything. That’s what Steiner wrote, so that’s what we have here.”* It is interesting that the author of the statement uses the word “the tablets” to refer to Steiner’s work. By doing so, she emphasizes how uncritically and almost religiously the teachers accept the principles of the school.

While the previous examples were rather specific about particular traditions and their areas of applicability, the abstract idea of the **“order of things”** can also represent Tradition and guide people’s judgments. In an online community for fancy rats, a special section is devoted to animals that were abandoned by their owners. The introduction to the section reads, (92) *“Fancy rats are gentle and faithful animals. And like all other faithful ones, they get betrayed. This is how the world is.”* A similar reference to “how the world is” appears in the critique of elite sports: (93) *“What does a healthy society need athlete millionaires for? It is ugly. You may say, that is how it is in the entire world. The world*

needs to be changed!” Notably, the author of the statement calls this state of affairs “ugly” and demands changes, which displays his disapproval of the presented Tradition.

Conformity

There were 24 segments coded as expressing Conformity, with four segments demoting the importance of the value. Overall, Conformity was present in the browsing histories of seven respondents and accounted for 3.2% of all value-coded segments. The analysis revealed four themes of Conformity. Instances of interpersonal conformity and compliance with rules were very similar to their conceptualization in the model. The data, however, also contained references to submission to authorities and self-censorship.

The value of Conformity refers to submitting to social standards. That was exactly the motivation of one reality show participant: (94) “*At the ‘School of Lady,’ the girl wants to change her worldview and become a more serious and socially conforming person.*” The model of 19 values distinguishes two subtypes of the Conformity – conformity with rules and interpersonal conformity. Both subtypes were present in the data. Interpersonal conformity refers to the idea that one should not bother or upset others. A blog post on how to recognize a Russian person abroad describes a situation where a tourist tried to buy a bus ticket with a 200 Euro bill. The bus driver refused to accept the payment and the tourist confronted the driver. The readers of the blog expressed their opinions about the situation and discussed how to avoid similar experiences when traveling. One user wrote, (95) “*[On trips], I always have coins to avoid creating troubles to other people and to myself.*” While this example refers to the desire to avoid unpleasant experiences during social interactions, situations where people wish to avoid future negative evaluations by others are also possible. In an online community about hiking, bloggers can divide their reports about recent trips into several parts and publish them one by one. Those readers who liked the first part can then subscribe to the report to receive notifications when the next parts are published. Replying to the positive comments on the first entry, the blogger responded, (96) “*Friends, thank you for such a flattering evaluation. I even feel uncomfortable. I am afraid not to meet your expectations [about the quality of the upcoming entries].*”

The second dimension of conformity refers to the importance of compliance with different rules. Some rules are formal. They prescribe how members of different communities should behave and make decisions and what reactions from others they should expect. As the next example illustrates, the presence of rules can be seen as something that perhaps does not always benefit individual members of a community but does benefit the

community as a whole. The author of the report about the ex-minister's dissertation scandal explained that, in his opinion, the whole situation was made possible by inadequate rules regarding doctoral dissertation defenses, which resulted in the publication of a low-quality manuscript and allowed corruption in academia. He also explained that the enforcement of more strict and transparent rules will benefit the entire community: (97) *"A series of articles in an academic journal, a monograph that has been discussed, peer-reviewed, and edited, and, of course, a dissertation, especially a doctoral thesis – all that becomes a historical fact [which affects the entire academic community]. That is why it is important to follow all the established rules of dissertation defenses and to be strict about it."*

Some rules are not formal, but still, their violation can have serious consequences that people may wish to avoid. A former student of a ballet academy explained the thin-ideal culture of the academy: (98) *"Most of all, the girls were afraid of growing breasts and the start of menstruation – these were considered 'shameful' and treated as 'obesity.'"* She also provided examples of teachers' brutality toward "fat" students and students' attempts to lose weight at any price. In contrast to the previous example, this one highlights the negative outcomes for individuals who do not stick to follow social expectations, while it remains outside the focus how the community benefits from the promotion of this norm.

The next reflection of Conformity regards norms of **relationships between individuals and authorities**. There are different strategies for partaking in such vertical communication, with conformity requiring people to set aside their doubts about the competence of those in power and treat their position as the only truth. How such uncritical position may function as a valid motivation is illustrated in yet another passage from a report about an academic scandal in Russia. The author of the report describes one of the meetings where the dissertation in question was discussed: (99) *"But the highlight of the day was a speech by S.F. Chernyakhovskiy, a member of the Academy of Political Science, who said with the voice of a frequent public speaker that there can be no doubt about the quality of the dissertation because the best scientists of Moscow State University had been thoroughly inspecting it for three months and came to the conclusion that the work is of the highest quality."*

The last reflection of conformity is **self-censorship**, which concerns how people monitors their actions and intentions in response to the anticipated reactions of others. A biography of Maria Zakharova, the spokesperson for the ministry of foreign affairs of the Russian Federation, explains how Maria developed her habit for diligence and hard work:

(100) “*Masha's grandmother also taught the girl to think that any work should be deserving an ‘excellent’ grade even if no one would be checking it. As an example [of such work], she made embroidery that would even look neat on the underside.*” Although self-censorship looks similar to the development of one’s own standards under the value of Self-direction, it is the reference to abstract others in the evaluation of results that makes this instance one of conformity.

Conformity is not always presented as something desirable. However, it is interesting to note that, in the analyzed sample, only interpersonal conformity (and not other reflections of the value) was questioned. For example, a popular psychology article about children's upbringing instructs parents as follows: (101) “*Teach your child to say ‘no’ to adults, teachers, friends, and even to yourself. After all, you are raising a personality, not a person who obeys without questions.*” Another popular psychology piece about mental health and self-care relates the habit to conform with threats to psychological wellbeing: (102) “*We are too dependent on public opinion: if our ways of having fun do not match the tastes of most of our friends, we immediately give up [on our ways] instead of fighting for our right to be happy.*”

Humility

There were two segments coded as expressing Humility, and none demoted the importance of the value. Overall, Humility was present in the browsing histories of only one respondent and accounted for 0.3% of all value-coded segments. On a platform with user-generated reviews of movies, one user described her opinion about the relatives of famous people with special needs: (103) “*People close to them – partners, parents, children – also deserve a special memorial because they ... accept all the strikes of destiny with great patience.*”

Benevolence

There were 140 segments coded as expressing Benevolence, with only one segment demoting the importance of the value. Overall, Benevolence was present in the browsing histories of all respondents and accounted for 18.5% of all value-coded segments. The analysis revealed three themes reflecting Benevolence: care and dependability, as conceptualized by Schwartz, and the desire to understand others.

An anonymous individual explained the conclusions he made after watching a comedy movie: (104) “*The most important thing is to find your place, to love and to be*

loved, to be needed by someone and to do things that will help your dear ones.” This example includes two subtypes of the benevolence value distinguished by Schwartz et al. (2014): **benevolence-care**, which emphasizes the importance of care for those close to oneself, and **benevolence-dependability**, which refers to the importance of being a reliable member of some ingroup. The two subtypes appeared separately in the data and took different forms.

The first reflection of Benevolence that I will discuss here refers to the concern about the wellbeing of people one is in frequent contact with. Most reflections of this type of benevolence appear in the context of parent-child relationships, with parents showing concern for their children. Care for children can take different forms and might focus on health, psychological wellbeing, or even immediate comfort. For example, an article explaining how to organize a menu for a pre-school child notes that (105) *“of course, one should not prefer some products over others – the child needs all the nutrients.”* The emphasis on the long-lasting effects of parental actions on the development of a child is not limited to their physical health. Children’s psychological functioning may also need support. A description of an online course for mothers of children with special needs explains how, throughout the course, mothers will (106) *“identify their own ways to support their child’s confidence in their own abilities, their motivation, and their ability to enjoy achievements.”* Some more situational needs of a child can also be the focus of parents’ attention. The desire to satisfy those needs can motivate parents to organize their daily routine in a certain way. One blogger informs her readers as follows: (107) *“We [the blogger and her partner] actively use the ergonomic crib – the baby likes sleeping in it.”* In these examples, parents were either deciding independently what is good for their children or were acting based on what their children liked (e.g., sleeping in a crib). However, sometimes benevolent actions can contradict the actual desires of the child. The article about nutrition and menu design instructs, (108) *“Children often refuse eating dark bread because they prefer the white one. One should not agree with this because dark bread is healthier.”* In this example, parents are encouraged to think that they know better about what is good for their child and to act against the will of their child.

Although most of the analyzed materials describe parents’ concern for the wellbeing of their children, sometimes there were young children who expressed concern for their parents. A blogger described how she once reconsidered her perceptions of some of her son’s behaviors she used to punish him for: (109) *“... and you yell at him again because it*

is simply impossible to accidentally break a third plate in one week. And then, you suddenly realize he washes the dishes to make your life easier.” Such imbalance in how benevolent motivations are allocated between parents and children may be due to the fact that most of the texts in the sample were written by parents for other parents.

Family is not the only group people may want to care for. One might also care for various professional groups. Professional benevolence, care about colleagues, can affect how agents make work-related decisions. The case of the non-scientific doctoral dissertation provides an example of such decision-making. The formal procedure required the appointment of a committee that would review the quality of the manuscript to conclude whether it met the requirements for doctoral dissertations. The article describes why one of the suitable committees was not appointed: (110) *“In St. Petersburg, there is a competent committee at the Institute for History of the Russian Science Academy. However, they have not fully recovered after the ‘case of Alexandrov,’¹² and it would be completely unfair to get them involved in the games with the authorities one more time.”* Professional benevolence can take place and motivate decisions in military conflicts. In an interview, one of the leaders of the referendum in Crimea, the commander of Sevastopol’s Berkut (a special unit of Ukrainian police), explains the details of the telephone negotiations between the officers of the Ukrainian army and the commandment of the Crimean separatists. According to the commander, Ukrainian officers were not aware of the state of the police forces and, in telephone negotiations, called upon their rivals to avoid open confrontations: (111) *“Guys, we have here 18- to 19-year-old conscripted soldiers with no combat experience – do not attack us!”* In both examples, the agents faced dilemmas when they had to choose between the wellbeing of their colleagues and more “rational” options. If rationality had taken over, the scientists could have come to a conclusion on the quality of the manuscript earlier than they did; the army officers could have discovered that their rivals were under-armed (as evidenced by the interview) and probably could have affected the results of the Crimean referendum. The element of dilemma makes professional benevolence distinct from family-focused benevolence.

The second theoretical dimension of the Benevolence value refers to one’s need to be a reliable member of some group, for example, a loyal friend or relative. Examples of benevolence-dependability included user-generated reviews of films. The first example

¹² Another, albeit very different scandal around a doctoral dissertation.

illustrates loyalty among friends. The author of the review shared the conclusions she made after watching a drama about complicated relationships in a group of friends: (112) *“At the end, it is only important how humane we are when another person needs us.”* Reliability within the family is the driving force of one of the main characters of another drama. The movie tells the story of a teenage girl who lost her parents and lives with her uncle; the uncle abandoned his career ambitions to take care of her. The author of the review expressed her opinion about the uncle’s decision: (113) *“Why does Frank do what he does? Because he is a good father. He became a father after the death of Mary’s mother and promised to give the girl a proper childhood.”*

The next distinct reflection of benevolence is the **acceptance and the desire to understand others** (e.g., family members, despite their differences). It is important to note that, although Schwartz describes the readiness to overcome dissimilarities between communication partners as a part of the Universalism-Tolerance value, it is the intimacy of the relationship that makes the following example a reflection of Benevolence. An anonymous user described the plot of the *Theory of Everything*, a biographical romantic drama film about the relationship between Stephen and Jane Hawking: (114) *“A stubborn atheist and a religious Catholic, the two antipodes, become one to understand the needs of the other and accept the partner as he/she is.”*

The next examples do not describe new forms of Benevolence but rather illustrate how care and dependability can extend to various communities people see themselves associated with or may reflect in various situations. The first of these extensions refers to relationships that do not take place in the real world. Today, many interactions take place online. There are at least two forms of online relationships. First, people can belong to online communities where members do not know each other personally but share some interests. Such communities provide opportunities for people to seek and offer support to each other. A note for new members of a cancer-patient community specifies the following: (115) *“If you want to share your concerns and you need support, do not ask, ‘how do I increase my level of white blood cells?’ You can write directly: ‘White blood cells dropped. I’m worried. Please support me,’ and people will happily support you instead of sending you recipes of boiled oats.”* To facilitate benevolent interaction, members of this community are reminded of the following: (116) *“Many blog entries were written for a limited readership. That is why you can’t mention what the authors did not want to make public outside of this community.”* Respect for others’ feelings and decisions is a part of

benevolence. Another example illustrates how mere engagement with such a community can be an act of benevolence. A travel blogger published a report of her recent adventures, which she divided into several chapters. At the end of the first chapter, she writes, (117) *“The ‘northern’ part of the report is almost finished. I will try to publish it in the coming days and continue [with the description of] my journey to the south. I understand that I should not keep postponing the publication – the [hiking] season is coming.”* This comment demonstrates her desire to make the report useful to other travelers so that they can take into account her experiences when planning their own trips.

The second type of relationship that does not take place in the real world can be described as a para-social interaction (Horton & Wohl, 1956). This describes the relationships that audiences build with various public figures, celebrities, and even fictional characters. Although there is no real communication between the parties, the audience may perceive a celebrity as a close friend, while the celebrity may not even know about the existence of their particular fans. For example, a fan of a reality show reacted to the decision of some participants to leave the show: (118) *“I wish for everything to go smoothly in their lives, that everything will go OK! I wish for all troubles and conflicts to stay in the past – let the guys be happy outside the show!”* For those who want to make their para-social experiences more real, an instruction on how to use the livestreaming function of Instagram explains how the audience can communicate with the host. One way is, of course, to send a text message. However, (119) *“If you have nothing to say but want to support the stream, you can send hearts. To do this, click in the bottom right corner, where a symbol of a heart is. You can send as many hearts as you want. You can even make a whole waterfall of hearts. The host will be pleased!”*

Solidarity and concern about the wellbeing of people who belong to one’s extended ingroup is the next extended form of benevolence. On an online forum, a woman reacted to a post written by a man. The post describes the author’s travel experiences and contains a rather diminishing joke about his wife. The woman wrote that she generally liked the post, but she took issue with the joke: (120) *“But, please, excuse me, this is just insulting: Writing such a thing about a companion and partner is not something that friends do. And when a man writes such a thing about a woman who supposedly gave birth to his children: it’s just not quite decent.”* In this example, a female reader protected the public image and decency of another woman she does not know personally. This situation, like the acceptance of others (see the example above regarding the film *Theory of Everything*), lies

on the border with Universalism. In this instance, it is the shared characteristics (gender) and group membership of the agent and the person she protected that make the case an instance of Benevolence.

One's ingroup can be extended even more to refer to the entire nation. Such an example appears in the interview with the leader of the Crimean separatists. The interview ends with the commander saying, (121) *"I want to congratulate, from the bottom of my heart, all Crimeans, Sevastopol residents, and the Russian residents on the anniversary of the historical reunification of the Crimea with Russia, to wish everyone good health, prosperity, and a peaceful sky over their heads; we will cope with all the difficulties and misfortunes and win!!!"* Notably, the commander neither sends his wishes to his acquaintances only nor does he extend them to the entire world. Instead, he extends his ingroup to the residents of his region, his hometown, and then the entire country. In contrast to the previous example, this example represents the opposite of Universalism, as it highlights how exclusive ingroup membership can be.

The relationships between people are not always horizontal. Many groups have a hierarchical structure. Although it is more conventional to discuss the vertical interactions in the context of the values of Power and Conformity, such interactions can be also benevolent. Leaders of groups may feel responsible for the wellbeing of members and seek to increase that wellbeing. A Wikipedia page about Gorbachev provides several quotes from various interviews he had done with journalists. One quote reveals that the last President of the USSR retrospectively regretted the course of actions he had chosen during Perestroika: (122) *"When the situation became tight for us, especially after 1989, in 1990, when the whole country was in queues and we did not have enough goods to meet demand, when people could fight in the queue for a pair of Italian shoes,... we had to find 10–15 billion dollars. The money could have been found...."* In this example, Gorbachev presents himself as a person who could alone have affected the wellbeing of the nation he represented at the time. Another example illustrates how leaders can take measures to assure fair treatment of all group members. A travel blogger described the architecture of the University of Pittsburgh. One of the interesting details is that the university wanted to highlight the cultural diversity of the population of the city and decorated 24 rooms to honor their countries of origin. The blogger then added the following: (123) *"After 1991 [the administration] had to decorate several new rooms and add Ukrainian and Armenian rooms to avoid offending the students."* It is again the exclusive nature of those who have

been taken care of that makes this example an instance of Benevolence. Students who, as follows from the post, have diverse cultural backgrounds, directly associated with the university and its administration. It is the students, not the entire population of the city, who were the focus of the university's concerns.

It is rather conventional to think that Benevolence motivates relationships with fellow humans. However, in daily life, people can be attached to representatives of other species too. On a forum where users exchange their experiences with fancy rat breeding, one user began a post as follows: (124) *"We took a girl rat, 2.5 months old (as we were told), and thought of also getting a girlfriend for her so that she would not feel lonely."* It is interesting that the author of the statement humanized the animal by ascribing it emotional states and an ability to develop a friendship with another rat. Nevertheless, this example illustrates how Benevolence can extend beyond humans.

The final extension of benevolence refers to the situational character of some benevolent interactions. Although the conventional understanding of Benevolence refers to continuous personal contacts, people also engage in numerous interactions that are neither personal nor continuous – in the streets, in cafes, in public transport, and so on. Such a situation was described in an online discussion about photographers who travel to remote destinations to take certain pictures, for example, to photograph a train crossing a bridge over a mountain river in Norway. One user wrote, (125) *"[Train drivers] know that photographers wait for them at this bridge, so they signal in advance, and on the bridge, they reduce speed to a minimum so that everyone can take a few shots."* In this example, the actions of the train drivers enable the photographers to achieve their goals, and these photographers benefit from the interaction.

Universalism

There were 37 segments coded as expressing Universalism, with only one segment demoting the importance of the value. Overall, Universalism was present in the browsing histories of six respondents and accounted for 4.9% of all value-coded segments. Five themes reflected Universalism in the analyzed texts: the appreciation of nature, equality of all, tolerance in intergroup relations, protection of the vulnerable, and the common good. The last theme is not a part of the original definition of the Universalism value.

The first dimension of Universalism refers to people's concerns about **nature**. These vary from references about the general state of the environment to very specific

issues. A blogger who writes about issues of architecture and city planning referred to “improved ecology” as one of the outcomes of correctly organizing a certain city’s traffic: (126) *“The number of traffic jams will decrease as soon as the city starts affecting people’s behavior through disincentivizing the use of private cars. Because of that, the environment and the quality of life, in general, will improve.”* Other sources target very specific issues of environmental protection, for example, the tendency to underestimate threats of plastic pollution. National Geographic reported about a blogger from Honduras who published some photos of the bay she lives close to. In her photos, the water could not be seen, as it was covered by a layer of various plastic waste: (127) *“By sharing these pictures, Caroline calls everyone to think about the damage they cause to the planet. She suggests storing all plastic waste one produces in one week – plastic bags, forks, bottles, and so on – and then estimating the size of the pile.”*

The equal treatment of people of different backgrounds is the next reflection of Universalism that appeared in different contexts. Equality and fair representation are issues common in political discussions. A news article about the 2017 parliament elections in Germany commented on the new composition of the Bundestag: (128) *“The new Bundestag has several dozen more mandates than the previous one – 709 instead of 631 – primarily because the so-called compensating mandates were distributed for the first time to create a composition of the parliament that better reflects the will of voters.”* The idea of the importance of equality occurs in daily situations too. A popular psychology article reminds parents to teach their children to treat all people with respect: (129) *“Girls and boys are equal, and both [genders] should be respected.”* Equality in these examples was presented as a guiding principle that structures the relationships between all members of society.

