

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE MONGOLIAN MEDIA LANDSCAPE

**Media ecology approach to the development of the Mongolian media from
the 1200s to the new millennium, recognizing community radio as a sign
of a new era of participatory communication**

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Tiivistelmä – Abstract <p>This media ecology thesis assesses the cultural impacts of communication technologies in Mongolia. Acknowledging the interconnectedness of media, its content, and human beings, it shows how changes in Mongolia's media have taken it through phases of orality, craft literacy, literacy, and into secondary orality. The research shows how Mongolia's media has developed over the centuries, how the social and media transformation in the USSR affected the development of Mongolia's media, and finally, to what degree and in what ways the aspects of oral and literate history, societal history and the media landscape relate to the popularity of participatory community radio in Ulaanbaatar.</p> <p>The background of the thesis rises from Mongolia's long history viewed from its beginnings in the 12th century. The media transitions in developmental stages from speech to writing, from writing to printing, and from print to electronics, but at the same time all these stages are shown as being present in Mongolia today. The importance of history derives from two sources – on one hand, media history and how media, defined in a comprehensive manner, has developed over the centuries in Mongolia. On the other hand there lies the importance of the role of history as is emphasized by Paulo Freire, and his views about the role that acknowledging your own history plays in the conscientization of a human being, or a group of people. In addition the thesis recognizes the Mongolian media sphere and it's mirroring of Soviet media theory up to the 1900s.</p> <p>The empirical analysis is based on a Ulaanbaatar media survey conducted in 2002, and subsequent focus groups discussions in the Bayanzurkh ger area. The media survey depicts, on a large scale, the Ulaanbaatar media scenery in the midst of societal change, and it shows the popular standing of a community radio station. The focus group discussions show the citizens expect community radio to orient to their needs rather than just provide information. The ger area residents consider the community radio as functioning to facilitate the democratic process by giving them a voice and a channel for them to communicate with the government. Citizen journalism is seen, in this study, from a participatory point of view; meaning that the citizens create the community topics they would like the media, in this case community radio, to deal with. Citizens see community radio as a platform to showcase both the talents of individuals within the community and as a vehicle to deal with the problems of the community. The citizens want not only to participate in producing and presenting the programming, but they also expect radio, along with other NGOs to facilitate the communities' development. This type of participatory communication perspective from the audience was missing during the Soviet dominated era of Mongolian history, and it makes possible the way forward to establish a positive indigenous media development alternative in Mongolia.</p>	
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INTRODUCTION

“The purpose of media ecology is to tell stories about the consequences of technology; to tell how media environments create contexts that may change the way we think or organize our social life, or make us better or worse, or smarter or dumber, or freer or more enslaved” (Postman 1988: Conscientious objections, p. 18)

Each country has a story to tell how its media developed. Each story is as unique as each country. How do media develop in a multifaceted situation? It is not developing separately in a vacuum; rather it evolves in the multitude of forces – historical, political, technological, sociological, cultural and religious. We can argue which one is primary, or can the different forces be separated from each other. Media ecologists, as Postman above, would emphasize the primacy of the media environment.

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I myself would not be studying media if I did not value it as an important part in society. My special interest is in radio – what part radio plays in society. In the modern information society it may seem old-fashioned to talk about radio, which had its peak time in United States and Britain after the Second World War. Radio has had a long life ever since Canadian Reginald Fessenden broadcast voice messages in 1900, up to today when most of us still tune to our radio at home or while driving. Radio is still alive, even though not on top of media use in most countries; anyway, it has its audiences. And radio might have a comeback once it is more and more usual to have a radio feature in the mobile phones, and using iPods or MP3players is in the increase.

Studies on radio seldom deal with the orality. I myself see radio as a very form of oral media. No visual images, no movement - just voice. The voice that encompasses the human being. The voice you cannot see, but the voice you hear. The words or music enters your mind and meets you.

In this thesis, theories of orality and literacy in literature will be dealt as one viewpoint of theoretical framework. Orality-literacy theme is essential when we talk about broadcasting.

In developing countries many people groups are living in oral world, and their communications culture is different from that of literature cultures.

My favorite theorists on orality Ong and Havelock, will be used in the theoretical framework. Ong deals with the essence of orality and literacy as such, and how spatializing the language created a cognitive distance to the writer. It follows that radio can be effective in reaching out to the oral people groups, since its emphasis, by nature, is on the spoken word. While Ong recognizes that the shift from orality to literacy and on to electronic processing engages several structures of society, he does not concentrate on a macro level, which on the other hand Havelock does. Havelock emphasizes communication as a social phenomenon. Havelock proposes that the relationship between the individual and his society is acoustic; for example laws, traditions and government are based on oral. Havelock takes the relationship between oral and literal into the modern age, claiming that electronic media is a marriage between oral and literate, between spoken and written word. In a way, Ong and Havelock complete each other's views. In this thesis, I argue that, in the 800 years of Mongolia's history, the very origins of Mongolian media can be explained by Ong's and Havelock's theories. Mongolia is very often seen as a country whose government is undergoing a transformation from the communist system towards democracy, and its media transforming from a communist towards that of a market oriented system. I want to go beyond the 70 years of communist rule in Mongolia, which is so often referred to, and start from a historical perspective, and continue to the development of Mongolia's media today.

I hope that the theory of orality would inspire my colleagues in International Broadcasting. After studying international radio audiences for twenty years, I am convinced the orality/literacy concept is crucial in approaching Asian audiences. The studies of audio are on their way, for example Lars Nyre (2003) from the University of Bergen in Norway published a doctoral thesis on sound.