Tolerance is the next dimension of the Universalism value that characterizes intergroup relations. Like the previous dimension, equality, tolerance also refers to the fair treatment of other people. However, it emphasizes interaction between members of different groups. In an online community for cancer patients, one user described her pleasant encounter with an old man who did not react to her cancer status as something sinister but rather as something that could have happened to anyone, just like catching a cold. The cancer patient ended her story by saying that she liked his attitude. Another user reacted to this story by writing the following: (130) *“I think this old man has a very correct approach to the issue of cancer. If there were more old men and women like him, everything would be simply amazing.”* This comment regards the issue of cancer stigmatization and

appreciation for those individuals who do not engage in behaviors that reproduce the stigma. Tolerance is not always a part of positive intergroup interactions. Emphasized tolerance can occur as a reaction to intolerance in a situation of conflict. A travel blogger published a report of his trip to Burundi, where he focused on the problems of the country (e.g., poverty, weak civil society) and made a rather unflattering conclusion about the Burundi people. Later, the same blogger published a variety of reactions he received to the original post. One of them came from a Burundi national living in Russia. The person wrote that it was unfair of the blogger to report only the bad sides and present those as the only information available about the country. He added that he could also write about all the bad things he had observed in Russia, but he says, (131) *“Of course, as a person with self-respect and out of my respect for Russia and Russian people, I cannot do that and do not think it worth doing.”*

The desire to **protect vulnerable members of society** can guide the actions and decisions of people and can be as stable as a trait-like personal characteristic. An article explaining why some female TV characters are “cool” reads, (132) *“She does everything to protect the innocent and to help those in need.”* This quote describes a fictional medical doctor who continuously engages in helping behaviors throughout the series. Support of those in need can have a situational character and occur under circumstances when universalist motivations are not expected. In an interview, the commander of the Crimean separatists described the interaction with the Ukrainian army during the preparations for the referendum. He evaluates the actions of the Ukrainian state as irresponsible. Their soldiers had to keep their positions despite the lack of provisions and necessary equipment. He then adds, (133) *“We sent them cars of bread and lard so that they would not starve to death there.”* This example is interesting, as it demonstrates that the protective motivations do not always imply horizontal relationships between parties. Although those are typically people who are perceived as vulnerable, the category “in need of protection” can be very inclusive. For example, people can focus their concerns on animals. An organization that shelters fancy rats who lost their owners explains how much the animals suffer when they do not live in a family and do not receive enough attention from humans. The organization addresses its readers as follows: (134) *“If you want to help the abandoned fancy rats, then please call us or send us an e-mail.”* An entire city can become the object of protection. In a blog about architecture and city planning, the blog’s author described how he successfully

prevented some changes in the architecture of one city: (135) *“Belgorod had to be saved, and I wrote an entire series of posts asking [the city administration] to stop vandalism.”*

The preservation or creation of the **common good** can be the focus of universalistic aspirations. An architecture blogger explained the basics of city traffic planning to his readers: (136) *“Roads are made exclusively for cars. That is why they lie in the industrial zones or along the railroads, so they do not harm the locals and do not damage the streets.”* In the post, he argues that the aesthetic component is very important for the development of the urban area – visually nicer areas attract more people, and people, in turn, attract cafes and small shops. Not only can city authorities create something that will benefit everyone, but private businesses can also offer something that contributes to the wellbeing of all people. A businessman explained why his enterprise, which supplies people with dinner boxes (a box containing a recipe and packages with the exact amount of all necessary ingredients, which people then cook themselves) is good for people: (137) *“We don't want people to waste time senselessly and uselessly, thinking every day of what they need to buy and cook. Our service allows one to receive a set of products for five evenings with a subscription – all that is left to do is cook.”* He then adds, *“It is a good idea that makes people's lives better.”*

One demotion of Universalism was also present in the data. A user was skeptical about widespread environmental concerns and wrote, (138) *“What concerns us [i.e., society] these days the most? Is it overpopulation? Or global warming? Of course not. Very different issues bother us today.”* He then explained that the inability to afford the life one wants to live (which is a reference to Power) is the central concern of people today.

Relationships Between Value Types

When describing priorities or motivations, people sometimes mention several at once. Some of these statements would be presented as compatible with one another, while others would be presented as conflicting. The number of co-occurring values in the analyzed materials is insufficient for statistical analysis and thus cannot be used to test whether the observed relationships between values confirm the circular pattern proposed by Schwartz. Consequently, I will only provide examples of such segments (Table 6). These examples show that both confirmations and contradictions of the theoretical relationships were present in the data.

Table 6. *Examples of the interrelationships between value types*

Relationships between value types in line with the theory	
Compatible value types	Example
Face and Security	(139) Of course, they [scientists] could have protested, but they have not. For them, the situation was resolved in the best possible way – they preserved their academic reputation (Face) and avoided an open confrontation with the ministry of education and science (Security)
Anxiety-free focus values: Self-direction, Benevolence, Achievement	(140) To knit a hat for your boy is not just interesting, it allows you to choose high quality materials (Self-direction), you could also satisfy any whim of your (grand)son and add a picture of his favorite character (Benevolence) to the hat. And your boy would be proud that a hat was knit by his mum/granny (Achievement).”
Incompatible value types	Example
Self-direction vs. Tradition	(141) I believe you should have chosen a different dance [class for your child], not ballet. Ballet has different goals [...]. Not self-expression (Self-direction), rather serving higher ideals, just like in all other fine arts (Tradition).
Power vs. Benevolence	(142) Quite often when it comes to group projects, Dmitry prioritizes not money (Power) but trusting and friendly relationships (Benevolence).
Relationships between value types not in line with theory	
Compatible value types	Example
Hedonism and Security	(143) The legendary Ford Explorer keeps up with the times and gets equipped with modern technologies that provide a qualitatively new level of comfort (Hedonism) and safety (Security).
Self-direction, Security, and Benevolence	(144) "Lady's School" is the last chance for Katya to change herself and to take control over her life (Self-direction), to give up unhealthy habits (Security), and to become a good mother to her son (Benevolence)
Incompatible value types	Example
Self-direction vs. Achievement	(145) Mark Webb filmed what he wanted and the way he wanted (Self-direction), with no ambition to get numerous awards (Achievement), but exclusively out of the desire to create a good movie (Self-direction)
Stimulation vs. Hedonism	(146) Mitsubishi Outlander is not about the drive (Stimulation) but comfort (Hedonism)

Other Potential Value Types

Along with the 12 basic values proposed by Schwartz, there were some ends and motivations that did not overlap with any of the theoretical values, but I could not classify them as completely irrelevant to the main category of analysis. These may represent non-universal values: Determination and Beauty. There were also references to Humanism (the human life and human qualities as the most valuable things), Honesty, and a Sense of perishability (life is here and now). However, as they were very infrequent in the data, I will provide examples from the data without extensive discussion.

Determination

Determination lies between Stimulation and Self-direction and has the traits of both. It appears in situations where people seek radical changes in their lives. Such changes, on the one hand, bring new experiences and challenges in life, while on the other hand, they require perseverance and independence. Determination was shown in several contexts in the data. A participant of the reality show *Patsanki [The Tomboys]* enrolled in the “School of Lady” to learn more socially adaptive behaviors because (21) “*the girl wants to change her life completely.*” Some changes are not as radical as those the show promises to participants. Nevertheless, those changes also stand for a transition from one state to another. For example, in an online community where people discuss different “life hacks,” one user shared her experience with cosmetic procedures for hair: (22) “*If you want to change your image completely and have a quick result ...*.” She then provided pictures of her hair tone “before” and “after.” In both examples, the need for change motivated actions that split their respective lives into “before” and “after.” Sixteen segments in the sample (2.1% of all value-coded segments) referenced Determination.

Beauty

Appreciation of beauty and the need for aesthetic experiences can also be a source of motivation. In the early version of the Schwartz value model, the “world of beauty” used to appear among Universalism items (Schwartz, 1992). Appreciation of the beauty of nature is one side of the construct. One user described her vacation experiences as follows: (147) “*I could have picked [the lemons], but my hand could not destroy such beauty.*” Nature is not the only source of aesthetic experience. In a discussion about ballet classes for children, people debated how reasonable it is to let children learn “unnatural moves” typical of classic choreography. One proponent of ballet wrote, (148) “*‘Unnatural moves’ – that is precisely the goal, that is where the beauty is, in the porcelain bodies of girls.*” The category

of beauty transcends visually appealing objects. A person described a movie she watched: (149) *“This film is not for getting high on how prodigious the film is.”* Moreover, beauty does not even have to refer to something positively evaluated. Describing his attitude toward ethically questionable but smartly administered intrigues, a person wrote (150) *“to appreciate the beauty of the situation.”* There were 10 segments that referred to Beauty (1.3% of all value-coded segments).

Further reflections of non-universal values were rather infrequent in the data. However, they are worth investigating in future studies. The reference to **Honesty** appears in an article about celebrities who are not ashamed of their imperfections. The article reveals that (151) *“[famous model] Chrissy ... no longer uses Photoshop for her Instagram posts. ‘It’s not fair,’ she said.”* The references to **Humanism** appear in the comments of a blog post about a fire in a garage that destroyed the author’s cars. A commenter wrote, (152) *“Well... the main thing is that no one got hurt. One can always buy a new car!”* This comment contrasts the value of human life to the value of lost material possessions. A **Sense of perishability** is the next potential non-universal value. On a platform with user-generated reviews of different movies and TV shows, one user concluded a review as follows (153): *“The film makes you think about the transience of time, the future after you, and the present. ... It leaves an aftertaste and thoughts”*

Discussion and Conclusion

The aim of this study was twofold: first, to develop a new instrument that would enable the identification of reflections of Schwartz values in texts and, second, to use that instrument to investigate how texts reflect values.

The new instrument has several similarities and differences with existing ones. Unlike past studies (e.g., Renner, 2003; Portman, 2014), which dealt with values as manifestations of something people find important (Value Reflection Type 1), this study includes procedures that enable the identification of values as motivations (Value Reflection Type 2). As the results show, the latter accounted for the majority of value reflections in the analyzed texts. The second difference between existing instruments and the one presented here is the focus of analysis: the new instrument does not focus on the lexical component of sentences (i.e., words that refer to values; see, for example, Waheed et al., 2011, 2013; Ponizovskiy et al., 2020) but rather searches for different ways a language can communicate goals (ends) and causes (motivations). For example, I used conjunctions *because* and *to* (and all their synonyms) as indicators of motivations in the

texts. The shift of attention from content words (such as nouns) to non-content words (such as prepositions or pronouns) has been found to be revealing in matters of psycholinguistic analysis (Pennebaker, 2011). Additionally, the proposed instrument integrates many features that were addressed in past studies. This study, like the study of Portman (2014), excludes content that does not refer to values (e.g., *independence* as a reference to Self-direction and to a historical period), but this study uses more formalized exclusion criteria (see the rules of segmentation and the main category coding). By adopting the analytical principles of Waheed et al. (2011, 2013), this instrument considers the agency of those possessing values (“point of view”) and the directions of their actions. Finally, this instrument accounts for a valence between a reflected value and its conceptual definition (as in Ponizovskiy et al., 2020) and provides an opportunity to investigate the relationships between the values (as in Bardi et al., 2008). However, it does not treat those as a measure of construct validity.

As the analysis of the browsing histories demonstrated, the instrument enables the identification of the value reflections across a wide range of online materials and helps differentiate values from non-values. More specifically, the analysis of the given dataset indicated that around 38% of all the motivations can be classified as reflecting values. To compare, Cheng et al. (2012) had no coding rules for filtering out value-irrelevant statements and ultimately coded more than 75% of the segments as communicating values. Moreover, my instrument identified all values proposed by Schwartz in the sample. This fact is indicative of the instrument’s validity.

Another aim of the study was to investigate how texts communicate values. An inclusive, pragmatics-oriented approach for identifying values enabled such explorations and yielded several groups of results. First, the use of the new instrument helped identify different facets of the values that were outside the scope of past semantics-oriented studies. For example, the results showed that the Achievement value implies not only assertiveness and ambition but also reference to some externally set standards of what good performance means. Similarly, the analysis revealed that Hedonism does not only mean the active pursuit of pleasant experiences; it also means the avoidance of unpleasant ones. Second, this study identified a variety of specific manifestations that some values have. For example, Security, which, in the original model, refers to safety in one’s immediate surroundings (personal security) and the stability of one’s society (societal security), had rather diverse manifestations in the sample: the concept of personal security included concerns about

one's physical, psychological, and financial wellbeing. Societal security was reflected in references to external and internal threats to a given society. Interestingly, some values, like Stimulation and Face, had very few types of manifestations. Fourth, a focus on the language pragmatics clarified context-specific manifestations of values and also showed that the same manifestation can relate to several values in different contexts (e.g., "loyalty" in contexts of benevolence, power, and security). How different values can be equally related to seemingly the same object has been addressed in past value-attitude and value-behavior studies (e.g., Sagiv & Schwartz, 1995, Grigoryan & Schwartz, 2020) and Papers 2 and 3 of this dissertation. Moreover, the pragmatics-oriented approach to the interpretation of values enables one to address highly contextualized statements and metaphors. For example, a critical comment about President Putin's position in the state reads, (154) "*The purpose of the sun is to shine from above.*" This segment contains a metaphorical reference to dominance and was coded as Power. Finally, the instrument allows one to identify additional values – Determination, Beauty, Honesty, and so forth. These values can be non-universal, such as Spirituality (Schwartz, 2012). These values do not have a consistent meaning across societies and are not present in the Schwartz model.

Overall, this study introduces four innovations to the research concerned with identifying how texts communicate values. First, it is the first study to use a stepwise coding procedure that first identifies values as a main category of analysis and then assigns one of the 12 value labels to the selected segment. The proposed procedure focuses on the differentiation between reflections of values and irrelevant content. Second, the instrument includes the motivational aspect of values, which increases its validity. Third, the study identifies various context-specific manifestations of values as well as additional non-universal values. Finally, the proposed instrument enables the relationships between value types to be revealed.

The analysis of the textual data was not done without complications. The first type of difficulty concerned how to differentiate between values and other types of goals and causes. It was not always easy to differentiate between internal and external motivations. While values are intrinsic to people (since they are subjective evaluations of what is important in life), most of them refer to parts of reality that are external to the individual. Values coordinate people's interactions with the external world. If one wants to be a loyal friend (Benevolence), one needs other people to be friends with. To desire safety (Security), the (hypothetical) presence of a threat is required. Even to gain independence (Self-

direction), one needs some external reference to know where dependence ends. Exceptions are perhaps hedonism, which is based on the purely subjective experience of pleasure (are olives equally tasty to everyone?), and stimulation, as subjective experiences of novelty and thrill depend on one's past experiences. The Conformity value presents an especially interesting case, as it refers to the subjective importance of obeying rules. The problem here is that the existence of rules (especially laws) implies that people follow them regardless of whether they believe in their necessity. Hence, if a text contains a reference to some rule as an explanation of why some actions or decisions took place, it does not always refer to someone's values. For example, I did not code actions guided by rules for people whose professions require them to follow those rules – lawyers and judges, police officers, and bodyguards. For these professionals, breaking their respective rules would perhaps be a value-motivated behavior. However, the analysis of these rules (or policies, professional standards, etc.) and how those rules navigate behaviors and decisions may be insightful in the investigation of societal or group values. Future research could further differentiate between the effects of people's values and effects of values promoted by institutions on decisions and actions of individuals. Doing so may help to clarify the relationship between values of the lifeworld and those of the system, as conceptualized by Habermas (1988).

Second, the differentiation between value types requires one to consider the context in which agents acted. Very often, the agents were involved in some interaction with other people or with their society and its norms. The types of interactions affected the interpretation of the described situation (e.g., she begged versus she demanded), the latter is crucial to the identification of a represented value type. While the diversity of such interactions is tremendous (vertical versus horizontal, rivalry, altruistic self-sacrifice, parasocial, etc.), the theory does not specify whether all values can potentially function in all kinds of relationships or whether some values guide behaviors across various interactions more than others. For example, it may seem that Power and Conformity guide vertical relationships. However, as the data have shown, vertical interaction can also be benevolent (examples 108 and 123). Furthermore, relationships that at the first glance appear horizontal (e.g., between romantic partners) may be guided by Power when one partner wants to control the other (see examples 62 and 63).

Another source of complications related to identifying different value types in texts is the uneven abstractness of the values' definitions. While some values are rather specific and refer to a limited number of closely related phenomena (e.g., Face, the protection of

one's public image), others are less specific and refer to a great number of diverse phenomena. Perhaps the most broadly defined value is Universalism, which simultaneously refers to intergroup tolerance, social justice, equality, protection of the weak, and the appreciation of nature (in earlier versions of the model, it also included wisdom, maturity, the beauty of the world, and spirituality; Schwartz, 1992). Aside from the heterogeneity of these components, many of them are abstract enough not to have the same meaning across groups. This fact complicated the analysis. For example, the exact meaning of "social justice" changes dramatically as we move from left to right on the political spectrum.

This study has two major limitations. Although this instrument developed here intentionally avoids specific words as markers of values (cf. Bardi et al., 2008, Ponizovskiy et al., 2020), it is tied to a given language and how the language expresses goals, causes, and causal relationships. Linguistic specificities of languages should be considered when adapting this coding frame.

Due to the very complex coding procedure, the reliability of the final instrument was not tested using double-coding by independent coders. Further research should elaborate on the segmentation procedures since the under-detection of relevant segments is the main threat to the instrument's reliability. Moreover, the way different passages were interpreted may depend on the experience and sociocultural background of a coder. For instance, as a person who has no car, I found it rather difficult to code the slang of car owners; similarly, it was a challenge to code the blog about a reality show since I have not seen the show and am not familiar with its routines and slang. Future research should consider how the sociocultural background of the analyst affects the results of the analysis.

The proposed instrument can be used in future research investigating the relationships between various value types in different situations and diverse value instantiations across different contexts and subcultures such as, for instance, the tango community (example 89) or the ballet academy (example 45). It may be possible to investigate societal values through the analysis of texts describing how existing laws, policies, and regulations restrict people's inclinations and define their behaviors and decisions. Finally, the instrument also enables the study of the relationships between values and various behaviors and attitudes, as all coded segments contain references to one of these.

Ultimately, this study presented a novel approach to the operationalization of values in texts. The focus on the expressions of goals and causes is an important step in the development of the measures of reflected values. First, this focus helps make the coding procedure more formalized and transparent. Second, it allows the analysis to be independent of specific words and expressions that past research treated as indicators of the 10 value types (e.g., Bardi et al., 2008). That broadens the scope of the values' applicability to an infinite number of objects and situations. It also helps avoid overfitting

Paper 5. Do individual values motivate selective exposure in daily life? Evidence from browsing histories analysis

Study 5 tests the final hypothesis of this project: people prefer media content that reflects their important values. This is a modification of a well-researched¹³ selective exposure hypothesis, which states that people tend to prefer media content that confirms what they believe to be true. The hypothesis generally finds support in the experimental research, where participants' task is to make a series of choices between some fictitious media content on socially debatable topics (see Hart et al., 2009 for meta-analysis). However, those tasks only vaguely resemble the real-life interaction with the media. In contrast, the studies dealing with the real media consumption, for example, with browsing histories analysis, hesitate to confirm the prevalence of politically congenial selectivity (i.e. echo chambers) in daily life (Dvir-Gvirsman, Tsfati, & Menchen-Trevino, 2014; Flaxman, Goel, & Rao, 2016; Haim, Graefe, & Brosius, 2018). Those studies, however, are highly selective about the content they find suitable for analysis and acknowledge that there are only a few people whose media diets consist mainly of ideologically-laden materials (Dvir-Gvirsman, Tsfati, & Menchen-Trevino, 2014; Flaxman, Goel, & Rao, 2016). Indeed, in real-life, political content always competes with entertainment and socially-relevant but apolitical materials, which are the first choice for many users (Prior, 2007, Arceneaux et al., 2013). Yet, including such content in the analysis could be insightful, first, because people are also selective about those and, second, because consumption of such content can contribute to the construction of one's picture of the world as much as consumption of politics does. Consequently, analysis of the browsing history in its totality, without sampling the content based on the topic of the visited web-pages (e.g. Dvir-Gvirsman, Tsfati, & Menchen-Trevino, 2014) or domains/ outlets (e.g. Flaxman, Goel, & Rao, 2016) can present a better estimation whether selective exposure prevails in real life. That task however requires identifying a motivational force that would be equally relevant to the selection of media content regardless their topic. This study introduces individual values as such basis. More specifically, this study aims to test whether the hierarchies of values reflected in people's browsing histories resemble their self-reported ones.

Individual Values as a Basis for Decision-Making and Behavior

¹³ According to Scopus, 3837 documents which contain keywords "selective exposure" or "confirmation bias" were published between 1941 and 2021. Retrieved from: www.scopus.com (Access date: 01.12.2020)

Values are abstract beliefs that refer to desirable goals; they motivate actions and serve as standards against which situations, objects, and behaviors are evaluated. Values help people to navigate through their daily lives. It is a broad motivational construct that was found to guide behaviors (Rokeach, 1973, Schwartz, 1992; Bardi & Schwartz, 2003), and decisions (Feather, 1995). At the same time, important values affect how people interpret the world around them – values provide motivations for attitudes (Beierlein, Kuntz, & Davidov, 2016), define concerns (Schwartz, Sagiv & Boehnke, 2000), understanding of morality (Sagiv, Sverdlik, & Schwarz, 2011), and expectations about other people (Mokosińska, Sawicki, Bagińska, & Atroszko, 2016).

Values are trans-situational by definition; that means, values can manifest themselves in an infinite number of situations and contexts. For example, extensive research on value-attitude relations demonstrated that values relate to as diverse objects of attitudes as minorities (Beierlein, Kuntz, & Davidov, 2016), environmental concerns (Schultz et al., 2005), or genetically modified food (Dreezens et al., 2005). Value-behavior research also provides a rich body of evidence that values can motivate as diverse behaviors as lending things to neighbors (Bardi & Schwartz, 2003), political participation (Vecchione et al., 2014), or helping researchers (Daniel et al., 2015).

Media consumption is a realm of active decision-making and acting – one has first to decide which content one wants and then do something to receive it. In past research, the two approaches to the investigation of how values guide people's media choices were used. The first approach takes a more functional position – it is assumed that values guide the choice of the media based on the function the media play in people's daily life. For example, while some media sources provide information and help to inform decisions, others have a primarily entertaining function. Such an approach was employed in at least two studies (Besley, 2008; Meulemann, 2010). Their results are, however, inconsistent. Analyzing the same dataset, European Social Survey, both Besley and Meulemann argued that television plays a primarily entertaining role in the life of people, while newspapers are used to keep oneself up to date about current events. They however linked those needs to different values. Meulemann argued that the use of TV is powered by Hedonism values (Openness to Change group), while the use of newspapers – by Universalism (Self-Transcendence), because “universalism may be defined as a concern with equity the accomplishment of which requires knowledge about people and parties” (Meulemann, 2010, p.189). Besley (2008), in turn, claimed that those are people with high priority of Conservation and Self-

Enhancement, who prefer televised entertainment; while newspaper readers are motivated by values of Openness to Change group. Although the predictions of the authors are incompatible with one another, both find empirical support for their hypotheses.

Another approach to the investigation of how values motivate media consumption is more content-focused. It is assumed that some content is more attractive than others to people with certain value priorities. The first way to identify value-relevant content suggests classifying the entire topics as expressing certain types of values. For example, Hsieh and coauthors (2014) treated all social media posts about the environment as reflecting Universalism; posts about work and career as Achievement, and those about leisure as Hedonism. They find that people indeed show a preference for value-congruent messages. Other studies do not tie values to topics but argue that it is a specific framing of a message that can add a value-relevant connotation to any message. The effects of value-relevant framing were investigated in the context of the promotion of eco-labeled electricity (Hansla, 2011), and brand design in marketing (Torelli et al., 2012). Not only do people favor the content that reflects their important values, but they also do not process value-congruent and –incongruent information in the same way. The value-congruent pieces undergo a more thorough examination (i.e. systematic processing), while incongruent information tends to be processed heuristically (von Borgstede et al., 2014).

Although past studies arrived at the conclusion that people seem to prefer messages/media that communicate their important values, their results are rather inconclusive. The framing studies do not measure the reflected values, but rather assume that some ways to present the content make it more appealing to people with certain value priorities. The studies which link the values of people with their preferences for media types do not agree on the mechanisms behind such links. Finally, it remains unclear whether values indeed guide media selection in daily life or just in some specific cases, as the framing studies show it.

Overall, this study introduces two innovations to selective exposure research. First, it evaluates the extent to which value-based selective exposure is present in people's daily life. And second, it is the first study that matches people's values with those reflected in the media content they have accessed online.

Method

Sample and Procedure

This study was administered in a form of a linkage study (Miller, Goldenberg, & Erbring, 1979) and employed a correlational design. Such studies combine different types of data, in this case, self-reports and web browsing histories of people. To test the hypothesis, I estimate the correspondence between the importance a respondent ascribes to different values with the frequency of the values' occurrence in their web browsing histories.

Participants were recruited using a two-stage strategy. In the first stage, volunteers were invited to participate in an online survey about their value priorities and web-browsing habits (which devices they use, what kind of content they prefer, etc.). At the end of the survey, everyone was invited to leave their contact details for participation in the second stage of the study. The participants were re-contacted and invited to the second stage only if they satisfied each of the four criteria 1) they use their laptops/desktops for browsing in leisure time; 2) they are the only users of those devices, except for parents who may share the device with young children; 3) they use Google Chrome, Firefox or Internet Explorer browser (technical requirement of the software used to collect the web data), 4) in their leisure time, they read blogs, news, online articles, and other textual materials at least 2-3 times a week.

The researcher collected the browsing histories from 20 participants during face-to-face meetings. Before the data collection, participants were first informed about the software used in the study, the principles of its functioning, and potential threats to their privacy. After that, participants were offered to install an extension "Web Historian" (Menchen-Trevino, 2016) to their browsers and to run the program. The extension visualizes the browsing history stored in the computer, without uploading it to external servers, or copying it. At the next stage participants were offered to review the list of the webpages displayed by the extension, and to delete any pages they have visited for work or school, social media (e.g. Facebook, Instagram), online-banking/ shopping, and any other domains which can potentially reveal their personal information, video or music streaming services (e.g. YouTube, Netflix), and any other web-pages they do not wish researcher having access to. After that, the researcher copied the list of remaining web-pages to the flash drive taking care of participant's confidentiality by replacing their personal data with pseudonyms. After that, participants could deinstall the extension or keep it if they found it useful or interesting. After that, they received 500 Rubles (~ 8 Eur) for their participation. Overall, web browsing histories were collected from 20 volunteers,

9 of those (6 women; age range 26-56) provided data suitable for further analysis. The number of suitable for analysis web-pages varied from 27 to 376 per participant, resulting in a total number of 821 texts. Two respondents provided significantly more suitable material than the rest - 172 and 376 (vs. $M = 39$, $SD = 14.2$ in the rest of the sample), from their browsing histories 39 pages were randomly selected for further analysis. The total number of analyzed pages was 390. Table 7 describes the socio-demographic characteristics of participants and summarizes the contents of their browsing histories.

Measures

Browsing Habits

The browsing habits items were used as filters to select the participants of the second stage of the study. The questions concerned the devices people use for browsing in leisure time, how many people have access to that device, which Internet browsers they use, and how frequently they access blogs, news, and other textual materials in their leisure time.

Reflected Values

This study uses the instrument from Paper 4 to identify the reflected values. The instrument allows measuring the 12 values (basic 10 + Face and Humility). To calculate the profile of the reflected values for each participant, I counted how many web-pages in a participant's browsing history contained each value.

Personal Values

Russian version of the PVQ-R (Schwartz & Butenko, 2017), which consists of 57 verbal portraits of people who find different values important. The respondent's task is to evaluate how similarly described persons are to them (6pt scale, 1 – “not like me at all”; 6 – “very much like me”). Although this instrument is intended to measure the 19 values, I calculated only 12 in order to get a value profile comparable with that obtained from the browsing histories.

Selective Exposure

The calculation of the extent of value-based media selectivity among participants was performed in two steps. First, self-reported values were ranked from most to least important while reflected values were ranked from most to least frequent. Second, the rank correlation between self-reported and reflected values was calculated to evaluate how well the two rankings correspond with one another. The correlation coefficient stands for the

extent of selectivity, varying between -1 and +1, where -1 means that people prefer media materials that reflect the opposite of what they consider important in life; +1 mean that people prefer to consume the media which match their value priorities, and 0 means that there are no linear relationships in how people choose the media materials.

Also, respondents reported their age, gender, and place of residence (the latter for sampling purposes). The complete untranslated questionnaire is in Appendix 2.

Results

Table 7 provides an overview of the content and structure of the analyzed browsing histories of the nine participants. Thematically very diverse, only a few respondents had shared topics – for example, participants F1991o and F1961 both read about reality TV, or M1965v, M1965a, and F1991s attended to criminal news reports, however, those were different shows and different incidents that attracted the attention of the participants. Wikipedia.ru was the only domain recorded in the sample that was visited by more than one participant.

Participants also differed in their browsing habits. Some preferred attending to a limited number of sources and read multiple contents published in the same domain (M1965a, M1988) while others used a greater diversity of sources (M1965v, F1972). Participants also differed in how thematically diverse their browsing histories were - some had clear favorite topics (Gardening for F1972, Health & beauty procedures for F1991o), others did not have clear preferences and spread their attention across various topics almost evenly (M1965v, F1961). The number of the segments coded as reflecting values also varied across participants and ranged between 19% and 46.5% ($M = 36.7$; $SD = 7.95$) of all coded segments. At least five values (Self-direction, Power, Achievement, Security, and Benevolence, which represent each of the four higher-order values) were present in the data of all participants and all 12 values were present in the browsing history of one participant (M1988). On average, the analyzed browsing histories contained references to 9.2 ($SD = 1.9$) values. The least frequent in the data were Face and Humility.

For each participant, two ranked value profiles were calculated – one based on their self-reports and one calculated from the frequency of values occurrence in their browsing histories (Table 7). The results of the rank correlation analysis show that the extent of the similarity between self-reported and reflected value priorities varied from $\rho = -.07$ to $\rho = .38$ across participants. Although the analysis suggested the presence of a weak correlation

Table 7. *The structure and content of the browsing histories of each participant.*

N	id	Gender	Year of birth	N of analysed web-pages	Main topics of the browsing history (N of web-pages)	N of coded segments	Segments reflecting values (%)
1	F1961	female	1961	40	Self-support group & medical treatment (9); Celebrities & Reality TV (8); Cooking & Hobby (6); Birthday parties planning (6); Children health and upbringing (5); News: International relations (5); Cars (1)	137	40.8%
2	M1965v	male	1965	27	News: criminal (6); News: celebrities (3); Domestic politics (3); Attractive women (3); Marketing & retail (3); PE for children (3) News: international relations (2); House repairs (2); Health (2); Hunting (1)	96	31.2%
3	M1965a	male	1965	32	News: business & economy (14); News: criminal & accidents (10); Cars (3); History 20 th century (3); Nature (2); News: International relations (1)	81	32%
4	F1991o	female	1991	28	Beauty & health (13); Pet rats (4); Video games (3); Wikipedia & self-education (3); Reality TV (2); News: international relations (2); Job search (1)	142	37.3%
5	F1972	female	1972	39	Gardening (24); Vacations (5); Cars (4); Insurance (4); Entertainment for children (1)	189	19%
6	F1991s	female	1991	376/39	Local tourism & going out (16); Successful business (10); Popular psychology: personal development (9); Pop. Psych: Dating &	333	46.5%

				sampled	romantic relationships (6); Celebrities & TV (3); Nature (2); News: criminal & accidents (1); Etiquette (1); Humor (1); News: International relations (1)		
7	F1989	female	1989	35	Figure ice skating & Olympics (10); TV show (7); Communist & nationalist commentaries on domestic politics (4); Wikipedia and self-education (4); Riddles & books (4); Medical treatment (1); Inspirational quotes (1)	225	40.9%
8	M1988	male	1988	172/39 sampled	Travel blogs (12); Hiking & mountain climbing (7); Cars (7); TV shows (5); Domestic politics (3); Christmas gifts (2)	434	45.2%
9	F1984	female	1984	72	Taxes (24); Hobby (20); Children: health, psychology, education (16); Beauty procedures (6); Housekeeping (3); Cars (1); Health (1)	319	37.3%

Table 7. *Personal and reflected value hierarchies and the extent of their similarity (ρ) for each respondent.*

Participant	F1961		M1965v		M1965a		F1991o		F1972		F1991s		F1989		M1987		F1984	
Value	Value rank		Value rank		Value rank		Value rank		Value rank		Value rank		Value rank		Value rank		Value rank	
	own	web	own	web	own	web	own	web	own	web	own	web	own	web	own	web	own	web
Self-direction	1	5	1	5	1	5,5	2	3	1	4,5	1	5	1	9	2	5	1	7
Stimulation	10	7	4	6,5	9	9,5	8	5,5	11	4,5	8	5	3	11	5	1	7	5
Hedonism	9	5	10	10	5	9,5	4	5,5	9	3	2	9	3	6	5	3	7	3
Achievement	11	4	8	3	9	5,5	1	5,5	11	6,5	4	1	5	4	5	8	7	1,5
Power	12	2	12	3	12	1	12	5,5	5	6,5	11	2	11	1	11	1	11	7
Face	3	11	1	10	5	9,5	5	9,5	4	10	4	11	7	4	5	11	7	11
Security	4	3	4	1	3	3,5	7	2	2	1,5	6	3	6	2	4	7	2	4
Tradition	8	9	8	10	9	9,5	11	9,5	5	10	12	4	12	9	1	8	5	7
Conformity	7	9	4	6,5	8	9,5	8	9,5	5	10	10	10	10	6	12	10	5	9
Humility	5	11	10	10	5	9,5	5	12	9	10	9	12	8	11	10	12	12	11
Benevolence	1	1	1	3	2	2	3	1	3	1,5	2	5	2	3	5	3	4	1,5
Universalism	6	7	7	10	4	3,5	10	9,5	8	10	6	5	8	6	2	5	3	11
ρ (10)	-.04		.16		.24		.38		.28		-.07		-.06		.11		.25	
T	-.12		.50		.78		1.33		.91		-.21		-.18		.37		.83	

Note: The critical value of T (df = 10, two-tailed) is +/- 2.228138 and +/- 3.169266 for $p = .05$ and $p = .01$ respectively.

between the two value profiles among six out of nine participants, none of those correlation coefficients reached the level of statistical significance. As a result, these results do not show that participants of this study select media content that reflect their value priorities. The hypothesis was not supported.

Discussion and Conclusion

This study aimed to test whether people consume online information that reflects their important values. For that, the value priorities of people were measured and matched. Although the correlations between the two value profiles do not reach the level of statistical significance, the presence of weak ($.10 < \rho < .40$) correlation was present in the profiles of the six participants. This magnitude of the correlation is similar to the effect sizes obtained in past studies which matched people's values and those expressed by them in essays or social media posts (Boyd et al., 2015; Ponizovskiy et al., 2020). The results also go in line with those of previous selective exposure studies. For example, in a meta-analysis of 68 research projects (some consisting of several studies), Hart and coauthors (2009) report an effect size of $d = 0.38$ (95% CI = 0.32, 0.44) which they use as the evidence of the presence of the preference for information confirming one's views. Future research with a larger sample of participants may be insightful, as it will enable the use of other tools of statistical analysis to evaluate the degree of correspondence between personal and reflected values. Alternatively, the increase of the number of value-expressive segments per participant may also result in a more precise estimation of the correspondence between self-reported and reflected value profiles. That can be achieved with an increase of the analyzed web-pages in the browsing histories of participants.

The reliance on values in the analysis of media consumption has proven to have certain advantages over attitudes or political views used in past studies. As the thematic analysis of the sampled web-pages showed, participants had very dissimilar interests - analyzing those through the lens of reflected attitudes would be indeed problematic. On the other hand, news (not explicitly political though) was the main interest for one respondent (M1965a) only. The latter result goes in line with the past studies (Flaxman et al., 2016; Dvir-Gvirsman et al., 2016; Menchen-Trevino, 2016) which revealed that politics is not the main ingredient of anyone's media diet. In turn, the references to values were present in the materials of all participants, on average, browsing histories contained references to 9.2 (out

of 12) values. The reliance on values thus helps including more data in the analysis, since the value-based approach is independent of the topics of the media content.

While this study provides the first empirical examination of value-based selectivity in online information consumption, its design has some limitations. First, this design does not account for the possibility that some participants use multiple devices for browsing (in my sample only one participant synchronizes browsers on her laptop and smartphone). Also, there is a chance that various media (TV, newspapers, radio, Internet) complement each other in people's routines, and as a result, one type of information does not occur in others. For example, if one watches news on TV, then there is no need to use the Internet to access the same information. While the investigation of online media consumption enables tracking what people actively search for, those choices do not necessarily reflect the media use habits outside online conditions. As Dubois and Blank (2018) note, single media (and device) studies do not provide an accurate estimation of the composition of people's media diets. Furthermore, this study does not analyze non-textual data that are also available online. The instrument used for the identification of reflected values is not suitable for the analysis of non-textual data, yet, podcasts, videos, and Internet memes can communicate values too. Many younger participants were filtered out as they not only read online less frequently than older participants but also do not remember if the material they browsed was a text or a video as the conversations with participants during the face-to-face meetings showed.

For ethical reasons, participants were allowed to conceal from the data anything they did not wish to share - that could have led to the biased estimation of their reflected values as some important data points might be missing. At the same time, some materials that could be considered highly sensitive were available for the analysis – self-support group for cancer patients, discussions of tax evasion schemes, radical political statements, nudity. Moreover, participants had very different levels of the sense of privacy - one participant did not conceal from her data her e-mails and private messages in social media (I deleted all links to messengers without opening them). Finally, people have very different habits of using their devices, for example, one participant informed me that he uses software that automatically cleans his browsing history once a week. His data was not analyzed as the number of web-pages suitable for analysis was too low ($N < 10$). Future research should consider how habits of using devices affect the observed digital trace.

Some limitations are more conceptual than technical and are shared by all studies that deal with the analysis of digital traces. First, when analyzing browsing histories or social media feeds, researchers tend to assume that a participant treats all accessed materials in the same way. However, people can access the same content for different reasons and use different criteria to evaluate it, as uses and gratifications theory suggests (Katz, Blumler, & Gurevitch, 1974). For example, two anonymous users wrote the following comments in reaction to the same text about child development:

(1) *“I do not have children yet, but I plan to have them soon, that is why it was very interesting and useful for me to read this article”*¹⁴;

(2) *“Useful article, I like reading about children, their development, and abilities”*¹⁵

As it follows from the comments, both users liked the paper, but they did so for different reasons - while the first user finds the information useful for the future life, the second one reads similar content for pleasure. Second, researchers typically do not know, how participants perceive those pieces of information – each separately or as parts of a bigger picture. The investigation of how people make sense of the information they access should accompany future research that links self-reported data with digital trace analysis.

This study, like past echo chambers research (e.g. Flaxman et al., 2016; Colleoni, Roza & Arvidsson, 2014; Barbera et al., 2015), focused on the analysis of the content of the web-pages participants accessed and left outside the scope of how participants interpreted the texts they have read. The latter is however important. As Kintsch (1988, 2005) argued, reading comprehension is a product of the integration of what a person sees on a page and her knowledge about the world. Since people can have very different background knowledge, the same content may likely be interpreted differently by people with different experiences. Those experiences may also prompt people to recognize different values in the same passage. It is also plausible that important values of people can navigate how people interpret the media content they encounter. Knafo, Roccas, and Sagiv

¹⁴ У меня пока нет своих детей, но планирую их скоро завести, так что мне было очень интересно и полезно изучить эту статью. Retrieved from: https://medaboutme.ru/zdorove/spravochnik/slovar-medicinskih-terminov/vozrast_detey
Access date: 18.01.2018

¹⁵ Полезная статья, мне нравится читать о детях, о их развитии и способностях. Same source.

(2011) argued that the value priorities of people affect how they understand the world. That may also mean that important values can affect the interpretation of texts. Investigating how the values of people affect their interpretations of the media content is a potential future direction of research on the role of values in media consumption.

To conclude, some researchers argue that self-reports lead to the inflated estimations of the media selectivity (see Clay, Barber & Shook, 2013 for review). In that light, the digital trace analysis appears a better strategy as it provides a precise estimation of the exposure. There is however little discussion on how valuable such precise estimation is. The face-to-face sessions of the data collection when the participants had to review the list of the domains they have visited revealed that all of them had difficulties recognizing some of the domains or could not recall visiting certain web-pages. This episode first, illustrates the gap between one's memories about past behaviors and actual past behaviors, and, second, poses a question of whether those forgotten visits have any value in the analysis of people's characteristics or prediction of their behaviors. As Holbrook and coauthors (2005) demonstrated, people better remember information important to them and it is the subjective importance of an issue that motivates selective exposure and knowledge accumulation. Future research should consider investigating the memory-behavior gap in online exposure and discuss researchers' expectations about the magnitude of observed selectivity.