In this thesis I will study the media development in Mongolia. I define media in its broadest sense, the same as McLuhan defines it: as all human inventions and innovations that are

forming up the communication technologies. Starting from the history of Mongolia how literacy was spread, facilitated by religion and later by politics, I try to construct a comprehensive media development picture of Mongolia. This nomad-culture country provides an interesting case in Asia in terms of its location, being in part influenced by China and by Russia. Its print and electronic media, developed under the influence of the communist regime and after perestroika, has started to crawl and stumble on its own. Originally I planned to use the country of Mongolia as a case of study of media ecology – how media has played a leading role in the development of Mongolian society. However, during the course of gathering data for this thesis my attention was drawn to the political and societal factors in play, and in particular the influences of the former Soviet Union on the evolving Mongolian media environment. And yet, as weighty as the influence was in Mongolia, the Soviets manifested their influence in the country for only 70 years of Mongolia's 800 year history. From this perspective it follows that media, defined in its broadest sense - as Havelock defines it, has been the major influential factor overall in shaping the development of Mongolian society.

Since the developments in former Soviet Union have had its effect on Mongolia, and the liberalization of media, I will also deal with the position of media seen in a socialist system. In the socialist system, media has been seen as a useful tool in serving the society to reach its goals, using education, and using propaganda rather than as an entertainment machine, as we tend to see it in today's Western world.

This thesis focuses on an empirical level at the media scene of Ulaanbaatar, the capital of Mongolia. I conducted, with a research team, a city-wide survey of the capital, as requested by a community radio station manager Batjargal Tuvshintsengel. My purpose is to present a comprehensive view of the development of Mongolian media, starting from the history of orality, and ending in the new millennium. The city survey describes the status of Mongolian urban media as of 2002, being the most comprehensive survey ever conducted in Ulaanbaatar media. The survey will provide good baseline data from which to compare the development of Mongolian media in the future.

As an example of the transformation of Mongolian media during the new millennium, I will show how a privately owned, government licensed community radio station functions in this new media environment. Focus groups conducted at the community radio station will be used in the end to make the point that participatory communication is appreciated by the Bayanzurkh district residents in Ulaanbaatar.

In this thesis, I define community radio the same as White (2004, 11) defines community media: allowing ordinary people to become producers of media discourses. I see community radio, produced by local residents, as being about everyday events, the local culture, and the people. When I talk about participatory communication, I see it in the same way as White (2004, 19) sees it as allowing marginal groups to define the content from their perspective. In the case of WIND-FM, which is brought in this thesis as an example and evidence of the transformational media scene in Mongolia, the marginalized community means those living in the Bayanzurkh ger neighborhood next to the radio station.

Paulo Freire's ideas about liberation and critical pedagogy fit well with the framework of local community radio station which gives voice to ordinary citizens, and helps them to become responsible of their lives. Participatory communication is being used in community development radios, especially in Africa and South America, to facilitate the citizens' voices being heard in the society. And, in linkage to that, Paul Freire's ideas about the pedagogy of the oppressed go well along with the idea of liberation. The concepts of community development radio, as well participatory communication have evolved partly by Freire's ideas.

This thesis sees the Mongolian media is a very multifaceted view, and I will see the development of media the same way – a very multifaceted thing, where different factors are working to create the media environment.

During the course of the study I have seen Mongolia in many shades – at first as an ancient, strong military power, with rude, rough and furious people. After that, as a country with

oral background, who was forced to change its alphabet to comply with the Russians, and become quickly literate. Along, with learning about literacy, I have studied the dissertation by Dr. Munkhmandakh Myagmar (1998) and learnt about the influence of Buddhism into the Mongolian culture. Buddhism has colored my Mongolian sunglasses with soft colors, and I have learnt about the peacefulness of the nation, and the beautiful countryside.

The inspiration for this study came originally in the spring of 2002 when I traveled to Mongolia to conduct a city-wide media survey (UB2002) and took part in focus group research. Both were in response to a request by local community radio station WIND-FM. There was no comprehensive study on the Ulaanbaatar media made before that, therefore the media study itself has received some interest, and Dr. Ross James from Health Communications Resources and myself, wrote a joint article about the survey available on Internet (http://www.h-c-r.org/docs/mongolia_amic_2003_ub2002.pdf).

Since the survey is the first comprehensive media study for Ulaanbaatar, its media section is presented in the fourth chapter of this thesis, for future comparisons. The focus groups study, looking into the main findings and relating them to the theory, will be dealt with in the fifth chapter. Retrospectively I will look into those two research projects, and how their results fit with the theories of used in the theoretical part. The media survey and focus groups in 2002 are an important part of this study since without my reflecting on those two studies my interest in Mongolia would never have grown.

My purpose is to view the Mongolian media landscape in the midst of the historical, political, societal and educational forces where it is functioning. There are three research questions to answer: 1) how has the Mongolian media developed over the centuries? (I intend to find answers to this question in chapter two.) 2) How have the media developments in the USSR affected the development of Mongolian media? (This will be dealt with in chapters three and four.) And, 3) To what degree and in what ways do the aspects of oral history, societal history and the media landscape relate to the popularity of community radio? (This will be dealt with in chapters five and six.) Chapter one actually lays the theoretical groundwork for all of these chapters.

I endeavored to make this study so that the world could learn about the Mongolian media scenery; this is a country not well known, but interesting, because of its history and location. Learning about Ulaanbaatar media development helps to build media strategies to other cities in former Soviet satellite countries.

1 THE ORALITY AND THE LITERACY

Media ecology is known as the study of media as environments. Media ecology scholars divide human history into eras of oral, writing, print and electronic culture (Gozzi, 2000, 88). However, since media ecology is the study of environments, these eras can mark significant changes within a country or its culture having come to completion in the midst of a number of forces within society, incorporating history, politics, and education, along with technological development.