General Discussion of Papers 2-5

The overarching research question of Part 2 was “do values motivate exposure to the media?”. To answer that question a series of studies presented in papers 2-5 was conducted. Paper 3 tests whether values guide interest in mediated information, in a rather conventional for selective exposure studies manner – an experiment with stimuli materials; Paper 5 investigates how far values guide media consumption in daily life and matches the correspondence between people’s self-reported values and those reflected in their browsing histories. Paper 2 is a preparatory step for Paper 3 and tests whether values motivate the attitudes towards the Olympic Games, which a conventional selective exposure study would treat as the main predictor of exposure to Olympic news. Paper 4 was a preparatory step for Paper 5 and explored how online media content communicates values.

The four papers are interrelated and together aimed to close two gaps in past research. First, the literature on the relations between people’s values and their information choice and consumption in daily life is rather scarce, there is even less research that investigates the phenomenon in realistic settings. Because of that, it was unclear how useful values are for examining people’s media choices. The gap between the abstract nature of values and the typically very specific content of media messages could be one reason why values are infrequently used in selective exposure research. Second, past studies used a wide range of conceptualizations of what attracts people with different value priorities – some studies hypothesized that people prefer those media which functions help fulfilling people’s important values (Besley 2008; Meulemann, 2012), others investigated how values guide attention to different topics (Hsieh et al., 2014), and others tested the effects of value- relevant framing (Hansla, 2011). Notably, no past study attempted to match the self-reported importance of values of people with the frequencies of those values’ appearance in people’s actual media diets.

Papers 2, 3, and 5 aimed to bridge the first gap in different ways. Papers 2 and 3 present a stepwise test of a selective exposure hypothesis, where paper 2 first tested whether values motivate attitudes, and paper 3 investigated whether values guide attention to and interest in the media messages over and above said attitudes. Paper 5 assessed how well the value hierarchies derived from people’s browsing histories resemble their self-reported ones. To make papers 2 and 3 as realistic as possible, a topic salient in the Russian media at the moment of the studies’ planning was chosen – the Olympic Games in Pyeongchang.

Paper 2 revealed two values that directly motivate attitudes towards the Olympics - Tradition, and Universalism. These two values were then tested as potential predictors of the interest in Olympic media coverage. Since the exposure to Olympic media can be also perceived as entertainment by some people, the value of Hedonism was added to the analysis. The study showed that higher priority of either Tradition or Universalism was associated with the increased interest in the topic, confirming the hypothesis. Paper 3 then demonstrated that values indeed motivate interest in the information. As Renniger and Hidi (2016) point out, although interest is not a behavior, it is its powerful trigger.

Paper 5 tested the same hypothesis but in a different way. The study qualitatively analyzed the browsing histories of people to estimate how frequently different values appear on the web-pages visited by them and then assessed whether those frequencies correspond to the importance of values as reported by participants. Such design enables studying the media exposure more realistically, as it deals with people's natural habits and real past behavior instead of forcing them to rate the content which they may have never paid attention to. That study also confirmed that six out of nine participants tend to prefer content that reflects their values. Interestingly, the Olympic-related content appeared in the materials of two out of nine participants of the paper 5. Overall, papers 3 and 5 demonstrated that values do play a role in the selection of information, both under the experimental condition and in daily life.

Papers 3, 4, and 5 addressed the second gap - how texts communicate values - by employing different approaches to the investigation of the phenomenon. All three studies were conducted under the assumption that people prefer media content that communicates their important beliefs, i.e. that the selective media exposure hypothesis is true. In other words, it was assumed that if a person shows interest in or accesses some media content it is because she sees a reflection of some of her pre-exposure beliefs (values) in that content. While some past studies indeed tested how individual values affect the interaction with the media or media content (Hsieh et al., 2014; Torelli, 2011) and other studies scored values in textual materials (Bardi et al., 2008, Portman, 2014), all of them used different operationalizations of reflected values. Most importantly, those past studies did not pursue the same goals and their results cannot be compared directly. In contrast, the studies of Part 2 applied different approaches adopted from past research to answer the same question. Paper 3 aimed to compare the operationalization of values via topics (as in Hsieh et al., 2014) with value-relevant framing of messages (as in Hansla, 2011; Torelli et al., 2012).

This study assumed that some topics, like the Olympic Games, attract only people with specific value priorities and do not interest others. Papers 4 and 5 first explored the different ways in which texts communicate values, counted how frequently each value appeared in the materials accessed by participants, and only then tested the hypothesis.

The evidence is mixed, on the one hand, it seems that some topics indeed have a clear connection to values. Paper 3 shows that the Olympic Games as a topic seem to interest only those with the higher priority of Tradition or Universalism, while Power (from paper 2) and Hedonism (from paper 3) did not show any connection to the issue. At the same time, paper 4, which conceptualized values as manifestations of importance or motivations, showed no correspondence between a topic and a value. Notably, the results of paper 3 also show that although the formal topic of all stimuli materials was the Olympic Games, people with different value priorities do not approach the media content in the same way. While interacting with the content people also rely on their knowledge and experience (Kintsch (1988, 2005). Hence it is likely that those are the subjective interpretations of the media content, rather than its formal characteristics, that matter for the analysis of people's media diets. Moreover, paper 5 showed, that although almost all participants indicated Self-direction as the most important value, they had very different interests and compositions of media diets with only a few overlapping topics. The latter should not be taken as something surprising: Olejnik, Castelluccia, and Janc (2014) demonstrated that browsing histories are like fingerprints - unique to every person.

Although it was planned, paper 3 could not test the value-relevant framing, as its analysis did not come to its end due to imperfections of the stimuli materials. Because of that, it remained unclear whether the framing can change the evaluation of a message by its typical audience or attract a new audience, otherwise uninterested in the topic. Future research should investigate the interplay between people's interests and framing effects. Finally, although this project used three different approaches to operationalize values in texts, one approach - lexic (e.g. Bardi et al., 2008; De Raad, & Van Oudenhoven, 2008) – was missing completely. Future studies should consider comparing the performance of the four approaches (values as topics, value-relevant framing, values as a manifestation of importance or motivation, and values as words) in the investigation of value-based selective exposure among different social groups and in different corpora to identify their strengths and weaknesses.

The final question that the studies of Part 2 aimed to answer was: how appropriate is it to use values to investigate media consumption? Since values refer to abstract ideals, while most of the media content is about very specific issues, it was unclear whether values are too abstract to navigate media exposure in daily life. To approach this issue, two different strategies were employed: Papers 2 and 3 were conducted deductively - their argumentation departed from the definition of values; to test the hypothesis, I deductively assigned different aspects of the media messages to different values. For example, I hypothesized that people with higher scores of Tradition would prefer messages about Olympic celebrities, while those prioritizing Universalism would not discriminate between celebrities and other athletes. In other words, it was me to decide how people with different value priorities interpret media messages. I then treated the statistical relations between people's values and their choices as evidence of the presence (absence) of value-based selectivity. In contrast, papers 4 and 5 were conducted more inductively, they departed from the textual data and first identified and counted all passages that refer to different values and then calculated the correlation between the importance people give to different values and the frequencies of those values' appearance in their browsing histories. This procedure is different from that of papers 2 and 3 as I did not make assumptions about how the value priorities of participants affect their interpretations of the media content, but rather coded everything that qualified as a value and fit the conceptual definition of any of the 12 values (see paper 4 for details). Both approaches demonstrated that values are suitable for the investigation of the media consumption, however, when the deductive reasoning preferred, some preliminary steps (in this project I relied on the analysis of relevant literature and results of public opinion polls, other potential strategies may include accumulation of necessary information through pre-tests, content analysis of relevant media, or discourse analysis) should be taken.

Schwartz (1992) conceptualized values as transsituational goals, which means that a person can be potentially guided by values in any situation. Paper 5, guided by this principle, has confirmed that values can indeed manifest themselves in a variety of contexts as well as several values can be equally relevant in one context. At the same time, past literature, as well as papers 2 and 3, demonstrated that some topics have associations with particular values, for example, environmental protection associates with Universalism, work and career - with Achievement (Hsieh et al., 2014); the Olympics – with Tradition and Universalism. However, the specific connections between values and topics need to be

identified prior to the statistical analysis. One way to do so is through a thorough investigation of the social, cultural, historical contexts in which a study is conducted (like in paper 2). The alternative ways would be the exploration of value reflections (like in paper 5) in a sample of texts that share a topic, e.g. parenting, business, etc., to identify all relevant to that topic values. It is also possible to gather first a set of value instantiations (Maio, 2010; Hanel et al., 2018), or values' subconstructs (Belic et al., unpublished manuscript) common in the target population to get a better understanding of what some group means when talks about, for example, equality (Universalism) or safety (Security). Reflections, instantiations, or subconstructs can be used to bridge the gap between abstract values and specific media content and facilitate the hypotheses derivation. Those can also help to analyze people's media diets more comprehensively, as paper 5 revealed the straightforward references to values were seldom in participants' browsing histories. Regardless of the exact approach, it is important to keep in mind the influence of the context and personal experiences of people on the ways they link values with different parts of reality. One potential direction of this research development is to discuss whether values can serve as operationalization of claims to validity as proposed in theory of communicative action (Habermas, 1982)

Finally, while investigating whether individual values motivate exposure to media content, the studies presented in papers 3 and 5 approached the relationships between the content and its interpretation by people differently. Paper 3 argued that those are values of people that affect how people interpret the content they encounter. In contrast, Paper 5 prioritized the analysis of the content over the investigation of its interpretation by people who consumed it. While paper 3 showed how the same material can be differently approached by people with different value priorities, paper 5 revealed that people with similar value priorities (i.e. high importance of Self-direction) can have very different preferences in media content. Indirectly both studies prompt that it is not the content per se but rather subjective interpretations that navigate the consumption and evaluation of the media (Hall, 1973). It is however important to note that neither paper 3 nor 5 included the analysis of the actual interpretations participants would give to the content they were exposed to. That leaves two questions open for future investigations: first, the role of personal values in reading comprehension. For example, it may be that the values of people prompt them to interpret all texts they encounter in light of their important values (and not just some texts on socially debatable topics like in Paper 3). Second, how people recognize

reflections of values in the texts they read is still unclear and needs further investigation with greater emphasis on the reception side of media consumption.

General discussion and conclusion

This project aimed to investigate the potential of individual values in the research on echo chambers and selective media exposure. Although selective exposure is a well-investigated phenomenon and echo chambers rapidly gain their body of literature, investigation of the cross-cultural aspects of the mechanisms and outcomes of one-sided information consumption is still in its early stage. The project consists of two parts, each discussing echo chambers from different angles. Part 1 outlines the need for future comparative research by discussing how seemingly the same behavior, one-sided information consumption, can have different causes and consequently different effects across social contexts. It also proposes a theoretical multilevel model of echo chamber functioning. Part 2 aims to inform future comparative research that would enable testing the theoretical model and proposes using individual values as a cross-culturally relevant source of motivations for exposure. While Part 1 focuses on *how* echo chambers are constructed, Part 2 discussed *what* makes an echo chamber and how those could be detected empirically.

Part 1 consists of one conceptual paper and presented an echo chamber as an individual-level phenomenon that develops and functions within a social context. More specifically, it identified the potential effects the societal diversity and tolerance and the status of a group a person belongs to on her perception of the media environment, the chances to fall into an echo chamber, and consequent willingness to engage with political issues. While study 1 focused on the enhancement/ inhibition of political participation, one of the most inquired outcomes of selective exposure, it is important to note, that other non-political, but debatable, behaviors and attitudes can be affected by biased information consumption too. Although in paper 1 beliefs (positions) of people were presented as a starting point for their judgments about the media content they encounter, the paper did not propose operationalization of those beliefs. Part 2 of the dissertation proposed to use individual values as such beliefs that navigate people in different life situations (Rokeach, 1972; Bardi & Schwartz, 2003) including their media choices (Besley, 2008; Meulemann, 2012).

Part 2 conceptualized selective exposure as a fit between people's personal dispositions and those same dispositions reflected in their media diets. Departing from past studies which on the one hand conceptualized echo chamber as a homogenous media diet

that mainly reinforces beliefs a person holds (Sunstein, 2007, Garrett, 2009) and provide mixed empirical evidence (Flaxman, Goel & Rao, 2016) on the other, Part 2 argued that individual values are a more adequate motivational construct for studying selective exposure in daily life. To introduce values as an operationalization of such universally applicable sources of motivations four empirical studies were conducted. Papers 2 and 3 focused on the values as personal dispositions which motivate people's actions and decisions and inform how they interpret the world around them. Paper 4 studied values as reflected dispositions and investigated whether those can be measured in a wide range of media content. The final fifth study tested whether in daily life people prefer media content that reflects their value hierarchy. Although there is still room for further nuancing of the mechanisms which link values and the exposure to information, four studies together show that values do play a role in media consumption.

The studies presented in this dissertation were built along the lines of two methodological discussions. The first is a debate about absolutism - universalism - relativism in social sciences, which questions whether various social phenomena are conceptually invariant across societies and how well their theoretical models could be used to study people in a variety of contexts. While the distinction between the three positions is salient in, for example, cross-cultural psychology (Berry et al., 2002, Fontaine, 2011), there is no such debate in echo chamber research. Past studies tended to assume that the nature of the causes and mechanisms of echo chamber development are identical across the contexts and hence no effect of contextual characteristics was accounted for.

The studies of this project were conducted in the universalist tradition and assumed the presence of culturally universal processes and constructs which nevertheless could be affected by the social contexts. Paper 1 assumed that the functioning of the two basic psychological processes responsible for the preference of one-sided information is universal, while the contextual characteristics can affect their functioning and consequently alter the meaning of echo chamber in people's daily life. Paper 2-5 assumed that values have the same core meaning across situations (and potentially societies, Schwartz & Bardi, 2001), while their particular expressions may vary: papers 2 and 3 showed that the Olympic Games can be seen as linked to Universalism and Tradition. Papers 4 and 5 showed the diversity of the specific reflections the 12 values can have. The future research aiming at testing the model proposed in study 1 may also use values to operationalize beliefs that motivate evaluation of and exposure to information. That strategy would allow cross-

cultural comparisons, as values were shown to have universal core meanings, similarly understood by people from different societies (Schwartz & Bardi, 2001).

The second methodological issue that was addressed in this project is the empirical investigation of the relationships that vary in their abstractness, i.e. the gap between abstract and specific. The past research has shown the observed relationships between two psychological variables depend on how they were operationalized with the strongest relationship appearing between the constructs operationalized at the same level of abstractness (Kraus, 1995; Weigel & Newman, 1976). The same principle applies to value research (see Fischer, 2017 for review). This project addressed this by proposing to use individual values as a basis for the evaluation of people's media diets. First, values, which are by definition, very abstract, were used as both actual and reflected dispositions to estimate the extent of the selectivity of exposure. In other words, this project proposed shifting the echo chamber hypothesis testing to a more abstract level of analysis. This strategy enabled a more comprehensive analysis of people's media diets, as it allowed including in the analysis web-pages that past studies (e.g. Dvir-Gvirsman, Tsfat, & Menchen-Trevino, 2014) would exclude for not containing variables of interest (e.g. references to political leaning). While values perhaps do not necessarily motivate the choice of every single web-page person accessed, the prevalence of certain value-reflections in the browsing history may point to the presence (absence) of value-based selective exposure in daily life.

The second strategy this project used to bridge the abstract values of people with their exposure to very specific media messages was the analysis of various value reflections – ways in which texts referred to values. The project used two approaches to identify how texts refer to values. Study 3 used the results of past studies to hypothesize how people with different value priorities would interpret stimuli materials. Study 4 searched for various ways in which texts refer to values – value reflections. Both those strategies have shown their utility: The theoretical analysis of how different elements of a media message (e.g. status of Olympic athlete) would affect the interest in a message among people with different value priorities, helped to disentangle the coexisting interpretations of the entire topic – the Olympic Games (Study 2). The instrument used in paper 4 to identify value reflections enabled to show the diversity of references to values, including those expressed metaphorically and those specific to certain groups or contexts. Further strategies of

bridging abstract values with specific objects of daily life are also possible (e.g. Maio, 2010; Belic et al., unpublished manuscript).

Finally, studies presented in Part 2 not only proposed the operationalization of the “positions” paper 1 described as the starting point of the one-sided media consumption, but some of their results can also be interpreted from the perspective of the model presented in Part 1. Although the proposed model was designed to guide cross-cultural research, Papers 2-5 investigated the role of values in media consumption in one country only - in Russia. According to Bertelsmann Stiftung Transformation Index (2018) and Freedom House report (2018), Russia falls in the category of societies with restricted freedom of expression, uneven representation of the social groups, and low level of [political] tolerance. According to the model in Paper 1, that means that the proponents of the dominant position on some issues may be unaware of the existence of the alternatives or believe that the alternative positions are of little value. The minority members than most likely know what the dominant position is but still prefer their interpretation of the events.

Papers 2 and 3 investigated how values of people relate to their attitudes and interest in the Olympic Games – a very important phenomenon in Russian history and culture (Levada-Tsentr, 2016; 2018a; WCIOM, 2016). Paper 2 investigated the multiple meanings (nationalism, Olympism, tradition) people may recognize in the event. In paper 3 participants were exposed to a set of Olympic-themed messages to investigate how different values can motivate their evaluation. The results revealed that participants with high scores of Universalism showed high interest in all messages, others with high priority of Tradition actively preferred messages that present national Olympic celebrities, the symbols of national glory (Jiang, 2013; Laine, 2005; Voolaid & Laineste, 2013). It is important that in both studies the same object - the Olympics – could be approached from the position of either Universalism or Tradition. These results are interesting in two ways. First, it demonstrated the presence of two other coexisting interpretations of the Olympics and its media coverage. The second interpretation – Olympism – can then represent the position of a minority of people and stay under detected by academic research. These two interpretations, perhaps, represent hegemonic and oppositional (or negotiated) readings of the issue as conceptualized by Hall (1973). However, because the studies use the non-representative sample, no conclusions about the status of an interpretation as dominant/oppositional can be done. However, the dominance of the nationalist interpretation can be inferred from the academic literature which focused on that side of

the Olympics in Russia (Alekseyeva, 2014, Persson & Petersson, 2014) and from results of relevant opinion polls (FOM, 2014a, 2016c).

Papers 4 and 5 focused more on the analysis of the content of the media messages, not on their interpretations. Moreover, the aim of Paper 5 was to test whether people prefer online content that reflects their important values. The narrowly defined aims of these studies make it difficult to relate them to the model from Paper 1. Perhaps, the only point of reference is the finding that explicitly political content was completely missing or very scarce in the browsing histories of 7 out of 9 participants. Interestingly, the materials the two participants accessed were not supportive of the current political situation in Russia. In the lack of ideological diversity in their browsing histories, one could interpret such composition of the media diet as a sign that these two participants belong to ideological minorities that reside in echo chambers (although ideologically different ones). The other participants could then either belong to disengaged minorities or the majority from an imposed echo chamber. It is however would be incorrect to make any conclusions about the status of any participant, since a) I do not have relevant self-reports about political preferences of those participants b) I do not know how participants interpreted those materials, and c) the browsing histories are incomplete (i.e. I do not know what participants concealed) and there is no information on their offline media use habits.

It is important to emphasize, that the model from Paper 1 was designed to guide cross-cultural research, while the studies of Part 2 focus on one country only. Consequently, studies of Part 2 do not test the model. Whether the model is valid and useful for the media consumption research is a direction for future studies that will compare media consumption in societies that vary in the degree of diversity and tolerance.

Overall this project contributes to different fields of social sciences - (1) media consumption -, (2) value -, and (3) Olympic research. First, paper 1 proposed a new theoretical model which predicts how the relationships between consumption of one-sided information and political participation would vary across social contexts. This model can be used to analyze and compare the effects of media consumption in different societies. Part 2 of the project proposed relying on values in the detection of individuals residing in echo chambers. Papers 2-5 demonstrated that the values of people can motivate their media choices both in experimental and natural settings. Second, the project enriches the value research as it first demonstrated how values can be used to disentangle different meanings people recognize in complex social objects, like the Olympics (paper 2). Also, paper 3

showed that people with different value priorities also prioritize different sides of those objects when evaluating them. Paper 4 presented a novel instrument for the identification of references to 12 values in texts. Finally, paper 4 also identified reflections of the values which are not present in the original model but can be culture-specific – e.g. Determination and Beauty. Third, the project also proposed a novel approach to the investigation of the sources of public support for the Olympic Games. Papers 2 and 3 showed that people like the event for different reasons. Paper 2 also introduced a new facet of the event that some people may recognize – the Olympics as a tradition.

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Appendix 1. Questionnaire used in Studies 2 and 3

Уважаемый участник,

Прежде, чем Вы примете решение относительно участия в этом исследовании, пожалуйста, внимательно ознакомьтесь со следующей информацией. Для нас важно, чтобы Вы понимали, о чем это исследование, и что включает в себя участие в нем.

О чем это исследование?

Это исследование – вторая часть диссертационного проекта, в котором изучается, как люди с разными ценностными приоритетами читают новости в онлайн-СМИ. В этом исследовании мы выбрали новости об Олимпийских Играх в Корее, как общую тему для части вопросов. В исследовании можно участвовать даже тем, кто не смотрел Олимпиаду.

Чего ожидать от участия в исследовании?

Участие в этом исследовании состоит из трех частей. В первой части Вам будут предложены вопросы о некоторых олимпийских атлетах. После этого Вам будет предложено оценить несколько заголовков новостей об этих атлетах. В третьей части Вам будут предложены описания людей, которые считают разные вещи важными в жизни. Вашей задачей будет оценить насколько эти люди похожи на Вас. Последние вопросы будут касаться общей информации о Вас, например, возраст и город проживания.

Сколько времени займет участие?

Участие в эксперименте займет примерно 15 минут.

Обязательно ли участвовать?

Участие в этом исследовании добровольное. Вы можете прекратить свое участие в любой момент. Ваше решение прекратить участие не повлечет за собой никаких негативных последствий для Вас или вопросов о том, почему Вы приняли такое решение.

Каковы потенциальные риски участия в опросе и в чем моя выгода, если я решу участвовать?

Участие в этом опросе не связано с рисками. После того, как Вы закончите заполнение анкеты, Вы сможете увидеть Ваши личные результаты и, возможно, узнать что-то новое о своих ценностных приоритетах.

Что случится с моими ответами после того, как я заполню анкету?

Все данные полученные в ходе этого опроса анонимны (т.е. не содержат информации, указывающей на Вашу личность). После этого данные в обобщенном виде будут храниться на съемном диске у автора проекта. Только исследователи, вовлеченные в этот проект, будут иметь доступ к данным.

Что произойдет с результатами этого опроса?

Проанализированные данные опроса будут представлены на научных конференциях, и опубликованы в научных журналах. Информация об отдельных участниках исследования не будет доступна общественности.

Кто может ответить на вопросы об этом исследовании?

Любые вопросы об этом исследовании, его целях и результатах Вы можете задать автору проекта Алене Хапцовой (khaptsova@bigsss-bremen.de)

Кто проводит это исследование?

Это исследование проводит Алена Хапцова, аспирант Бременской Международной Аспирантской Школы Социальных Наук, Университета Бремена и Университета Якобс в Бремене.

Q1 - Я подтверждаю, что:

Отметьте все пункты, с которыми Вы согласны

- ☐ Я прочитал(-а) информацию об этом исследовании и понял(-а) условия участия в нем.
- ☐ У меня есть возможность задать любые вопросы об этом исследовании и моем участии в нем.
- ☐ Мое решение принять участие в исследовании добровольно.
- ☐ Я понимаю, что могу в любой момент отказаться от участия в исследовании без объяснения на то причин, и что мой отказ от участия не повлечет за собой негативных для меня последствий и вопросов о причинах моего отказа.
- ☐ Я знаю, какие меры по защите моих данных будут приняты исследователями (например, отсутствие записей об информации, указывающей на мою личность).
- ☐ Я ознакомился (-ась) с условиями использования данных в исследовании, их публикации, хранения и передачи.
- ☐ Я понимаю, что другие исследователи могут получить доступ к данным этого исследования только, если они будут соблюдать установленные здесь условия использования данных.
- ☐ Я подтверждаю, что мои данные могут быть использованы только в тех последующих исследованиях, которые соблюдают установленные здесь условия использования данных.
- ☐ Я согласен (-на) принять участие в исследовании

Q2 - Ваш пол:

- ☐ Женский
- ☐ Мужской

Q3 - СМИ были очень внимательны к Олимпийским играм и всем событиям, связанным с ними в течение нескольких недель. Прошло время, и другие события заняли место Олимпиады в эфире. Что запомнилось Вам?

Ниже представлен список олимпийских атлетов из России. Каким видом спорта они занимаются?

	Фигурное катание	Лыжные гонки	Биатлон	Сноуборд	Затрудняюсь ответить
Алина Загитова					
Евгения Медведева					
Екатерина Шишова					
Арина Антонова					

Q4 - Какие медали завоевали эти спортсменки на Олимпиаде в Корее?

Выберите все подходящие ответ

	Золото	Серебро	Бронзу	Никакие	Затрудняюсь ответить
Алина Загитова					
Евгения Медведева					
Екатерина Шишова					
Арина Антонова					

Q5 - Вы бы хотели видеть этих спортсменок на следующих Зимних Олимпийских Играх - 2022?

	Однозначно нет	Скорее нет	Скорее да	Однозначно да	Затрудняюсь ответить
Алина Загитова					
Евгения Медведева					
Екатерина Шишова					
Арина Антонова	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q6 - Вы болеете за этих спортсменок?

	Однозначно нет	Скорее нет	Скорее да	Однозначно да	Затрудняюсь ответить
Алина Загитова					
Евгения Медведева					
Екатерина Шишова					
Арина Антонова					

Q7 - Как Вы считаете, эти спортсменки - достойные представительницы Олимпийской сборной?

	Однозначно нет	Скорее нет	Скорее да	Однозначно да	Затрудняюсь ответить
Алина Загитова					

Евгения Медведева					
Екатерина Шишова					
Арина Антонова	○	○	○	○	○

Q8 - СМИ много писали об этих спортсменках до, во время и после Олимпийских игр. На следующей странице Вы увидите 8 случайно выбранных заголовков новостей об этих спортсменках.

Q9 - Перед Вами заголовки спортивных новостей. Насколько Вам было бы интересно прочитать статьи под этими заголовками?

1.

	Совсем не интерес но	Не интере сно	Скорее не интересно	Немного интересно	Интересно	Очень интересно
Алина Загитова ценит риск и азарт сопутствующие соревнованиям						
Алина Загитова добавила очередную награду в копилку медалей						
Алина Загитова избегает стрессовых ситуаций и перегрузок						
Алина Загитова всегда готова прийти на помощь подругам по команде						
Евгения Медведева всегда была самостоятельной и самодостаточной						
Евгения Медведева уверена, главные победы еще впереди :						
Евгения Медведева против нововведений в спорте						
Евгения Медведва считает, что спорт должен быть доступным для всех						

2.

	Совсем не интерес но	Не интере сно	Скорее не интересно	Немного интересн о	Интересно	Очень интересно
Арина Антонова ценит риск и азарт сопутствующ ие соревновани ям						
Алина Загитова добавила очередную награду в копилку медалей						
Арина Антонова избегает стрессовых ситуций и перегрузок						
Алина Загитова всегда готова прийти на помощь подругам по команде						
Евгения Медведева всегда была самостоятел ьной и самодостато чной						
Екатерина Шишова уверена, главные победы еще впереди :						
Евгения Медведева против нововведени й в спорте						
Екатерина Шишова считает, что спорт должен быть доступным для всех						

Q10 - Перед Вами заголовки спортивных новостей. Насколько Вам было бы интересно прочитать эти статьи?

	Совсем не интересно	Не интересно	Скорее не интересно	Немного интересно	Интересно	Очень интересно
Арина Антонова ценит риск и азарт сопутствующие соревнованиям						
Арина Антонова добавила очередную награду в копилку медалей						
Арина Антонова избегает стрессовых ситуаций и перегрузок						
Арина Антонова всегда готова прийти на помощь подругам по команде						
Екатерина Шишова всегда была самостоятельной и самодостаточной						
Екатерина Шишова уверена, главные победы еще впереди :						
Екатерина Шишова против нововведений в спорте						
Екатерина Шишова считает, что спорт должен быть доступным для всех						

Q12 - Ниже представлены краткие описания разных людей. Пожалуйста, отметьте, насколько каждый из этих людей похож или не похож на Вас?

	Очень похож на меня	В значительной степени похож на меня	Немного похож на меня	Совсем чуть-чуть похож на меня	НЕ похож на меня	Совсем НЕ похож на меня
Для него важно придумывать новое и подходить ко всему творчески. Ему нравится делать все по-своему, своим оригинальным способом						
Для него важно быть богатым. Он хочет чтобы у него было много денег и дорогих вещей						
Для него важно, чтобы с каждым человеком в мире обращались одинаково. Он убежден, что у всех должны быть равные возможности и в жизни						
Для него важно показать свои способности. Он хочет, чтобы люди восхищались тем, что он делает :						
Для него важно жить в безопасном окружении. Он избегает всего, что может угрожать его безопасности и						
Ему нравятся неожиданно сти, он всегда старается найти для себя новые занятия. Он считает, что для него в жизни важно попробовать много разного						
Он убежден, что люди должны делать то, что им говорят. Он считает, что люди должны всегда следовать правилам, даже если никто за этим не следит						
Для него важно выслушивать мнение других, отличающихся от него людей. Даже когда он с ними не согласен, он все равно хочет понять их точку зрения						
Для него важно быть простым и скромным. Он старается не привлекать к себе внимание						
Для него важно хорошо проводить время Ему нравится себя баловать						
Для него важно самому принимать решения о том, что и как делать.						

Ему нравится быть свободным и не зависеть от других						
Для него очень важно помогать окружающим людям. Ему хочется заботиться об их благополучии						
Для него важно быть очень успешным. Он надеется, что люди признают его достижения						
Для него важно, чтобы государство обеспечивало его безопасность во всех отношениях. Он хочет, чтобы государство было сильным и могло защитить своих граждан						
Он ищет приключений и ему нравится рисковать. Он хочет жить полной жизнью						
Если Вы это читаете, отметьте "Не похож на меня"						
Для него важно всегда вести себя правильно. Он старается не совершать поступков, которые другие люди могли бы осудить						
Для него важно, чтобы его уважали. Он хочет, чтобы люди делали так, как он скажет						
Для него важно быть верным своим друзьям. Он хотел бы посвятить себя близким людям						
Он твердо верит, что люди должны беречь природу. Для него важно заботиться об окружающей среде						
Он ценит традиции. Он старается следовать религиозным и семейным обычаям						
Для него важно заботиться об окружающей среде. : Он ищет любую возможность повеселиться.						

17 . Вы следили за ходом Олимпийских Игр в Корее?

- ☐ Совсем не следил
- ☐ Изредка следил
- ☐ Периодически следил
- ☐ Внимательно следил

Q16 - Вы следили за новостями вокруг Олимпийских Игр в Корее?

- ☐ Совсем не следил
- ☐ Изредка следил
- ☐ Периодически следил
- ☐ Внимательно следил

Q18 - Обычно Вы следите за новостями спорта?

- ☐ Совсем не слежу
- ☐ Изредка слежу
- ☐ Периодически слежу
- ☐ Внимательно слежу

Q19 - Обычно Вы следите за новостями о текущих событиях?

- ☐ Совсем не слежу
- ☐ Изредка слежу
- ☐ Периодически слежу
- ☐ Внимательно слежу

Q20 - Вы скорее позитивно или негативно относитесь к Олимпийским Играм и Олимпийскому движению в целом?

- ☐ Негативно
- ☐ Скорее негативно
- ☐ Скорее позитивно
- ☐ Позитивно

Q21 - Вы скорее позитивно или негативно относитесь к Олимпийским атлетам из России, принявшим участие в Олимпийских Играх в Корее?

- ☐ Негативно
- ☐ Скорее негативно
- ☐ Скорее позитивно
- ☐ Позитивно

Q22 - Есть мнение, что Олимпийские Игры - это не только спортивное мероприятие, но и важное политическое событие. Вы скорее согласны или не согласны с этим мнением?

- ☐ Согласен (ОИ - это политическое событие и спортивное мероприятие одновременно)
- ☐ Скорее согласен
- ☐ Скорее НЕ согласен

- НЕ согласен (ОИ - это сугубо спортивное мероприятие)

Q30 - Международный олимпийский комитет допустил некоторых российских спортсменов к Олимпиаде-2018 при условии их участия под нейтральным флагом, запретив участвовать под флагом национальной сборной. Российские спортсмены приняли решение согласиться выступать под нейтральным флагом. Вы скорее поддерживаете или не поддерживаете их решение?

- ☐ Поддерживаю
- ☐ НЕ поддерживаю
- ☐ Затрудняюсь ответить

Q33 - Являетесь ли Вы гражданином России?

- ☐ Да
- ☐ Нет

Q35 - Насколько сильно Вы гордитесь тем, что являетесь гражданином России?

- Очень горжусь
- В какой-то мере горжусь
- Не очень горжусь
- Совсем не горжусь

Q31 - В какой мере Вы согласны или не согласны со следующими высказываниями?

	Полностью согласен	Скорее согласен	Ни согласен, ни не согласен	Скорее не согласен	Полностью не согласен
Для меня лучше быть гражданином России, чем любой другой страны мира					
В России происходит сейчас такие дела, что заставляет меня испытывать стыд за нее					
Мир стал бы лучше, если бы люди в других странах были бы больше похожи на россиян					
Говоря в целом, Россия лучше большинства других стран					
Люди должны поддерживать свою страну, даже если она не права					
Когда моя страна хорошо выступает на международных спортивных соревнованиях, я горжусь тем, что я - россиянин					
Мне приходится гордиться Россией реже, чем мне бы этого хотелось					
Мир стал бы лучше, если бы россияне признали недостатки России					

Q24 - Ваш возраст:

Q21_2 - Ваш уровень образования:

- ☐ Среднее полное
- ☐ Среднее профессиональное
- ☐ ☐ Студент ВУЗа
- ☐ Высшее

Q25 - Город, где Вы сейчас проживаете:

Q26 - Кто направил Вам ссылку на этот опрос?

Фамилия и имя отправителя

Q27 - Прежде, чем Вы сможете увидеть свои личные результаты, пожалуйста, прочтите следующую информацию.

Вы участвовали в онлайн-эксперименте, что означает, что разные люди получали разные заголовки новостей сгруппированные определенным образом. Это было сделано для того, чтобы узнать, какая информация, содержащаяся в заголовке делает его более или менее интересным для разных людей.

Теперь о заголовках:

Алина Загитова и Евгения Медведева - фигуристки, участвовавшие в Олимпийских Играх в Корее. Арина Антонова и Екатерина Шишова - не только не участвовали в Олимпиаде, но даже не занимаются олимпийскими видами спорта.

Все сообщения обо всех спортсменках были написаны специально для этого исследования и никогда не были опубликованы СМИ. Берегите себя от влияния "фейк" (ложных) новостей в реальной жизни и всегда проверяйте источники, чтобы не оказаться в заблуждении.

Теперь Вы можете посмотреть свои личные результаты по опроснику ценностей. Нажмите "Следующая страни"

Appendix 2. Questionnaire used in Studies 4 and 5

Уважаемый участник,

Прежде, чем Вы примите решение относительно участия в этом опросе, пожалуйста, внимательно ознакомьтесь со следующей информацией. Для нас важно, чтобы Вы понимали, о чем это исследование, и что включает в себя участие в нем.

О чем это исследование?

Этот опрос – первая часть диссертационного проекта, в котором изучается, как пользуются Интернетом, и чем интересуются в сети люди с разными ценностными приоритетами. Этот опрос направлен на выявление разных типов Интернет-пользователей.

Чего ожидать от участия в опросе?

В этом опросе Вам будет предложено прочитать короткие описания разных людей и решить, насколько эти люди похожи на Вас. После этого Вам будет предложено несколько вопросов о том, как Вы обычно проводите свободное время в Интернет (например, каким браузером чаще всего пользуетесь, любите ли Вы читать статьи или смотреть видео и др.) На эти вопросы нет правильных и неправильных ответов. Самые лучшие ответы те, которые отражают Ваши мнения и привычки.

Сколько времени займет участие?

Участие в опросе займет примерно 15 минут.

Обязательно ли участвовать?

Участие в этом исследовании добровольное. Вы можете прекратить свое участие в любой момент. Ваше решение прекратить участие не повлечет за собой никаких негативных последствий для Вас или вопросов о том, почему Вы приняли такое решение.

Каковы потенциальные риски участия в опросе и в чем моя выгода, если я решу участвовать?

Участие в этом опросе не связано с рисками. После того, как Вы закончите заполнение анкеты, Вы сможете увидеть Ваши личные результаты и, возможно, узнать что-то новое о своих ценностных приоритетах. Вы также получите приглашение принять участие во второй части проекта.

Что случится с моими ответами после того, как я заполню анкету?

Все данные полученные в ходе этого опроса пройдут процедуру анонимизации (т.е. любая информация, указывающая на Вашу личность, будет заменена псевдонимом). После этого данные в обобщенном виде будут храниться на съемном диске у автора проекта. Только исследователи, вовлеченные в этот проект, будут иметь доступ к данным.

Что произойдет с результатами этого опроса?

Проанализированные данные опроса будут представлены на научных конференциях, и опубликованы в научных журналах. Информация об отдельных участниках исследования не будет доступна общественности.

Кто может ответить на вопросы об этом исследовании?

Любые вопросы об этом исследовании, его целях и результатах Вы можете задать автору проекта Алене Хапцовой (khaptsova@bigsss-bremen.de)

Кто проводит это исследование?

Это исследование проводит Алена Хапцова, аспирант Бременской Международной Аспирантской Школы Социальных Наук, Университета Бремена и Университета Якобс в Бремене.

Ваш пол:

- ☐ Женский
- ☐ Мужской

Я подтверждаю, что:

- ☐ Я прочитал(-а) информацию об этом исследовании и понял(-а) условия участия в нем.
- ☐ У меня есть возможность задать любые вопросы об этом исследовании и моем участии в нем.
- ☐ Мое решение принять участие в исследовании добровольно.
- ☐ Я понимаю, что могу в любой момент отказаться от участия в исследовании без объяснения на то причин, и что мой отказ от участия не повлечет за собой негативных для меня последствий и вопросов о причинах моего отказа.
- ☐ Я знаю, какие меры по защите моих данных будут приняты исследователями (например, отсутствие записей об информации, указывающей на мою личность).
- ☐ Я ознакомился (-ась) с условиями использования данных в исследовании, их публикации, хранения и передачи.
- ☐ Я понимаю, что другие исследователи могут получить доступ к данным этого исследования только, если они будут соблюдать установленные здесь условия использования данных.
- ☐ Я подтверждаю, что мои данные могут быть использованы только в тех последующих исследованиях, которые соблюдают установленные здесь условия использования данных.
- ☐ Я согласен (-на) принять участие в исследовании

Ниже приведены описания разных людей. Пожалуйста, прочитайте каждое описание и подумайте, насколько этот человек похож или не похож на Вас. Отметьте тот вариант ответа, который наиболее точно соответствует степени похожести описанного человека на Вас.

	Совсем не похожа на меня	Не похожа на меня	Мало похожа на меня	Умеренно похожа на меня	Похожа на меня	Очень похожа на меня
Для нее важно самостоятельно формировать свои взгляды						
Для нее важно, чтобы ее страна была безопасной и стабильной						
Для нее важно хорошо проводить время						
Для нее важно не расстраивать других людей						
Для нее важно, чтобы слабые и уязвимые члены общества были защищены						

Для нее важно, чтобы люди делали то, что она им говори						
Для нее важно беречь природу						
Для нее важно, чтобы никто никогда не мог ее пристыдить						
Для нее важно искать себе новые занятия						
Для нее важно заботиться о близких ей людях						
Для нее важно обладать властью, которую могут принести деньги						
Для нее очень важно избегать болезней и беречь свое здоровье						
Для нее важно быть терпимой к самым разным людям и группам						
Для нее важно никогда не нарушать правила или предписания						
Для нее важно самостоятельно принимать решения, касающиеся ее жизни						
Для нее важно иметь амбициозные цели в жизни						
Для нее важно поддерживать традиционные ценности и взгляды на мир						
Для нее важно, чтобы люди, которых она знает, были полностью в ней уверены						
Для нее важно быть богатой						
Для нее важно никогда не думать, что она заслуживает больше других						
Для нее важно участвовать в мероприятиях по защите природы						
Для нее важно никогда никого не раздражать						
Для нее важно иметь собственное мнение						
Для нее важно сохранять лицо в глазах других						
Для нее важно помогать дорогим ей людям						
Для нее важно чувствовать себя защищенной и быть в безопасности						
Для нее важен азарт в жизни, даже если он сопряжен с риском						
Для нее важно быть надежной и заслуживающей доверия другом						
Для нее важно иметь власть, чтобы заставлять						

людей делать то, что она хочет						
Для нее важно самостоятельно планировать свои действия						
Для нее важно соблюдать правила, даже когда никто не видит						
Для нее важно быть очень успешной						
Для нее важно следовать семейным или религиозным обычаям						
Для нее важно слушать и понимать людей, отличающихся от нее						
Для нее важно, чтобы государство было сильным и способным защитить своих граждан						
Для нее важно наслаждаться удовольствиями, которые может дать жизнь						
Для нее важно, чтобы каждый человек в мире имел равные возможности в жизни						
Для нее важно быть скромной						
Для нее важно самостоятельно во всем разбираться						

Следующие вопросы касаются Ваших привычек пользования Интернет:

С каких устройств Вы чаще всего выходите в Интернет в свое СВОБОДНОЕ время (т.е. не для работы или учебы)?