In academic circles, the question as to the importance of orality and literacy rose about 40 years ago. Between 1962-63 in France, Britain and the USA, five publications produced articles dealing with the same subject from different angles: *La Pensee Sauvage* (Levi-Strauss), *The Consequences of Literacy* (Goody and Watt), *The Gutenberg Galaxy* (McLuhan), *Animal Species and Evolution* (Mayr) and *Preface to Plato* (Havelock) (Havelock, 1986, 25).

Rousseau laid the foundation for the recognition of orality and textuality. Milman Parry continued what Rousseau started, and the Parry-Lord thesis concerning the oral composition of the Homeric poems was formed. Robert Wood was another Rousseau successor, who came earlier than Parry. (Havelock, 1986, 36-37)

Others, including Eric Havelock, Albert Lord, Elizabeth Eisenstein, Walter J. Ong, Jack Goody, and Michel de Certeau are well known for their contributions concerning the orality-literacy -dimension.

Not only have these combined writings dealt with the essence of orality and literacy, and the relationship between the two, but they have also explored the orality-literacy -equation. How does orality change into literacy? Can these two exist at the same time, or does one negate the other? What is their relationship with the deeper mental functions? How are

orality and literacy connected to the existence of the human being in a society? How are the two associated in the world of technology?

At first I will explore orality and literacy separately, and later on together, in relationship with one another.

1.1 The general theory of primary orality

It is difficult for us to imagine a world without texts. In such a world almost all communication would have to take place through spoken words, everything known would have to be repeated again and again on an endless journey from mouth-to-ear. As we all know that kind of world existed a long, long time ago. And it might surprise some to know that a world of this kind still exists in some small parts of our world even today.

There are thousands of spoken languages – and not all of them have writing systems at all, however, they are being spoken. “The basic orality of language is permanent” (Ong, 1982, 7). Today primary oral culture in the strict sense hardly exists, since every culture knows of writing and has some experience of its effects (Ong, 1982, 11). Most oral cultures are aware that literacy contains the idea of advancement through the utilization of vast complex powers that are accessible only for literate people.

The Oral world is holistic. The sound is holistic. The sound surrounds the person. You cannot stop the sound, or you cannot have sound in the same way as you have a camera picture – you can stop the film. If you stop sound, then there is silence. Ong points out one of the characteristics of sound – its evanescence in relationship to time – sound exists only when it is going out of existence. Sight isolates, sound incorporates. Sound is a unifying sense, while vision is a dissecting sense. (Ong, 1982, 72)

In Hebrew, the term "word" means actually "event". Words are strong. So strong, that "oral peoples commonly, and probably universally, consider words to have great power" (Ong, 1982, 32).

1.1.1 *Ways of memorizing the oralic content*

Havelock addresses how oralic memory works – in order to remember things, people had to organize them in a proper way, using mnemonic patterns, rhythm, repetitions or antithesis, alliterations and assonances, and proverbs (Havelock, 1963, 87-96, 131-2, 294-6).

Ong lists nine characteristics of orally based thought and expression:

1. Additive rather than subordinate, for example in the Bible, Genesis 1:1-5.
2. Aggregative rather than analytic – when you do not have a writing system, you do not want to break up your thought – oral expressions carry a load of epithets and other formulary baggage – brave soldier, beautiful princess etc.
3. Redundant or “copious” – since you do not write, you cannot go back to refresh your memory on what was dealt with earlier. So, in oral culture, you need to repeat.
4. Conservative or traditionalist – oral societies must invest great energy in saying over and over again what has been learnt over the ages. This need establishes a conservative or traditionalist set of mind that inhibits intellectual experimentation (Ong 1982, 41).
5. Close to the human life world – oral cultures must conceptualize and verbalize all their knowledge with reference to human life world, assimilating the alien, objective world to the more immediate, familiar interaction of human beings. Trades were learnt by doing, not by reading manuals. (Ong 1982, 42, 43)
6. Agonistically toned – full of strong expressions, the idea is to get the other party to react to your strong words. “When all verbal communication must be direct by word of mouth, involved in the give-and-take dynamics of sound, interpersonal relations (both attractions and antagonisms) are kept high. “(Ong 1982, 45)
7. Empathetic and participatory rather than objectively distanced – in oral culture, learning or knowing means achieving close, empathetic, communal identification with the known. Writing separates the knower from the known and thus sets up conditions for “objectivity”, in the sense of personal disengagement and distancing. (Ong, 1982, 45, 46)

8. Homeostatic – an oral society lives very much in the present, which keeps itself in balance or homeostasis by sloughing off memories that no longer have present relevance (Ong, 1982, 46). Oral cultures are not interested in dictionaries or definitions of words, for them, words get their meaning from the actual habitat, which also includes gestures, vocal inflections, facial expressions, and the entire human (Ong, 1982, 47).
9. Situational rather than abstract – oral cultures tend to use concepts in situational, operational frames of reference that are minimally abstract in the sense that they remain close to the living human life world (Ong, 1982, 49).

Havelock (1986, 65-66) writes: “In primary orality, relationships between human beings are governed exclusively by acoustics (supplemented by visual perception of bodily behavior). The psychology of such relationships is also acoustic. The relationship between an individual and his society is also acoustic, between himself and his tradition, his law, his government. To be sure, primary communication begins visually with the smile, the frown, and the gesture. But these do not get us very far. Recognition, response, thought itself, occur when we hear linguistic sounds and melodies and ourselves respond to them, as we utter a variant set of sounds to amend or amplify or negate what we have heard. A communication system of this sort is an echo system, light as air and as fleeting.”

According to Havelock, a general theory of orality has to be built on a general theory of society, since communication is understood as a social phenomenon. “A general theory of primary orality is required to be dialectical, to consider the whole as governing the nature of the parts, Society, oral or literate, exists as it succeeds in combining individuals into a nexus, which is coherent.” (Havelock, 1986, 68)

Community continues its life through tradition. Traditions are learnt through observation one hand, visual learning, and on the other hand, via language, through instructions repeated again and again from generation to generation. In literal societies the important laws, scriptures etc., are documented in a fixed form by writing. But in oral societies, there is no script – how then do they preserve tradition? According to Havelock, the answer is

repetition. “The solution discovered by the brain of early man was to convert thought into rhythmic talk. This supplied what was automatically repeatable, the monotonous element in a recurring cadence created by correspondences in the purely acoustic values of the language as pronounced, regardless of meaning. Variable statements could then be woven into identical sound patterns to build up a special language system which was not only repeatable, but recallable for re-use, and which could tempt the memory to lead on from one particular statement to a second, and a different one, which nevertheless seemed familiar because of acoustic similarity.” (Havelock, 1986, 71)

Havelock stresses that there is enjoyment of acoustic rhythm which is very natural in human beings, and in oral societies there has been a close connection between poetry, music and dance. The traditions of oral society were strengthened in the dancing and singing get-togethers of the people group. Oral societies do not rely on repetition alone, but the kind of repetition that creates new ideas, based on what was already said – the question remains “how exactly ideological echo arises out of acoustic echo?” ... The general theory of orality requires that the first foundations of binary opposition be sought in acoustic laws of memorization before we come to ideology. (Havelock, 1986, 73)

So, acoustic echo is primary, and ideological meaning is secondary. Oral societies needed specialists such as musicians, prophets, and priests to preserve the vernacular. The language to be preserved becomes archaic, and carries the tradition. Table 1 shows the differences between literate and oral society.

Table 1. Differences between literate and oral society (Havelock 1986, 74-78)

Concept	Literate society	Oral society
Rules of society	Ordinance decree	Formulaic verse or diction
Way of distribution	Reading	Singing or chanting
Way of teaching	Way or principle	Action
Way of participation	Silently in the performance of the writer	Active participation of the language used – clapping, singing as response to the chanting of the singer
Example	Honesty is the best policy	An honest man always prospers
Surround world	Spatial, individualist	Acoustic, social, convivial

While studying a Yugoslavian singer, Lord used Milman Parry's definition of "formula" as being a group of words, which are regularly employed under the same metrical conditions to express a given essential idea. Formula is the offspring of marriage between thought and sung verse. Thought is free, but song verse imposes restrictions (Lord, 2001, 31). The poetic grammar of oral epic is and must be based on the formula. It is a grammar of parataxis and of frequently used and useful phrases (Lord, 2001, 65).

This same thing was evident in epic Greek, where the minimal element is the formulaic phrase (instead of individual words): each idea or action is described by a phrase which has a fixed metrical quantity. While for different metrical positions within a line there will be different phrases saying the same thing, phrases of identical metrical quantity, which say the same thing, are very few (Beye, 1966, 5).

The learning of an oral poetic language follows the same principles as the learning of language itself (Lord, 2001, 36). The purpose of the oral epic is originally magical and ritual – before it is heroic. The roots of oral traditional narrative are not artistic but religious in the broadest sense. (Lord, 2001, 66, 67)

1.1.2 Orality and texts based on orality

Since World War I, Havelock (1986, 30-31) writes, “we had all been listening to the radio, a voice of incessant utterance, orally communicating fact and intention and persuasion, borne of the airwaves to our ears. Here was a new type of demand on our attention, even a new force exercised over our minds. It may have been the realization of this force as both a personal and a social thing operating in the politics of our century, aside from any scholarly interest in the subject, that has come to a head in the last two decades, provoking an awareness of tensions set up between the spoken word and the written and a possible historical origin for this in the experience of Greeks.”

Havelock presents two persons who played a key role in bringing the spoken word into a new dimension – Franklin Roosevelt and Adolf Hitler (Havelock, 1986, 31). At the same time, the electronic media that we face daily can never bring us back to primary orality – alongside and below the acoustic message there always lurks the written message – even the radio speeches by Hitler were partly scripted. Havelock suggests that electronic media is a marriage “between the resources of the written word and of the spoken, a marriage of a sort which has reinforced the latent energies of both parties” (Havelock, 1986, 33). Havelock proposes “that the technology which has revived the use of the ear has at the same time reinforced the power of the eye and of the written word as it is seen and read” (Havelock, 1986, 33). He says that McLuhan’s idea of communications systems yielding to the limits of printing is too simplistic. “The oral” literate equation is not that simple (Havelock, 1986, 33).

It is difficult to get into the very essence of orality. Even with recordings the oral situations are “made up”, they are not natural. Writing down the oral products usage could suffer from manipulative interpretations. “In primary orality, functional content is cast in verbal forms designed to assist the memory by conferring pleasure: social and aesthetic purposes form a partnership. Once social responsibility starts to be transferred to a literate class, the balance is altered, in favor of the aesthetic” (Havelock, 1986, 45-46).