Например, для решения рабочих задач некоторые люди пользуются ПК на своем рабочем месте, а в свободное время предпочитают другие устройства. Некоторые люди пользуются одними и теми же устройствами и в рабочее, и в свободное время.

- ☐ Смартфон
- ☐ Планшет
- ☐ Ноутбук
- ☐ Персональный компьютер

Какими Интернет-браузерами Вы обычно пользуетесь в свое СВОБОДНОЕ время?

- ☐ Google Chrome
- ☐ Firefox
- ☐ Internet Explorer
- ☐ Other

Вы пользуетесь функцией синхронизации на своих устройствах?

Например, синхронизация учетной записи Google, которая позволяет пользоваться одними и теми же настройками учетной записи, открывать одни и те же вкладки браузера на разных устройствах

- ☐ Да
- ☐ Нет

Как часто Вы ... в Интернете в свое СВОБОДНОЕ время?

	Раз в месяц и реже	2-3 раза в месяц	Раз в неделю	2-3 раза в неделю	Каждый день
Смотрите видео, фильмы и др.					
Слушаете музыку, радио, подкасты и др.					
Читаете разные статьи, новости, блоги и др.					
Пользуетесь социальными сетями (ВКонтакте, Facebook, Instagram) для общения					

На каком языке Вы обычно просматриваете страницы в Интернет?

.....

Сколько Вам лет?

.....

В каком городе Вы живете?

....

Прежде, чем Вы увидите свои результаты...

Вы можете принять участие во второй части этого исследования, если хотите.

О чем вторая часть исследования и чего ожидать от участия?

1. Вторая часть проекта направлена на изучение того, что именно привлекает людей с разными ценностями в Интернет. Чтобы это узнать, мы приглашаем людей показать часть своей истории браузера для анализа.

2. Без паники! Только Вы, и больше никто другой, будете иметь доступ к полной истории браузера сохраненной на Ваших устройствах! Вы также будете полностью контролировать процесс выбора данных для анализа. Никакие данные из Вашей истории браузера не будут сохранены, отслежены, или проанализированы без Вашего согласия.

3. Для защиты ваших данных определенные меры будут приняты исследователем. У Вас также будет возможность отредактировать свою историю браузера и скрыть любую информацию до того, как исследователь ее увидит.

4. Исследователь свяжется с Вами и пригласит на личную встречу между 21 декабря и 9 января. Все встречи пройдут в Санкт-Петербурге. Примерная продолжительность встречи 45-60 минут.

5. На встрече Вам понадобится то устройство, которым Вы чаще всего пользуетесь для выхода в Интернет в Ваше свободное время.

6. Во время встречи Вы будете самостоятельно работать со своей историей браузера, используя оффлайн приложение. Вы будете делать это самостоятельно, исследователь не будет видеть полную историю Вашего браузера, и не будет иметь никакой возможности скопировать ее без Вашего ведома.

7. Все участники второй части исследования получают 500 рублей

8. Задать любые вопросы и получить больше подробностей об исследовании можно у Алены Хапцовой (khaptsova@bigsss-bremen.de)

Appendix 3. Coding manual from Study 4

Main category: Values	Definition*		Examples		Decision rules
Subcategory: Value types	Conceptual definition (End-state)	Key definition components	Examples from the theory	Examples from test data	Differentiation between value types
Self-direction (focus self)	Independence in thoughts and actions (choosing, creating, exploring)	Independence in thoughts Independence in actions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Interested/curious to find and try his own ways - New own ideas, - Own decisions, - Plan for self, - Independent/rely on self 	<p><i>“Unfortunately for most students, thinking for oneself is really difficult because most students, especially the ones who manage to get into the Ivy League, have spent their academic years doing the opposite of thinking for themselves...”</i></p>	<p>Self-direction and achievement: self-direction refers to one’s self-assessed competence and standards; achievement refers to those assessed by other people.</p> <p>Indicators: In self-direction recognition of success by an individual does not depend on confirmation of this success by others.</p> <p>Unlike achievement, self-direction does not require demonstration of one’s accomplishment of goals to other people.</p> <p>Pursuing a goal motivated by self-direction does not imply a comparison with other people.</p> <p>Self-direction differs from stimulation: self-direction makes people getting new experiences in order to try their independence. Stimulation motivates trying new things for the sake of novelty.</p>

Stimulation (focus self)	Excitement and novelty, that one seeks for their own sake	Excitement Novelty	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Surprises/exciting life, - Do different things/try new things in order to get new impressions, new experiences - Take risks/seek adventures 	<i>"People like me come here to visit a fairy tale, a place where one can challenge himself in conditions for" real men" and see with their own eyes what the absolute majority of the world population has no access to - the great white continent [Antarctica]"</i>	<p>Stimulation differs from self-direction: stimulation makes people getting new experiences for the sake of novelty, not in order to try oneself 's independence.</p> <p>Stimulation differs from hedonism: new experiences are not necessarily pleasant. Hedonism requires pleasures, which are not necessarily novel or diverse</p>
Hedonism (focus self)	Pleasure and sensuous gratification for oneself. Hedonism implies pleasures that are rewarding for their own sake. In case of hedonism pleasure does not occur as a "side-effect" of achieving some other goal.	Pleasure	All kinds of pleasures, as end-points of behaviors.	<i>"I went to the cinema [because], I just wanted to be entertained".</i>	<p>Hedonism differs from stimulation: Hedonistic pleasures are not necessarily novel or diverse. Example: one may drink coffee because of the flavor, which one finds pleasant.</p>
Achievement (focus self)	Active demonstration of success according to	Personal success	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Successful as it is seen by others, - Ambitious/aspiring, - Demonstrations of competence, 	<i>Ms Lipnitskaya won the free skate and short programme to earn the admiration of millions of fans.</i>	<p>Achievement and self-direction: achievement refers to one's competence and success as assessed by the society.</p>

	social standards		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Show abilities/have people admire, - Successful/impress others, - Getting ahead/ striving to do better than others 		<p>Indicators: In achievement recognition of success by an individual depends on confirmation of this success by others.</p> <p>Unlike self-direction, achievement requires demonstration of one's accomplishment of goals to other people.</p> <p>Pursuing a goal motivated by achievement implies a comparison with other people.</p> <p>Both achievement and power values focus on social esteem. However, achievement values (e.g., ambitious) emphasize the active demonstration of successful performance in concrete interaction (e.g. win in a particular competition/ publishing a novel), whereas power values (e.g., authority, wealth) emphasize the attainment or preservation of a dominant position within the more general social system (e.g. having authority in sports (like minister of sports)/ being influential in publishing (like reviewer)).</p>
Power (focus self)	Social status and prestige, control or dominance over people and resources	<p>Dominance over people – “Power to constrain others to do what one wants”</p> <p>Control of material resources- “Power to</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Social power/control over others, - Authority/right to command, - Wealth/material possessions, <p>Being rich/having expensive things</p>	<i>A deputy, of course, must earn much more than a teacher, a doctor, or representatives of other professions, because his work is more responsible and requires higher qualification. The wellbeing of a doctor, a teacher, as well as a patient and a schoolchild depends on the results of deputy's work. "</i>	Both power and achievement values focus on social esteem. However, achievement values (e.g., ambitious) emphasize the active demonstration of successful performance in concrete interaction (e.g. win in a particular competition/ publishing a novel), whereas power values (e.g., authority, wealth) emphasize the attainment or preservation of a dominant position within the more general social system (e.g. having authority in sports (like minister of sports)/ being influential in publishing (like reviewer)).

		control events through one's material assets"			<p>Power and Face: Face is a tool, which enables to execute power through one's public image/ reputation. Power refers to a general ability to control resources or people (e.g. by having more experience than others, by having better access to resources). Face refers to one's reputation which makes domination legitimate. Example: rich people are not necessarily public figures, and their reputation does not affect their well-being. On the contrary, the well-being of celebrities (who are not necessarily rich) depends on their public image.</p>
<p>Face (focus self)</p>	<p>Security and power through maintaining one's public image and avoiding humiliation</p>	<p>Status and prestige</p> <p>Face—maintaining and protecting own prestige</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Social recognition/respect for one's personality, - Preserving public image/ maintaining face 		<p>Face and Power: Face is a tool, which enables to execute power through one's public image/ reputation. Power refers to a general ability to control resources or people (e.g. by having more experience than others, by having better access to resources). Face refers to one's reputation which makes domination legitimate. Example: rich people are not necessarily public figures, and their reputation does not affect their well-being. On the contrary, the well-being of celebrities depends on their public image.</p> <p>Face and Security:</p> <p>Protecting one's prestige is a strategy to defend oneself against the threats to one's security.</p>

Security (focus self)	Safety, harmony, and stability of society, of relationships, and of self	Societal security Personal security	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Country safe/state vigilant against threats, - Stable government/social order, - Avoid sickness/stay healthy, - Secure surroundings/avoid danger 	<i>I did not approach the animal, because wild foxes are dangerous vectors of rabies.</i>	Security and Face: Security is a broader motivation in comparison with Face. The public image may serve as a remedy against potential threats. Protecting reputation, thus, is one strategy to defend oneself
Conformity (focus others)	Restraint of actions, inclinations, and impulses likely to upset or harm others and violate social expectations or norms of the immediate social environment	Avoiding upsetting others, whose disturbance may cause problems to oneself Compliance with laws, rules, and authority	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Do what told/follow rules, - Behave properly/avoid doing anything people say is wrong, - Polite/never disturb, - Respect parents/obey - Politeness/ courtesy, - Show respect - Self-discipline/resist temptation, - Obedient/meet obligations 	<i>"It is hard for students to think for themselves, as they have allowed themselves to be shaped by others, seeking to perform perfectly as charged by adults."</i>	Conformity and tradition: conformity means subordination to persons with whom one frequently interacts—parents, teachers, and bosses. Tradition means subordination to more abstract objects—religious and cultural customs and ideas. Conformity and benevolence values both promote cooperative and supportive relations with other people. However, benevolence refers to supportive relations in order to promote well-being of others. In contrast, conformity values promote cooperation in order to promote well-being of oneself.
Humility (focus others)	Recognizing one's insignificance in the larger scheme of things		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Humble/modest, - Self-effacing and accepting my portion/submitting to life's circumstances, - Humble/ don't draw attention to self and don't ask for 	<i>"It may appear that humility is a sign of weakness. In fact, humility is necessary to evaluate one's place in the world adequately."</i>	Humility and universalism: Humility emphasizes acceptance of one's place in the world, including the natural and social environment in their current state. Universalism promotes active actions towards the improvement of the environment.

			more/satisfied with what one has		
Tradition (focus others)	Respect, commitment, and acceptance of the customs and ideas that traditional culture or religion provides	Maintaining cultural, religious, or in-group traditions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Respect tradition/preserve customs, - Devout/hold religious faith - Traditional ways Religious belief/ - Do what religion or traditions require 	<i>"Once we ignore the meaning of our traditions, we're in danger of damaging the underpinning of our identity."</i>	Tradition and conformity: Conformity means subordination to persons with whom one frequently interacts—parents, teachers, and bosses. Tradition means subordination to more abstract objects—religious and cultural customs and ideas.
Benevolence (focus others)	<p>Preservation and enhancement of the welfare of people with whom one is in frequent personal contact</p> <p>Benevolence values emphasize voluntary concern for others' welfare</p>	<p>Dependability - being a reliable and trustworthy member of the ingroup</p> <p>Caring - devotion to the welfare of ingroup members</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Helpful/working for others welfare, - Help near ones/care for their well-being, - Respond to needs/support that one knows, - Honest/genuine, - Forgiving/willing to pardon, - Responsible/dependable - Loyal/faithful to friends - Devoted to close others /loyal to friends 	<i>Family rests on unshakable commitment to each other even when everyone involved is intimately aware of each other's flaws</i>	<p>Benevolence and universalism: benevolence focuses on care about the well-being of those with whom people interact on a daily basis (family, friends, etc). Universalism means to care for well-being of the entire humanity, and does not require others being present in one's social environment (e.g. children involved in child labor, victims of racism)</p> <p>Benevolence and conformity values both promote cooperative and supportive relations with other people. However, benevolence refers to supportive relations in order to promote well-being of others. In contrast, conformity values promote cooperation in order to promote well-being of oneself.</p>

Universalism (focus others)	Understanding, appreciation, tolerance, and protection for the welfare of all people and for nature	Tolerance Societal concern Protecting nature	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Broadminded/tolerant, - Equality and equal opportunities for all, - Treat all justly/protect the weak, - Social justice, - Listen to people who are different/understand those who disagree, - World at peace/harmony, - Protect and care for environment, - Unity with nature, - Adapt/fit into nature 	Every single t-shirt that they [H&M] make pollutes the environment. Perhaps H&M is just using the idea of recycling as an excuse to continue to produce disposable clothes without restraint. (low universalism)	<p>Universalism and benevolence: benevolence focuses on care about the well-being of those with whom people interact on a daily basis (family, friends, etc). Universalism means to care for well-being of the entire humanity, and does not require others being present in one's social environment (e.g. children involved in child labor, victims of racism)</p> <p>Humility and universalism:</p> <p>Humility emphasizes acceptance of one's place in the world, including the natural and social environment in their current state. Universalism promotes active actions towards the improvement of the environment.</p>
Main category: Value importance	Definition		Examples		Decision rules
Promotion	A value is promoted when it receives a positive evaluation, or referred to as to a valid source of motivation	Context suggests importance of a value	<i>I did not approach the animal, because wild foxes are dangerous vectors of rabies.</i>		-
Demotion	A values is demoted when it receives a	Presence of negations	<i>Unfortunately for most students, thinking for oneself is really difficult because most students, especially the ones who manage to get into the Ivy League, have spent their</i>		-

	negative evaluation or referred to as improper source of motiavation	Words with negative connotation Context suggests the lack or low importance of a value	<i>academic years doing the opposite of thinking for themselves...</i>	
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Appendix 4. Untranslated quotes used in Study 4

Self-direction

- 1) Как понять, чего хочешь на самом деле, и как этого добиться, расскажут [вторая книга из пяти от знаменитого мотиватора Барбары Шер]. Великолепная аудиокнига для тех, кто еще не знает, чего хочет в жизни. Вы поймете, как заново поверить в «давно забытые» цели, преодолеть барьеры на пути к успеху и, наконец, решить, кем вы на самом деле хотите стать. Retrieved from: https://www.mann-ivanov-ferber.ru/luchshie-audioknigi-mifa/?mindbox-click-id=c73bc397-1fcb-4609-bb00-4b1a16834bf5&utm_source=mindbox&utm_medi... Access date: 19.01.2018
- 2) Ну и помнить что умненьким на первом месте не учёба а самовыражение. Интеллект богатырский никуда не денется. Retrieved from: <https://getnewpost.livejournal.com/481501.html#t2983389> Access date: 19.01.2018
- 3) Мы — великая страна и у нас должен быть свой путь, своя идея и свое слово в этом мире. Retrieved from: <https://agitblog.ru/articles/prisluzhivat-mozhno-igrat-nelzya.htm> Access date: 18.01.2018
- 4) слушая аудиокнигу, выполняете пошаговый алгоритм, как от точки А (где вы находитесь сейчас) добраться до точки В (в которой хотите оказаться). Retrieved from: https://www.mann-ivanov-ferber.ru/luchshie-audioknigi-mifa/?mindbox-click-id=c73bc397-1fcb-4609-bb00-4b1a16834bf5&utm_source=mindbox&utm_medi... Access date: 19.01.2018
- 5) И физподготовка обязательно - я не хочу, чтобы мне не позволяла пройти какой-то маршрут не только погода, но еще и собственные возможности. Retrieved from: <http://forum.awd.ru/viewtopic.php?f=1089&t=327734&start=40> Access date: 02.02.2018
- 6) День получился просто шикарный. Мне удалось реализовать все планы[...] Retrieved from: <http://forum.awd.ru/viewtopic.php?f=560&t=329431&p=8353284#p835328> Access date: 02.02.2018
- 7) Связать шапку для своего мальчика [...] позволит вам выбрать хорошие материалы, любимый фасон. Retrieved from: <http://knitka.ru/15066/shapochka-dlya-malchika-spicami-podborka-statej-i-master-klassov.html> Access date: 18.01.2018
- 8) Выбирала отель тщательно, хотелось идеального сочетания цена – качество, и мне кажется Аска Букет этому соответствует. Retrieved from: <http://manyhotels.ru/#!/hotel=aska-buket-exaska-club-n-resort-spa&showreviews=1> Access date: 18.01.2018
- 9) Парень утверждает, что она для него все, но при этом не считает себя должным ограждать ее от своих запоев и внезапных проявлений агрессии. Девушка не раз пыталась уйти, но Павел все время ее возвращал. Однако Кристина решила, что больше не станет терпеть его выходки. Поэтому проект Хулиганы - это последний шанс для них сохранить свои отношения. Retrieved from: <https://hooligans.friday.ru/> Access date: 18.01.2018
- 10) Конечно, маленькая грудь никак не влияет на большой талант, но жить в несоответствии со стандартами красоты бывает непросто, даже если ты мировая знаменитость. К примеру, Кире приходится требовать, чтоб при обработке фото ее бюст не пытались сделать больше. Похоже, что обе актрисы равнодушны к

общественному мнению и смело носят одежду, в которой виден настоящий размер груди. Retrieved from: <https://www.adme.ru/svoboda-kultura/17-znamenitostej-kotorye-ne-boyatsya-byt-neidealnymi-1569465/> Access date: 01.02.2018

- 11) Такая философия позволяет перестать быть жертвой врачей и чувства вины, а отдаёт бразды правления ситуацией именно в руки мам! Retrieved from: <http://event.bmshkola.ru/cickleonkin> Access date: 19.01.2018
- 12) стремление выявить и понять, что и каким образом делают взрослые, подражать им, чтобы стать взрослее и иметь возможность также управлять реальностью. Retrieved from: https://medaboutme.ru/zdorove/spravochnik/slovar-medicinskih-terminov/vozrast_detey Access date: 18.01.2018
- 13) Мне кажется, нужно было выбрать танцы попроще, не балет. Там другие цели [...]. Не самовыражение [...] Retrieved from: <http://getnewpost.livejournal.com/430268.html?page=2> Access date: 19.01.2018

Stimulation

- 14) Водолей способна испытывать недовольство не слишком активным поведением Рыб. Как правило, ей хочется вести более яркую и насыщенную жизнь Retrieved from: <http://1001goroskop.ru/sovmetimost/?wom=aquarius&man=pisce> Access date: 01.02.2018
- 15) Питание на четверочку... не очень разнообразное, мало рыбы и мяса... но, если не придирается, голодать не будете! Retrieved from: <http://manyhotels.ru/#!/hotel=aska-buket-exaska-club-n-resort-spa&showreviews=1> Access date: 18.01.2018
- 16) Становиться операционным директором в России не хотелось, казалось, что этот путь уже пройден, и хотелось новых впечатлений Retrieved from: <https://www.retail.ru/interviews/140011> Access date: 01.02.2018
- 17) поскольку западное направление мы уже довольно много посещали в последнее время, мы решили отправиться на Север. Retrieved from: <http://prostonata.livejournal.com/664729.htm> Access date: 01.02.2018
- 18) Некоторые наверняка приехали из далеких частей мира в Норвегию только чтобы сделать подобный кадр Retrieved from: <http://forum.awd.ru/viewtopic.php?f=1089&t=327734&start=40> Access date: 02.02.2108
- 19) Уже избалованные финским и норвежским асфальтом периодически подумываем повернуть назад, но желание увидеть настоящий, не «отуристиченный» рыбацкий поселок пересиливает. Retrieved from: <http://forum.awd.ru/viewtopic.php?f=1089&t=18837> Access date: 01.02.2018
- 20) Но если ищите в Питере что-то необычное, то мой вам совет по возможности походить по крышам города. Retrieved from: <https://unis.livejournal.com/477777.htm> Access date: 02.02.2018
- 21) В «Школе Леди» девушка хочет полностью изменить свою жизнь. Retrieved from: <https://patsanki.friday.ru/> Access date: 18.01.2018
- 22) если вы хотите кардинально изменить имидж и иметь немедленный результат. Retrieved from: <http://irecommend.ru/content/osvetlenie-volos-narodnymi-sredstvami-cto-iz-etogo-poluchilos-fotki-fotki-fotki> Access date: 18.01.2018