Havelock uses the term oral literature: Collections of oral stories, proverbs, prayers, and expressions are orality written down. Primary orality texts are poetic while rhetorical texts are prose. Rhetorical texts have fostered oral discourse and argument performed for listening audiences. Even though rhetorical composition contains enough poetic infusion to establish a linkage with orality, and to supply some clues to the rule by which oral communication at the primary level is managed, still the language used in rhetoric is prose. (Havelock 1986, 46-47)

Texts have been made to speak. They have been read aloud and audiences listen to the read-out. The audience who listened carried the word to others. This still happens in remote mountain villages in Asia, where short wave radio from international stations is monitored. Texts read into a radio microphone are the source of news, information, poems and teachings for people groups who do not necessarily have any other media in their mother tongue.

But can the texts really speak? After the spoken word has been printed into text, the language has been reduced. “An interior consciousness has been forced outward and virtually destroyed” (Havelock, 1986, 50). Ong points out that Jacques Derrida goes even as far as to claim that texts cannot speak. Once the text is written, it does not need to be memorized any more, therefore orality imposes different thought processes than literacy. Ong criticizes Derrida’s approach for universalizing writing as the basis of all significations. Ong would rather see Derrida deal with differences between speech and writing, as well as other forms of communication. (Ong, 1982, 78, 167; Potter, 1997, 81; Strate, 2004, 36)

Parry and Lord, after studying the poetry practiced in rural Yugoslavia, both conclude that oral composition got corrupted when it began to use the resources of writing (Havelock, 1986, 52-53). It is not possible to be an oral and writing poet (Lord, 2001, 129). In oral composition, it is a question of ideas and themes – the theme is not any fixed set of records (like in writing), but a grouping of ideas. Parry and Lord call the group of ideas, regularly

used in telling a tale in the formulaic style of traditional song, the themes of poetry (Lord, 2001, 68, 69).

1.1.3 Orality in society and consciousness

Even though on a global scale, the number of oral people groups is diminishing, the roots of orality can be seen in these people groups, including Mongols. One of the typical practices of oral people groups is situational thinking.

As examples of situational thinking, Luria's research findings on oral persons in Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan in 1931-32 are remarkable. He noticed that 1) Illiterates never used words circle, square etc, for geometrical objects; instead he called them a ball, a bucket, a door, a house, or something else from his surroundings. 2) Illiterates do not categorize things in the same way as literates. From hammer, saw, log and hatchet they would take out hatchet, since it does not do as good a job as a hammer – while literates would take out the non-tool (log). 3) For illiterate people, it is difficult to make conclusions (syllogisms), since they do not use deduction in their thinking. 4) Illiterates do not care about making definitions. 5) Illiterates had difficulty in making self-analysis, which requires a certain amount of situating yourself from the self, or looking at yourself from a distance – which is a more literate thing to do, since in literacy the writing can be evaluated later on. (Ong, 1982, 50-55)

Havelock concludes Luria's work shows how the people group he studied had an oral consciousness, where the syntax of the language is activist and dynamic. The verb motor culture of orality is different from the static categorical language of achieved literacy. (Havelock, 1986, 41)

Ong describes verb motor cultures as cultures opposite to high-technology cultures. In verb motor cultures, courses of action and attitudes toward issues depend on the effective use of words and human interaction. In verb motor cultures, social groups and personal interaction

are important. While literal cultures favor introversion, objects, and private worlds; oral cultures favor extroversion, human beings and cohesion to groups. (Ong, 1982, 68-69)

Oral memorization is not always the same as literal memorization – by repetition, by verbatim. Instead, as Parry (1971) found out, hexameters in "The Iliad and Odyssey" were not made of word-units but of formulas, groups of words for dealing with traditional materials, each formula shaped to fit into a hexameter line. Whether oral memorization is based on verbatim or not, it is under social pressures. The narrator may change his story based on a listener's reactions. Oral memory differs from contextual memory in that it is somatic by nature. Orthodox Jews, for example, do body movements while reading the Talmud. (Ong, 1982, 66, 67)

Orality shows in world religions through their ceremonies and devotional lives. Larger world religions have printed sacred texts, which connect the sacred to the written world; however, in many religions the sacred texts are read during devotionals. In Christianity, God is always thought to speak to human beings. (Ong, 1982, 74-75)

The Bible includes several verses that encourage believers to memorize the Bible verses by heart. Jesus told his disciples a prayer they should always pray ("Our Father in Heaven..."). Similarly, in the literate religion of Islam, reading the Holy Koran and dictating the verses and saying prayers is important.

Texts turning into orality and back from orality to text happens in religious broadcasting – the Holy Bible was and still is read over the air, and in the past in areas where Bibles were once not available, audiences were known to convert the spoken word into print form by writing down the Bible dictation as it came over the airwaves.

In conclusion, the characteristics of orally based thought and expression relate to the unifying, centralizing, interiorizing economy of sound as perceived by human beings. A sound-dominated verbal economy is consonant with aggregative (harmonizing) tendencies rather than with analytic, dissecting tendencies. It is consonant also with the conservative

holism (the homeostatic present that must be kept intact), with situational thinking (again holistic, with human action at the center) rather than abstract thinking, with a certain humanistic organization of knowledge around the actions of human and anthropomorphic beings, interiorized persons, rather than around impersonal things. These characteristics are useful in looking at what happened to human consciousness when writing and print reduced the oral-aural world to a world of visualized pages. (Ong, 1982, 73, 74)

Broadcasters to oral people groups could benefit from incorporating the ideas of Havelock and Ong as they produce radio programs and materials for those who are primarily oral people groups. Since the written form is always a forced version of orality, would not it be best to produce as much as possible via live talk, or discussions, and avoid using written text? The focus group discussions of WIND-FM listeners showed the audience was interested in having more talk and talk-back programs, as quotes from the focus groups indicate: "elderly people are lonely. We need to listen to their memories and support them", "do talk-back with elderly people" "other FM stations talk about needless things. Do talk-back in the near future".

1.2 The literacy and writing molding human consciousness

Writing, print and computers – are all ways of technologizing the word (Ong, 1982, 80). Ong explains how writing is artificial; there are rules how the spoken word should be written, how “a” will represent certain phoneme, and “b” another, and their combination another. Ong thinks that technologizing is good for human beings; even though it is artificial, it enhances us. “Technologies are not mere exterior aids but also interior transformations of consciousness, and never more than when they affect the word....writing heightens consciousness.” (Ong 1982, 82)

Ong defines script as more than mere pictures of objects. Script is a representation of an utterance, of words that someone says or is imagined to say. The writer can determine the exact words that the reader will regenerate from the text. Writing moves speech from the

oral-aural to a new sensory world, that of vision; it transforms speech and thought as well. True writing restructures the human life world. (Ong 1982, 85)

It matters if the writing system is easy or difficult to acquire. Goody brings forth the Chinese script saying it is the most conservative of contemporary writing systems. Since it is complex, it is difficult to learn, and therefore only few could master it completely. It is elitist, and requires twenty years for mastery in writing and learning all the symbols – but its advantage is that all the various Chinese dialects can understand each other's writing, even though they cannot understand each other's speech. Out of 8000 logographic characters, you can manage to read popular literature with knowledge of only 1000 – 1500 characters. “The logographic script inhibited the development of a democratic literature culture; it did not prevent the use of writing for achieving remarkable ends in the spheres of science, learning and literature” (Goody, 1987, 64). The Chinese hanzi (or Han character) script spread to Korea and Japan, and it was also adopted in Vietnam, even so all these areas later on developed their own systems. (Goody, 1987, 37-38, 64; Ong 1982, 87-88)

Goody agrees with Lloyd (1979) that the new technique of adding vowels to consonant should not be our main focus – instead, we should look “at the uses of argument that characterized the judicial and political process” (Goody, 1987, 64) while we are evaluating the development of Greek science. Greek writing was easy, but more than that, the permissive atmosphere facilitated the development of science. The Greek writing was not in the hands of religious leaders or scribes, and the Greek society permitted freedom of expression and communication. More than Lloyd, Goody emphasizes the longer-term effects of communication by writing. (Goody, 1987, 65)

At first, writing was a special profession. It required special materials and special mechanical skills (clay, animal skins, chinks), which made writing difficult for ordinary people. But, when paper was invented, writing was simplified – paper manufacturing spread from China by the Arabs to the Middle East by the eighth century. It took four hundred more years before Europeans started using paper in the twelfth century. (Ong, 1982, 95)

“Persons whose world view has been formed by high literacy need to remind themselves that in functionally oral cultures the past is not felt as an itemized terrain, peppered with verifiable and disputed facts, or bits of information. It is the domain of the ancestors; a resonant source for renewing awareness of present existence, which itself is not an itemized terrain either. Orality knows no lists or charts or figures - oral drive wants to use formulas, to use balance (using subject-predicate-object instead of simple list of names), to use redundancy (names mentioned twice), to narrate.”(Ong 1982, 98, 99) In cultures with a high level of literacy, charts are used and they themselves represent many words.

Two special major developments in the West have been derived from and affect the interaction of writing and orality. These are Rhetoric and Learned Latin. They also show that the transition from orality to literacy was slow (Ong, 1982, 108, 115).

Rhetoric comes from the Latin word orator, which means public speaker. Rhetoric is the art of public speaking, of oral address for persuasion or exposition. For the Sophists of fifth century Greek, the rhetoric gave them a chance to prepare a perfect oral performance. Rhetorical teaching assumed that the aim of all discourse was to prove or disprove a point. Rhetoric retained much of the old oral feeling for thought and expression as basically agonistic and formulaic. With the exception of the literary style of female authors, the academic rhetoric style was strong until into the nineteenth century. (Ong, 1982, 110, 111)

Learned Latin was a direct result of writing. Between AD 550 and 700 the Latin spoken as a vernacular in various parts of Europe had evolved into early forms of Italian, Spanish, French and other Romance languages. Schooling and the discourse between Church and State were in Latin. Latin became the language of the educated, and male. Latin was completely controlled by writing, while the new Romance vernaculars developed orally. Nowadays all languages used for discourse are learnt orally and are also mother tongues, but during earlier times, several languages developed in Europe and Asia, which were all primarily literate (nobody's mother tongue) and male-oriented, and used by literate populations who wanted to share a common intellectual heritage (Ong, 1982, 114). Besides Learned Latin, there were Rabbinic Hebrew, Classical Arabic, Sanskrit, Classical Chinese,

and Byzantine Greek (Ong, 1977, 28-34). In Ong's opinion, this shows how writing is losing its power monopoly in today's world – even though it is still important.

The shift from oral to written speech is essentially a shift from sound to visual space. It was not so much writing, but print and the printing press that made literacy technological. In printing, each alphabet has a physical, separate entity. "Words are made of units (types) which pre-exist as units before the words which they will constitute. Print suggests that words are things far more than writing ever did" (Ong, 1982, 118). Manuscripts were still based on orality, manuscripts were not easy to read, and readers still relied on memory in recalling what was in manuscripts. Printed texts were easier to read and produce, they are consumer-oriented in comparison to manuscripts, which are producer-oriented (Ong, 1982, 122). Ong describes how print replaced the dominance of hearing with the dominance of sight in the world of thought. "Print situated words in space more relentlessly than writing ever did. Writing moves words from the sound world to a world of visual space, but print locks words into position in this space"(Ong, 1982, 121).