- 23) Да и проверить, на что способна новая машина, тоже хочется. Retrieved from: <http://forum.awd.ru/viewtopic.php?f=1089&t=188376> Access date: 01.02.2018
- 24) Для всех, кто хочет раздвинуть границы своих возможностей всего за одну неделю Retrieved from: https://www.mann-ivanov-ferber.ru/luchshie-audioknigi-mifa/?mindbox-click-id=c73bc397-1fcb-4609-bb00-4b1a16834bf5&utm_source=mindbox&utm_medi... Access date: 19.01.2018
- 25) Конечно же, новичку в этих джунглях будет страшно – так много нового и незнакомого, все пугает и обескураживает.
- 26) Опять мой день закончился намного раньше наступления темноты, но впечатлений принес столько, что уже и не хочется идти куда-то еще, хотя можно успеть на ту же Sass Stria Retrieved from: <http://forum.awd.ru/viewtopic.php?f=560&t=329431&p=8353284#p835328> Access date: 02.02.2018

Hedonism

- 27) В быту Дима — сибарит, обожает комфорт, уют, ценит заботу о себе. Его бессмысленно приглашать в турпоход с палаткой и чаепитием у костра. Дмитрий предпочитает путешествия, останавливается в фешенебельных отелях и питается в дорогих ресторанах. Retrieved from: <http://names.neolove.ru/male/4/99.html> Access date: 01.02.2018
- 28) Девушка уверена, что главное в жизни – это делать все, что хочется, и не забывать развлекаться. Retrieved from: <https://patsanki.friday.ru/> Access date: 18.01.2018
- 29) Я всегда рад, если кто-то из форумчан составит компанию на несколько походов (не на всю поездку!). Тогда и неважно будет, есть ли какие-то еще распечатки - я свои предоставляю) Да и шарахаться по горам в поисках правильного маршрута вместе всегда веселее. Retrieved from: <http://forum.awd.ru/viewtopic.php?f=1089&t=327734&start=40> Access date: 02.02.2018
- 30) Вспомнив свой опыт отправки открыток из Болгарии, мы решили повторить сей приятный эксперимент: выбрали открытку, подписали для себя-родимых, продавец наклеил на нее марку и мы собственноручно опустили ее в ящик. Retrieved from: <http://forum.awd.ru/viewtopic.php?f=1089&t=188376> Access date: 01.02.2018
- 31) Ну а если вообще ходить желания нет, а на горы полюбоваться хочется, то даже просто с парковки откроются отличные виды (в хорошую погоду). Retrieved from: <http://forum.awd.ru/viewtopic.php?f=1089&t=327734&start=40> Access date: 02.02.2018
- 32) Правда, для меня как любительницы купания в море, причём в тёплой воде, такой как парное молоко, море в марте, конечно не годится. Retrieved from: <http://manyhotels.ru/#!/hotel=aska-buket-exaska-club-n-resort-spa&showreviews=1> Access date: 18.01.2018
- 33) Но поздно сажать не люблю - уже писала выше, что очень неприятно рукам, когда такой холод. Retrieved from: <http://2009-2012.littleone.ru/archive/index.php/t-3186170.htm> Access date: 18.01.2018
- 34) Смущает только то что кефирная маска подтекает, нужно плотно обвертываться полотенцами. Ну и запах своеобразный. Но можно смириться. Retrieved from: <http://irecommend.ru/content/vpechetlyaet-ukhod-osvetlenie> Access date: 18.01.2018

- 35) Впрочем, фильм, должно быть, и был рассчитан, на недалекого, поедающего попкорн зрителя которому недосуг разбираться в современной науке, а просто хочется получить очередную порцию жизнеутверждающего зрелища приправленного пикантным соусом из пошлости и банальности. Retrieved from: <https://www.kinopoisk.ru/film/vselennaya-stivena-khokinga-2014-770973/> Access date: 01.02.2018

Achievement

- 36) За звание сильнейшей команды боролись около 500 человек. Retrieved from: http://www.dachi-volga.ru/lodki-drakony_vnov_projduť_po_volge_v_tveri_na_skorost.html Access date: 01.02.2018
- 37) Как и всех успешных людей, успешных ритейлеров объединяет желание работать и добиться результата. Retrieved from: <https://www.retail.ru/interviews/139770/> Access date: 01.02.2018
- 38) Узнав о секретах работы в KimberlyClark, Gillette, Philip Morris, Wells Fargo и других компаниях с высокими стабильными результатами, можно спроецировать их опыт на свою организацию. И наконец-то пройти путь от хорошего результата к великому. Retrieved from: https://www.mann-ivanov-ferber.ru/luchshie-audioknigi-mifa/?mindbox-click-id=c73bc397-1fcb-4609-bb00-4b1a16834bf5&utm_source=mindbox&utm_medi... Access date: 19.01.2018
- 39) Будьте модными, используйте ноу – хау стилистов, и вы всегда будете на высоте. Retrieved from: <http://vashvolos.com/tehnika-ombre-dlya-brovej> Access date: 19.01.2018
- 40) записывая его в десяток развивающих центров и секций и требуя от чада достижений и результатов, которыми можно было бы похвастаться перед другими родителями Retrieved from: <http://sam-sebe-psycholog.ru/articles/giperopeka-chrezmernaya-zabota-cto-podavlyaet-lichnost-rebenka> Access date: 19.01.2018
- 41) Практичные, проверенные и обоснованные приемы, которые помогут очистить палку «Входящие», сберечь самый важный ресурс — мыслетопливо, сделать список задач реально работающим и гарантированно добиваться результатов. Retrieved from: https://www.mann-ivanov-ferber.ru/luchshie-audioknigi-mifa/?mindbox-click-id=c73bc397-1fcb-4609-bb00-4b1a16834bf5&utm_source=mindbox&utm_medi... Access date: 19.01.2018
- 42) В аудиоверсии вы найдете все необходимые инструменты для максимально результативного использования самых важных десяти лет. Retrieved from: https://www.mann-ivanov-ferber.ru/luchshie-audioknigi-mifa/?mindbox-click-id=c73bc397-1fcb-4609-bb00-4b1a16834bf5&utm_source=mindbox&utm_medi... Access date: 19.01.2018
- 43) И так, выучив основные названия, нужно еще суметь правильно накрыть на стол, чтобы показать истинные манеры аристократии. Retrieved from: <http://vsezdorovo.com/2014/07/bokaly-i-fuzhery-vidy-i-nazvaniya> Access date: 01.02.2018
- 44) Мечтала заниматься такой же бурной и серьезной работой, как отец, и также хорошо писать, как мама. Возможно, именно поэтому любимой передачей маленькой Маши была еженедельная программа «Международная панорама», в которой обсуждались главные экономические и политические события за

рубжом. Retrieved from: <https://uznayvse.ru/znamenitosti/biografiya-maria-zakharova.html> Access date: 18.01.2018

- 45) Говорила, что я молодец, именно такая форма и нужна, ставила меня в пример другим девочкам. Сейчас я понимаю, что выглядела ужасно. Но, когда мне об этом говорили, я думала, что завидуют» Retrieved from: <https://lenta.ru/articles/2017/11/13/swans/> Access date: 19.01.2018
- 46) Оцененным желает быть кажды Retrieved from: <https://www.adme.ru/svoboda-psihologiya/7-bezotkaznyh-sposobov-proizvesti-horoshee-vpechatlenie-kotorye-dokazany-naukoj-1547615/> Access date: 01.02.2018
- 47) Более того вы всегда сможете блеснуть своим умением танцевать танго на любом мероприятии, ведь танго можно танцевать под любую музыку Retrieved from: <https://likehacker.ru/2017/08/08/5-reasons-why-woman-should-dance-tango> Access date: 01.02.2018
- 48) Мечтали ли вы когда-нибудь стать звездой прямого эфира и поражать всех своей красотой, искромётным юмором и потрясающим интеллектом? Retrieved from: <http://naoblakax.ru/funkciya-pryamoj-efir-v-instagram-kak-zapustit-i-kak-smotret/> Access date: 18.01.2018
- 49) Вам предстоит помочь им в этом увлекательном деле, продемонстрировав всем окружающим свою ловкость и наметанный глаз. Retrived from: https://gaga.ru/for_children/?filter%5Bage_from%5D=4 Access date: 19.01.2018
- 50) Ребенок не всегда понимает, что популярность — это не главное в жизни, и стремится всеми силами ее заполучить. Retrieved from: <https://www.adme.ru/zhizn-semya/10-vazhnyh-veschej-kotorym-nado-nauchit-rebenka-do-10-let-1573415> Access date: 01.02.2018
- 51) ...кто в гробу видал весь избыточный фитнес и диеты ради чего-то там кем-то выдуманного Retrieved from: <http://forum.awd.ru/viewtopic.php?f=1089&t=327734&start=40> Access date: 02.02.2018

Power

- 52) усиленным попыткам России восстановить и расширить сферы своего влияния. Retrieved from: https://regnum.ru/news/polit/2321415.html?utm_source=24smi&utm_medium=referral&utm_term=&utm_content=1296589&utm_campaign=2007, Access date: 18.01.2018
- 53) Вы не нанимались к ним в няньки, они сами как-нибудь проживут, даже если и пытаются убедить вас в обратном, чтобы выбить себе еще какую-нибудь выгоду. Retrieved from: <https://www.adme.ru/svoboda-psihologiya/9-sposobov-pozabotitsya-o-svoem-psihicheskom-zdorove-1634165/> Access date: 01.02.2018
- 54) Он склонен более всего ценить внешний почет. Поэтому ему так хочется денег, дающих и власть, и различные удовольствия. Retrieved from: <http://names.neolove.ru/male/4/99.html> Access date: 01.02.2018
- 55) Популярность девушки упала, поэтому товары под ее брендом никто не хочет покупать. Retrieved from: <http://kontrastniy.ru/dom-2/sasha-goziashchitaet-ubytki.htm> Access date: 18.01.2018
- 56) местные стараются пиво "Примус" не пить, оно считается пойлом для гопоты и нищелюбых, так что берут тот же "Хайнекен". Retrieved from: <https://varlamov.ru/1879076.html> Access date: 01.02.2018
- 57) Его стратегия жизни сводится к одному – найти самого сильного и набить ему морду. Retrieved from: <https://hooligans.friday.ru> Access date: 18.01.2018

- 58) Хотите стать обладательницей прекрасных подтянутых ножек? Вам срочно на танго! Retrieved from: <https://likehacker.ru/2017/08/08/5-reasons-why-woman-should-dance-tango> Access date: 01.02.2018
- 59) Такими книгами мы увлекались на филфаке. Они создаются для того, чтобы получать удовольствие от своих знаний в кругу себе подобных Retrieved from: <https://www.e-reading.club/book.php?book=2962> Access date: 18.01.2018
- 60) Работодатели хотят получить безусловное право требовать выхода на работу в выходной при необходимости. Retrieved from: https://www.rbc.ru/spb_sz/28/12/2017/5a44b8959a7947f2f70b8d05?from=main Access date: 18.01.2018
- 61) Наше стратегическое видение — статья гипермаркетом XXI века. Задача — сделать так, чтобы человек не ходил в магазин, и мы постепенно двигаемся в этом направлении. Retrieved from: https://www.rbc.ru/spb_sz/22/12/2017/5a3cdab49a79474841c58123?from=main Access date: 18.01.2018
- 62) Ирина отказывается принять расставание, сказав, что она любит Тони и покончит жизнь самоубийством, если он бросит её Retrieved from: https://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D0%A0%D1%8B%D1%86%D0%B0%D1%80%D1%8C_%D0%B2_%D0%B1%D0%BB%D0%B5%D1%81%D1%82%D1%8F%D1%89%D0%B8%D1%85_%D0%B4%D0%BE%D1%81%D0%BF%D0%B5%D1%85%D0%B0%D1%85 Access date: 18.01.2018
- 63) она хочет, чтобы он был верным. Retrieved from: https://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D0%9E%D1%82%D0%BA%D1%83%D0%B4%D0%B0_%D0%B2_%D0%B2%D0%B5%D1%87%D0%BD%D0% Access date: 18.01.2018
- 64) Из Минобрнауки поступило распоряжение в ВАК сделать всё возможное, чтобы дезавуировать решения Диссертационного совета УРФУ. Retrieved from: http://istorex.ru/page/uvarov_p_yu_konets_strani_sovetov_ili_o_reputatsionnikh_mekhanizмах_i_neterpimosti_k_khaltur Access date: 18.01.2018
- 65) Согласно материалам дела, заговор организовали английская и французская разведки под дипломатическим прикрытием с целью свержения большевистской власти Retrieved from: http://tass.ru/v-strane/4824672?utm_source=news.mail.ru&utm_medium=referral&utm_campaign=inform Access date: 18.01.2018

Face

- 66) В попытке оказаться в более позитивном свете, когда Кармела обвиняет его в продолжающейся неверности, Тони признаётся в случае самоубийства Ирины Retrieved from: https://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D0%A0%D1%8B%D1%86%D0%B0%D1%80%D1%8C_%D0%B2_%D0%B1%D0%BB%D0%B5%D1%81%D1%82... Access date: 18.01.2018
- 67) «Важно, чтобы заработали репутационные механизмы, чтобы сформировалась научная среда, непримиримая к плагиату и к халтуре Retrieved from: http://istorex.ru/page/uvarov_p_yu_konets_strani_sovetov_ili_o_reputatsionnikh_mekhanizмах_i_neterpimosti_k_khalture Access date: 18.01.2018
- 68) 7 безотказных способов произвести хорошее впечатление, которые доказаны наукой Retrieved from: <https://www.adme.ru/svoboda-psihologiya/7-bezotkaznyh-sposobov-proizvesti-horoshee-vpechatlenie-kotorye-dokazany-naukoj-1547615/> Access date: 01.02.2018

- 69) думает, что образ грубого и агрессивного покорителя сердец дает ему преимущество перед остальными ребятами. Retrieved from: <https://hooligans.friday.ru> Access date: 18.01.2018
- 70) По мнению большинства членов совета, это значило не уважать самих себя, свой труд и, главное, навсегда похоронить репутацию профессионального сообщества российских историков. Retrieved from: http://istorex.ru/page/uvarov_p_yu_konets_strani_sovetov_ili_o_reputatsionnikh_mek_hanizmakh_i_neterpimosti_k_khalture Access date: 18.01.2018
- 71) нужно лечить главную болезнь: менять криминально-олигархический строй, избавляться от "элиты"- жалкой, трусливой, алчной, зависимой от западного хозяина. Это они довели страну до позора и унижения. Retrieved from: <https://agitblog.ru/articles/prisluzhivat-mozhno-igrat-nelzya.ht> Access date: 18.01.2018

Security

- 72) Дома мы настолько привыкли, что за права нужно бороться, и что на каждом шагу норовят обмануть, что требуем удостоверение у контролёра в автобусе и допытываем гаишника, “на каком основании” он посмел остановить машину. Retrieved from: <https://macos.livejournal.com/1649397.htm> Access date: 01.02.2018
- 73) Однако Белгородский совет предпочел не играть в «объективность» и не рисковать, сочтя, что лояльность выше приличий. Retrieved from: http://istorex.ru/page/uvarov_p_yu_konets_strani_sovetov_ili_o_reputatsionnikh_mek_hanizmakh_i_neterpimosti_k_khalture Access date: 18.01.2018
- 74) ,в Египет я принципиально не хотела, хотя ни разу не была-опасно в смысле поездок на автобусах Retrieved from: <http://manyhotels.ru/#!/hotel=aska-buket-exaska-club-n-resort-spa&showreviews=> Access date: 18.01.2018
- 75) В Мексике обитает 280 видов скорпионов. Большинство из них не ядовиты, но некоторые способны убить человека одним укусом. Смотрите под ноги во время прогулки. Retrieved from: <https://www.adme.ru/svoboda-puteshestviya/kak-izbezhat-nepriyatnostej-v-otpuske-puteshestvuya-po-etim-10-stranam-1559815> Access date: 01.02.2018
- 76) Ни плохие оценки, ни злость учителя не должны стать причиной, по которой ребенок боится сказать о своем самочувствии. Здоровье важнее всего. И эту мысль стоит донести до ребенка как можно раньше. Retrieved from: <https://www.adme.ru/zhizn-semya/10-vaznyh-veschej-kotorym-nado-nauchit-rebenka-do-10-let-1573415/> Access date: 01.02.2018
- 77) Выделите наконец уже время для своего хобби, которое забросили, или найдите новое. [...] Все эти занятия повышают уровень эндорфинов - гормонов, помогающих справиться со стрессом. Retrieved from: <https://www.adme.ru/svoboda-psihologiya/9-sposobov-pozabotitsya-o-svoem-psihicheskom-zdorove-1634165/> Access date: 01.02.2018
- 78) В основном, переселенцы надеялись на воссоединение с родиной и улучшение своего положения, ведь многие прогорели со своим бизнесом в США в то время. Retrieved from: <http://forum.awd.ru/viewtopic.php?f=1548&t=17862> Access date: 02.02.2018
- 79) Потому что русские, проживающие на Рублёвке, далеко не всегда законным путем заработали деньги, во-первых. А во-вторых, нет пока в России уважения к

частной жизни и частной собственности, потому и заборы. Это всё эволюционный процесс, а значит не быстрый... И собак могут отравить, и насрать на лужайке - все бывает... Retrieved from:

<https://macos.livejournal.com/1576222.html> Access date: 01.02.2018

- 80) Её потаскали по всевозможным СТО, все проверили перед покупкой, ведь доверяй, но проверяй. Retrieved from:

<https://www.drive2.ru/b/489528691160776788> Access date: 02.02.2018

- 81) все делалось быстро для того, чтобы провести референдум и не дать возможность оклематься и прийти в себя той стороне – чтобы они не успели разработать план, и не устроили бойню и резню в Крыму. Retrieved from:

<https://jpgazeta.ru/kak-myi-otstoyali-kryim-rasskaz-komandira-sevastopolskogo-berkuta> Access date: 18.01.2018

- 82) Для начала необходимо возбудить уголовное дело за госизмену по ст. 275 УК РФ т. к. он осуществляет деятельность, направленной против безопасности Российской Федерации. Retrieved from: https://tsargrad.tv/news/valentin-katsonov-zajavlenija-kudrina-mozhno-kvalificirovat-kak-gosizmenu_93571?utm_source=24smi&utm_medium=referral&utm_term=10580&utm_content=1346915&utm_campaign Access date: 18.01.2018

- 83) Опасаясь, что в стране больше не останется справедливых судов, они вышли на улицы с протестами. Retrieved from: <https://russian.rt.com/world/article/413791-polsha-sankcii-ek-otvet> Access date: 01.02.2018

- 84) Что касается показанной «жизни в миниатюре», это выглядит каким-то сумасшествием, где все пребывают в постоянной «страусиной позиции»: закрою глаза и постараюсь настроиться на позитив. Retrieved from:

<https://www.kinopoisk.ru/film/koroche-2017-462200/> Access date: 01.02.2018

- 85) Возможно, корень этого увлечения кроется в том, что отец Кати – военный, постоянно бил ее, маму, братьев и сестер. Поэтому Катя научилась защищаться по-своему: она бьет, чтобы ее не ударили первой. Retrieved from:

<https://patsanki.friday.ru/> Access date: 18.01.2018

- 86) Этот случай послужил уроком на всю жизнь, приучив везде и в любое время (днем в кармане, ночью под подушкой) иметь при себе маленький фонарик, который помогал и помогает избежать различных непредвиденных ситуаций.