Printing had several effects. To mention a few, Ong lists indexes, books, contents and labels, meaningful surface and typographic space. Print removed the ancient art of orally based rhetoric from the center of academic education. Print reduced the appeal of iconography in the management of knowledge. Print produced dictionaries and fostered the desire to legislate for correctness in language. Print played a role in developing the sense of personal privacy that marks the modern society – books became smaller and more portable, people became owners of words. In the manuscript era, reading tended to be social activity, while in the print era, reading became private. Print culture created closed works – works that are final – analytical philosophic and scientific works such as catechism and the "textbook", which presented flat statements telling how things are in a certain matter. (Ong, 1982, 123-138)

Latin was considered as a language of the scholars, with emphasis on literacy, alphabets and the "eye". While the vernaculars were the language of ordinary people, emphasizing orality, sounds and the "ear". The conflict between the Eastern and the Western church

entrenched the position of Latin: - the East encouraged the Slavic liturgy, while in the West Rome insisted on using Latin.

Another scholar writing in broad sweeps is Harold Innis. "At Toulouse in 1229, the synod decreed that 'lay people shall not have books of scripture, except the Psalter and the divine office; and they shall not have these in the vulgar tongue.'" In spite of the policy of the Church, translations were made of portions of the Gospel, and to avoid persecution and to spread its influence, large portions were memorized by the lower classes that were unable to read (Innis, 1986, 129).

While the church gave a home or a nest for Latin, it was the Feudal courts that became the centers for literary activity in the vernaculars. The study of law in Italy became more popular than the study of theology. In H.M.Charwick's: *The Heroic Age* (Cambridge, 1926), Charlemagne ordered the preservation of vernacular literature which had been transmitted orally. He recognized it is of crucial importance to have books printed in a language that most people can understand, and after mastering that language, they can be taught in Latin. In France, patronage supported a rich troubadour literature, and therefore vernacular literature favored the growth of heretical writings.

Friars succeeded the monks. The Dominican and the Franciscan preaching orders were established to bridge the gap between the older monasticism and the vernacular. The Inquisition was developed to detect heresy easier and delay the collapse of the church. (Innis, 1986, 130)

Innis sees the spread of paper as the facilitator of weakening the position of the church in Europe. Earlier it was the parchment and monasteries that helped the church to build a monopoly. Monasteries were holding the power of educating the people. Paper supported the growth of trade, cities and education. The church was worried that with the spread of the vernaculars, the heresies would spread, and they would not even be able to check the content of the instruction. Institutions were designed to bridge the gap between the Church,

which emphasized Latin, and the demands of increasing literature in the vernacular, reflected in the spread of heresy. (Innis, 1986, 133)

Innis brings another example of the importance of print in relation to religion and bureaucracy coming from China. In China, paper and block printing were adapted to the demands of religion, as well as to the demands of bureaucracy. A bureaucratic administration, supported by complex script, implied limited possibilities to link oral and written tradition. Therefore, lower classes were attracted to the Buddhist charms and statues. Innis (1986, 136-137) parallels the development of writing material to the development of religion in China and India, as seen in table 2. During the period of the expansion of Macedonian Empire, the Buddhism spread to India based on spiritual factors, unlike in China, where the emphasis was on political bureaucratic development. In China, because of printing facilities, the religious development was connected with writing, while in India, with limited supplies of written texts, the oral tradition was important.

Table 2. Comparing the bias of paper in China and India (Innis, 1986, 136-137)

CHINA	INDIA
Paper and block printing	Limited supplies of writing material
Political bureaucratic development	Religious development
Demands of space	Concept of time
Bureaucrats supported complex alphabetical script	Brahmans held the oral tradition

1.2.1 The theory of Greek orality

Havelock stresses two separate theories: a special theory of Greek orality, and a special theory of Greek literacy. The Theory of Greek orality is necessary, because its transcription into the alphabet was a historically unique event. Unlike the Old Testament, the Greek story had no institutionalized priesthood and made no attempt to form a canon out of what was being inscribed.

Havelock calls the period in Europe, after the fall of Rome, craft-literacy – the clergy read the script, and they memorized and reported it to the public. Craft-literacy runs opposite to democracy – craft literacy promotes clergy and special groups, while democracy promotes all people learning to read, which therefore entails setting up educational systems for that purpose. (Havelock, 1982, 83)

Havelock uses the term "craft-literacy" referring to the period of time where the priests had been able to read literate documents and upon reading would then tell verbally from memory the tales or reports they had earlier read. Although there is no evidence they really had read documents, it is known that Herodotus, while gathering information from priests, noticed that priests "practiced memory" in recalling the information on the land and its people. (Havelock, 1982, 10, Strate, 2004, 14)

This period of craft-literacy lasted for about 150 years followed by until the period of semi-literacy, or recitation literacy in the sixth and fifth centuries (Havelock, 1982, 59).

During the period of craft-literacy in Greece, there was a major cultural transition from the word orally shaped and heard, and shared communally, to the word read followed by silence and solitude. Oral recitation and performance did not cease, but in the Greek experience they lost their overall priority, "high culture has become alphabetized or more correctly, alphabetization had become socialized. What was now written was not worse but different"(Havelock, 1982, 10).