Retrieved from: <http://www.ohotniki.ru/hunting/reports/article/2017/10/11/649420-uroki-vzrosleniya-uchitsya-na-chuzhih-oshibkah.htm> Access date: 18.01.2018

- 87) Важно уметь выносить пользу и из своих поражений. Научите ребенка не бояться проигрывать и допускать ошибки. Retrieved from:

<https://www.adme.ru/zhizn-semya/10-vaznyh-veschej-kotorym-nado-nauchit-rebenka-do-10-let-1573415/> Access date: 01.02.2018

Tradition

- 88) Я назначал встречи без особого внимания к обеденному перерыву. На четвертый день ко мне пришла делегация: «Максим, вы наверное не знаете, что в Португалии принято хорошо обедать. Давайте мы вам покажем хороший ресторан». И я понял, что с 12 до 14 часов — никаких совещаний. Retrieved from: <https://www.retail.ru/interviews/140011> Access date: 01.02.2018

- 89) Ваш круг знакомств расширяется, при встрече в танго- сообществе принято обниматься, ведь танго это что прежде всего? Да, именно, объятие! Поэтому

практики обнимашек должно быть как можно больше. Retrieved from: <https://likehacker.ru/2017/08/08/5-reasons-why-woman-should-dance-tango/> Access date: 02.01.2018

- 90) Все они могут выбрать любое побережья мира, но почему именно сюда они слетелись, как мухи на мёд? Да потому, что здесь максимально похоже на дом. Если новостройки Химок поставить прямо на пляж Анапы — вы почти не заметите разницы с Майами. Жить в челоуейнике, чваниться крутой тачкой и жрать в сетевых ресторанах — соотечественникам не придется менять устоявшиеся привычки. Retrieved from: <https://macos.livejournal.com/1651364.html> 2/27 Access date: 01.02.2018
- 91) Возможно, внутри там все не по Штайнеру совершенно [...] но на скрижалях по прежнему записано так, и изнутри метода переосмысления не происходит. Штайнер так писал - значит у нас все так и есть. Retrieved from: <https://getnewpost.livejournal.com/481501.html#t298338> Access date: 19.01.2018
- 92) Декоративные крысы — ласковые и преданные зверьки. И как всех преданных их предадут, так уж сложилось. Retrieved from: <http://happyrat.ru> Access date: 18.01.2018
- 93) И зачем здоровому обществу спортсмены-миллионеры? Это уродливо. Вы скажете, что так во всем мире? Нужно менять мир! Retrieved from: <https://agitblog.ru/articles/prisluzhivat-mozhno-igrat-nelzya.htm> Access date: 18.01.2018

Conformity

- 94) В «Школе Леди» девушка хочет изменить свои взгляды на жизнь и стать более серьезной и правильной. Retrieved from: <https://patsanki.friday.ru> Access date: 18.01.2018
- 95) я всегда имею мелкие деньги, чтобы не создавать проблем никому и себе в том числе. Retrieved from: <https://macos.livejournal.com/1649397.html> Access date: 01.02.2018
- 96) Друзья, спасибо за столь лестную оценку. Мне даже как-то неудобно. Боюсь не оправдать ваших ожиданий Retrieved from: <http://forum.awd.ru/viewtopic.php?f=1089&t=18837> Access date: 01.02.2018
- 97) фактом становится серия статей в научном журнале, монография, прошедшая обсуждение, рецензирование и научное редактирование, и, конечно, же диссертация, в особенности — докторская. Потому-то и важно соблюдать при защите все установленные правила, и проявлять требовательность. Retrieved from: http://istorex.ru/page/uvarov_p_yu_konets_strani_sovetov_ili_o_reputatsionnikh_mekhanizмах_i_neterpimosti_k_khulture Access date: 18.01.2018
- 98) Больше всего девочки в классе боялись, что у них вырастет грудь и начнутся менструации — это считалось «позорным» и порицалось как «ожирение». Retrieved from: <https://lenta.ru/articles/2017/11/13/swans> Access date: 19.01.2018
- 99) Но гвоздем программы было выступление С. Ф. Черняховского, академика Академии политической науки, который хорошо поставленным голосом заявил, что сомнений в качестве диссертации быть не может, поскольку лучшие ученые МГУ в течение трех месяцев досконально изучали ее и пришли к выводу о

высочайшем качестве этой работы. Retrieved from:

http://istorex.ru/page/uvarov_p_yu_konets_strani_sovetov_ili_o_reputatsionnikh_mekhanizмах_i_neterpimosti_k_khulture Access date: 18.01.2018

- 100) Бабушка Маши также приучила девочку к мысли, что любая работа должна быть выполнена на «отлично», даже если это никто не проверит. Как пример она приводила вышивку, которая даже с обратной стороны должна выглядеть аккуратно. Retrieved from: <https://uznayvse.ru/znamenitosti/biografiya-maria-zakharova.html> 7/17 Access date: 18.01.2018
- 101) Научите ребенка говорить «нет». Взрослым, учителям, друзьям и даже вам самим. Ведь вы растите личность, а не человека, который беспрекословно должен повиноваться. Retrieved from: <https://www.adme.ru/zhizn-semya/10-vaznyh-veshej-kotorym-nado-nauchit-rebenka-do-10-let-1573415/> Access date: 01.02.2018
- 102) Мы слишком зависимы от общественного мнения: если наши способы получать удовольствие не соответствуют вкусам большинства наших друзей, то мы, вместо того чтобы бороться за свое право радоваться, сразу же сдаемся Retrieved from: <https://www.adme.ru/svoboda-psihologiya/9-sposobov-pozabotitsya-o-svoem-psihicheskom-zdorove-1634165/> Access date: 01.02.2018

Humility

- 103) Также особого памятника достойны и их близкие люди — родители, их половинки и дети. За то, что они не оставляют их, помогают встать на ноги, принимают все удары судьбы со смирением и величайшим терпением. Retrieved from: <https://www.kinopoisk.ru/film/vsennaya-stivena-khokinga-2014-770973/> Access date: 01.02. 2018

Benevolence

- 104) Главное — это найти своё место, любить и быть любимым, быть кому-нибудь нужным и совершать дела, которые будут направлены на помощь ближнему. Retrieved from: <https://www.kinopoisk.ru/film/koroche-2017-462200/> Access date: 01.02.2018
- 105) И, конечно, не следует отдавать предпочтение каким-нибудь одним продуктам в ущерб другим: ребенку необходимы все пищевые вещества. Retrieved from: http://studbooks.net/1979477/tovarovedenie/osobennosti_doshkolnogo_shkolnogo_pitaniya Access date: 18.01.2018
- 106) Определите свои простые способы, чтобы поддерживать уверенность ребенка в собственных силах, его мотивацию и умение радоваться достигнутому. Retrieved from: <http://event.bmshkola.ru/cickleonkin> Access date: 19.01.2018
- 107) Активно используем Эргономичный Кокон, малышу нравится там спать. Retrieved from: <http://ladydimma.livejournal.com/33866.htm> Access date: 19.01.2018
- 108) Дети часто отказываются от черного хлеба, предпочитая белый. С этим не следует соглашаться, т.к. черный хлеб полезнее. Retrieved from: http://studbooks.net/1979477/tovarovedenie/osobennosti_doshkolnogo_shkolnogo_pitaniya Access date: 18.01.2018

- 109) опять ругаешь – ну невозможно же случайно разбить третью тарелку за неделю. А потом вдруг понимаешь, что он моет посуду, чтобы тебе было полегче. Retrieved from: <https://getnewpost.livejournal.com/481760.html#cutid1> Access date: 19.01.2018
- 110) В Санкт-Петербурге еще есть сильный совет в Институте истории РАН, однако он еще не оправился от «дела Александрова», и вновь обрекать его на испытания, вовлекая в игры с властью, было бы уж совсем несправедливо. Retrieved from: http://istorex.ru/page/uvarov_p_yu_konets_strani_sovetov_ili_o_reputatsionnikh_mekhanizмах_i_neterpimosti_k_khulture Access date: 18.01.2018
- 111) Ребята, у нас там «срочники» по 18- 19 лет (необстрелянные пацаны) – не атакуйте нас! Retrieved from: <https://jpgazeta.ru/kak-myi-otstoyali-kryim-rasskaz-komandira-sevastopolskogo-berkuta/> Access date: 18.01.2018
- 112) В конечно итоге важно только то, насколько мы остаемся людьми, когда в нас возникает необходимость у другого человека. Retrieved from: <https://www.kinopoisk.ru/film/malenkie-sekrety-2010-521618> Access date: 02.02.2018
- 113) Почему же он занимается тем, чем занимается? Просто он — хороший отец... Именно им Фрэнк стал после смерти матери Мэри и пообещал подарить девочке настоящее детство. Retrieved from: <https://www.kinopoisk.ru/film/odaryonnaya-2017-929348/> Access date: 02.02.2018
- 114) Закоренелый атеист и верующая католичка, два антипода становятся единым целым, чтобы понять нужды другого и принять свою половину такой, какая она есть. Retrieved from: <https://www.kinopoisk.ru/film/vselennaya-stivena-khokinga-2014-770973/> Access date: 01.02.2018
- 115) Если вы хотите поделиться своими переживаниями и вам нужна поддержка не стоит спрашивать, "как поднять лейкоциты?", можно так и написать "упали лейкоциты, волнуюсь, поддержите" - и вас с радостью поддержат, а не засыпят рецептами запаривания овса. Retrieved from: <https://oncobudni.livejournal.com/profile> Access date: 18.01.2018
- 116) Многие свои записи здесь пишут "под замок", поэтому нельзя выносить за пределы данного сообщества то, что люди посчитали нужным не оглашать публично. Retrieved from: <https://oncobudni.livejournal.com/profile> Access date: 18.01.2018
- 117) Северная часть отчета уже практически закончена. Постараюсь в ближайшие дни ее выложить и продолжить путешествие на юг. Я и сама понимаю, что затягивать нельзя, - сезон на носу. Retrieved from: <http://forum.awd.ru/viewtopic.php?f=1089&t=188376> Access date: 01.02.2018
- 118) хочется, чтобы в жизни у них все сложилось, как надо, чтобы все было ОК! Чтобы неурядицы и загоны остались в прошлом – пусть ребята будут счастливы на воле! Retrieved from: <http://kontrastniy.ru/dom-2/proshhanie.html> Access date: 18.01.2018
- 119) Если сказать вамнечего, но поддержать эфир хочется, можно отправить се рдечки. Дляэтого тыкайте в правый нижний угол на сердечко. Сердечек можно о тправлять сколько угодно. Прямо можете сердечковый водопад обрушить. Ведущему эфира будет приятно! Retrieved from: <http://naoblakax.ru/funkciya-pryamoj-efir-v-instagram-kak-zapustit-i-kak-smotret/> Access date: 19.01. 2018
- 120) Но, вы извините, пожалуйста, вот это просто покорило: Писать такое о соратнице и партнере - не по-товарищески. А если такое пишет мужчина о женщине, предположительно, рожавшей ему детей, - просто не вполне

порядочно. Retrieved from:

<http://forum.awd.ru/viewtopic.php?f=1089&t=327734&start=40> Access date: 02.02.2018

- 121) Хочу от всего сердца поздравить всех Крымчан, Севастопольцев и Россиян с годовщиной исторического воссоединения Крыма с Россией, пожелать всем крепкого здоровья, благополучия и мирного неба над головой, а со всеми трудностями и невзгодами мы справимся и победим!!! Retrieved from: <https://jpgazeta.ru/kak-myi-otstoyali-kryim-rasskaz-komandira-sevastopolskogo-berkuta/> Access date: 18.01.2018
- 122) Когда стало туго у нас, особенно после 1989 года, в 1990 году — когда вся страна в очередях оказалась и нам не хватало товаров для того, чтобы удовлетворить просьбы эти, когда у нас за итальянские туфли могли сломать в очереди... Надо было найти 10—15 миллиардов долларов. Их можно было найти... Retrieved from: <https://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D0%93%D0%BE%D1%80%D0%B1%D0%B0%D1%87%D1%91%D0%B2,%D0%9C%D0%B8%D1%85%D0%B...> Access date: 18.01.2018
- 123) После 1991 года пришлось достроить несколько комнат, добавив украинскую и армянскую, чтобы не обижать студентов. Retrieved from: <https://macos.livejournal.com/1644381.html> Access date: 02.02.2018
- 124) Взяли мы крыску девочку, очень милую 2,5 месяцев (как нам сказали отроду), думали позже возьмем ей подружку что бы не скучала. Retrieved from: <http://ratclub.spb.ru/forum/index.php?topic=348.0> Access date: 18.01.2018
- 125) Знают, что фотографии их на этом мосту пасут - вот и сигналият заранее, а на мосту снижают скорость до минимума, чтобы все успели сделать несколько дублей. Retrieved from: <http://forum.awd.ru/viewtopic.php?f=1089&t=327734&start=4> Access date: 02.02.2018

Universalism:

- 126) Пробок в городе станет меньше, как только город начнёт влиять на поведение людей путём дестимулирования пользования своими машинами. От этого улучшится экология и в целом качество жизни. Retrieved from: <https://varlamov.ru/2714040.html> Access date: 02.02.2018
- 127) Разместив фотографии, Кэролин призывает каждого подумать о том уроне, который он причиняет планете. Она предлагает в течение недели не выбрасывать пластиковые отходы: пакеты, вилки, бутылки и так далее, а затем оценить размер появившейся «горы». Retrieved from: <http://www.nat-geo.ru/nature/1169259-beda-karibskogo-morya-musornoe-proklyate/> Access date: 01.02.2018
- 128) Бундестаг нового созыва на несколько десятков мандатов больше предыдущего – 709 вместо 631 прежде всего из-за того, что при расчете впервые распределялись так называемые компенсирующие мандаты, чтобы состав парламента точнее отвечал воле избирателей. Retrieved from: <https://rian.com.ua/analytics/20170926/1027997905.html?> Access date: 18.01.2018
- 129) Девочки и мальчики равны, уважать нужно и тех и других. Retrieved from: <https://www.adme.ru/zhizn-semya/10-vazhnyh-veschej-kotorym-nado-nauchit-rebenka-do-10-let-1573415/> Access date: 01.02.2018

- 130) Я считаю у дедушки очень правильный подход к делу рака, таких бы дедушек и бабушек побольше вокруг и было бы все зашибись. Retrieved from: <https://oncobudni.livejournal.com/1621012.html#comments> Access date: 18.01.2018
- 131) Конечно как уважающий себя человек и из-за моего уважения к России и русскому народу, это не могу сделать и не стоит. Retrieved from: <https://varlamov.ru/2712950.html> Access date: 01.02.2018
- 132) она делает все, чтобы спасти невинных и помочь тем, кто в этом нуждается. Retrieved from: <https://www.adme.ru/tvorchestvo-kino/18-krutejshih-geroin-kotoryh-podarili-nam-serialy-1634465/> Access date: 01.02.2018
- 133) Мы им хлеб и сало отправляли с водителями, чтобы они там с голоду не умерли. Retrieved from: <https://jpgazeta.ru/kak-myi-otstoyali-kryim-rasskaz-komandira-sevastopolskogo-berkuta/> Access date: 18.01.2018
- 134) Если Вы хотите помочь брошенным крысам, то, пожалуйста, звоните нам или пишите по электронной почте. Retrieved from: <http://happyrat.ru/help> Access date: 18.01.2018
- 135) Белгород надо было спасать, и тогда я написал целую серию постов с просьбой остановить вредительство. Retrieved from: <https://varlamov.ru/2714040.html> Access date: 02.02.2018
- 136) Дороги сделаны исключительно для машин, поэтому они проходят в промзонах или вдоль железных дорог, чтобы не навредить жителям и не испортить улицы. Retrieved from: <https://varlamov.ru/2714040.html> Access date: 02.02.2018
- 137) Мы не хотим, чтобы люди тратили время бессмысленно и бесполезно, каждый день думая о том, что им надо что-то купить и придумать, как это приготовить. Наш сервис позволяет по подписке получить набор продуктов на пять вечеров — остается только приготовить. Retrieved from: https://www.rbc.ru/spb_sz/22/12/2017/5a3cdab49a79474841c58123?from=main Access date: 18.01.2018
- 138) Что же сегодня нас тревожит больше всего? Неужели перенаселение планеты? Или глобальное потепление? Да нет. Нас сегодня волнуют совсем другие вопросы. . Retrieved from: <https://www.kinopoisk.ru/film/koroche-2017-462200/> Access date: 01.02.2018

Relationships between value types

- 139) Конечно, они могли бы протестовать, но не стали. Для них ситуация разрешилась наилучшим образом — и научную репутацию сохранили, и в открытую конфронтацию с Министерством образования и науки не вступили. Retrieved from: http://istorex.ru/page/uvarov_p_yu_konets_strani_sovetov_ili_o_reputatsionnikh_mekhanizмах_i_neterpimosti_k_khulture Access date: 18.01.2018
- 140) Связать шапку для своего мальчика не только интересно, но это позволит вам выбрать хорошие материалы, любимый фасон. А мальчик буде гордиться тем, что шапку ему связала мама. К тому же, вы сможете выполнить любой каприз своего сына/внука. Пришить на шапку его любимого героя или вышить имя знаменитого футболиста. Retrieved from: <http://knitka.ru/15066/shapochka-dlya-malchika-spicami-podborka-statej-i-master-klassov.htm> Access date: 18.01.2018
- 141) Мне кажется, нужно было выбрать танцы попроще, не балет. Там другие цели [...]. Не самовыражение, скорее служение идеалам, во всех высоких

- искусствах так. Retrieved from:
<http://getnewpost.livejournal.com/430268.html?page=2> Access date: 19.01.2018
- 142) Нередко в совместных делах Дмитрий на первое место ставит не выгоду, а доверительные и дружеские отношения. Retrieved from:
<http://names.neolove.ru/male/4/99.html> Access date: 01.02.2018
- 143) Легендарный Ford Explorer идет в ногу со временем и оснащается современными технологиями, обеспечивающими качественно новый уровень комфорта и безопасности. Retrieved from:
- 144) «Школа леди» для Кати – последний шанс измениться и взять себя в руки, отказаться от пагубных привычек и стать хорошей матерью для своего сына. Retrieved from: <https://patsanki.friday.ru/> Access date: 18.01.2018
- 145) Марк Уэбб снял то, что ему нравится и так, как нравится, без претензий на ворох наград, исключительно из желания создать хороший фильм. Retrieved from: <https://www.kinopoisk.ru/film/odaryonnaya-2017-929348/> Access date: 02.02.2018
- 146) [Митсубиши] Аутлендер — это не про драйв, а про комфорт Retrieved from: <https://info.drom.ru/surveys/56182/> Access date: 01.02.018
- 147) Можно было протянуть руку и сорвать, но так рука и не поднялась обрывать красоту. Retrieved from: <http://manyhotels.ru/#!/hotel=aska-buket-exaska-club-n-resort-spa&showreviews=1> Access date: 18.01.2018
- 148) "Неестественность движения" - там это цель, в этой фарфоровости девочек и красота. Retrieved from: <http://getnewpost.livejournal.com/430268.html?page=2> Access date: 19.01.2018
- 149) Это фильм не для того, чтобы переживать культурный трип под осознанием величия и шедевральности произведения. Retrieved from: <https://www.kinopoisk.ru/film/odaryonnaya-2017-929348/> Access date: 02.02.2018
- 150) Красота ситуации Retrieved from:
http://istorex.ru/page/uvarov_p_yu_konets_strani_sovetov_ili_o_reputatsionnikh_mekhanizмах_i_neterpimosti_k_khulture Access date: 18.01.2018
- 151) Крисси заявила, что больше не использует фотошоп для Instagram. «Это нечестно», — сказала она. Retrieved from: <https://www.adme.ru/svoboda-kultura/17-znamenitostej-kotorye-ne-boyatsya-byt-neidealnymi-1569465/>. Access date: 01.02.2018
- 152) Мда... главное никто не пострадал а это все наживное! Удачи тебе! Retrieved from: <https://www.drive2.ru/l/490578999643209988/> Access date: 02.02.2018
- 153) Фильм заставляет задуматься о скоротечности времени, о будущем после тебя и о настоящем... Retrieved from: <https://www.kinopoisk.ru/film/vselennaya-stivena-khokinga-2014-770973/> access date: 01.02.2018
- 1) Задача Солнца - светиться наверху. Retrieved from:
<https://agitblog.ru/articles/prisluzhivat-mozhno-igrat-nelzya.htm> Access date: 18.01.2018

The dissertation was completed without any unauthorized aid/s. Only those sources and aids where used as are referenced. All exerts, citations and ideas are indicated.

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