The first beginnings of this cultural change, from oral with singing and a poetic life, to literacy with reading and a thinking life, occurred before the end of the fifth century, in the era of early Sophists. Havelock is of the opinion that the language of Iliad and Odyssey was not based on any prior system. He rejects the thesis that Linear of Mycenae has any relevance to the text of Homer. (Havelock, 1982, 11)

And still one more quote from Havelock (1982,17): "In oral societies, 'musical' ability, meaning the ability to improvise versification and accompaniment, is more widely distributed than in literate ones, and a vast body of oral 'lyric' must have circulated which

had ephemeral value. The scraps that we have; represent the work of those poets who were lucky enough to live late enough to be inscribed and whose manuscripts were deemed worthy of preservation. Their oral ancestry must have been as sophisticated as that of Homer. But because alphabetized, they entered the realm of 'literature'. It is absurd to supposed in the manner of histories of Greek literature that the forms of lyric were suddenly invented in all their perfection at the point where the Alexandrian canon begins in the seventh century B.C.”

Havelock places the invention of the alphabet to 776 B.C. when the first Olympics were held whereby the Greek alphabet was derived from the Phoenicians (Havelock, 1986, 83). With alphabets, it was possible to write the Homeric poems. "The written composition of Homer was truly composition and began to occur after 700 B.C.” (Havelock, 1982, 16). It took about two hundred years to finalize the script to make a flow of texts, since the oral influence was strong. And at first, the texts were considered as a continuation of oral practice. Poems contained orally conserved traditions, and they were present in the text, which means that the era of creative oral composition overlapped with the era of documentation, and reached its zenith precisely during that time of overlap. (Havelock, 1982, 16, 181)

Primary orality departed slowly from Greece – it can be determined by the degree to which the written storage language replaced the oral storage language. The primary orality storage is expressed in a complex of epic recitals, choric and ritual performances, dramatic enactments, and private songs "published” at symposia (Havelock, 1986, 88).

Havelock emphasizes there is partnership between oral and written up until the close of the fifth century (Havelock, 1982, 16). That means the performances were musical, and the compositions were oral and as such framed to be sung. The language is called "melic". Both elegiac and lyric were functional components of orally preserved communication.

In conclusion, the special theory of Greek orality requires the presumption that there was a period of resistance to use the alphabets after they were invented, firstly, the language and thought forms of primary orality considered as a storage technology lasted long after the

invention. Secondly, the character of high classic Greek literature cannot be understood apart from this fact. Orality was modifying itself to become a language of literacy (Havelock, 1986, 90).

The special theory of Greek orality requires us to recognize that the replacement from orality to literacy was slow. Orality was preserved in epic, didactic, lyric, choric and dramatic composition. (Havelock, 1986, 91, 92)

Greek literature was composed in verse, not in prose as a performance, and in the language of performance. And the audience echoed the performances in their daily speech – the society was not only entertained by the Greek classic theatre, it was supporting the theatre.

The didactic function of orality was evident in Greek choruses, which were a continual rehearsal of the lawful side of Greek life. The choruses were repeated many times, which made them easy to remember. "The dramatic festivals preserved the means by which primary orality controlled the ethos of its society through a repeated elocution of stored information, guidance preserved in living memories." (Havelock, 1986, 94)

Havelock describes Greek orality as the ceaseless flow of panorama. Even during the era of literacy, it continued its life. "The Muse, as she learns to write, had to turn away from the living panorama of experience and its ceaseless flow, but as long as she remained Greek, she could not entirely forget it" (Havelock 1986, 97).

1.2.2 The theory of Greek literacy

A special theory of Greek literacy involves the proposition that the way we use our senses and the way we think are connected, and that in the transition from Greek orality to Greek literacy the terms of this connection were altered with the result that thought patterns were also altered, and have ever since remained altered as compared with the mentality of oralism (Havelock, 1986, 98).

Ong lifts the Greek language above others, since it was the first writing system where the vowels were also written. In Semitic systems, only the consonants were used, which made it impossible, for a person who had not heard Hebrew or Arabic spoken, to know how to read a word. On the other hand, the Greek system had the vowels too, which later on has been noticed to favor left-hemisphere and analytical thinking (Kerckhove, 1981 in Ong 1982, 91). The Greek system is called "democratizing", since it is easier to learn, while the Chinese or Korean systems don't fit that profile since it can take until secondary school before a Korean is able to read the majority of literature in Korean. Later in this thesis, we deal with the ease of learning the Cyrillic system in contrast to learning the Uighur system among the Mongolians.

1.3 The relationship between orality and literacy

There are several perceptions as to how these basic realities of human culture have influenced one another. In the previous chapters, we dealt with the theory of Greek orality and the theory of Greek literacy. That is how Havelock in particular saw the relationship between orality and literacy – as two entities. There are altogether three distinct theories of how to approach the orality – literacy equation:

1. To see them as two separate entities. As two entities, there are two options in how orality and literacy relate to each other, either one dominating the other (Havelock), or being antagonistic to each other (Yeats).
2. To see them as slowly transforming from one technology of expression to another. Goody and Ong think there is transformation from orality to literacy, while Donaghue defines the fashion of transformation as "the transition from one technology of expression to another is never abrupt or immediate in its consequence" (Donaghue, 1996, 152).
3. Orality and literacy have interplay, or counter play with each other (Stock, 1990, 46, Cummings, 2003, 531-551).

For me, it seems logical to agree with Havelock's ideas and conclude that in the Finnish society of today, our main tendencies are either oral or literal – either spoken or written words for communication dominates our society. Finns are known to be eager newspaper readers, "information" and "research" are two areas I believe are important to us. Our forefathers were oral, while we are literal. Havelock describes the same thing saying "By the time it was Plato's turn to leave, in the middle of the fourth century, the Greek Muse had left the world of oral discourse and oral 'knowing' behind her. She had truly learnt to write, and to write in prose – and even to write in philosophical prose." (Havelock, 1986, 116)

With literacy, rather than relying solely on hearing and the ear, the act of the eye, the ability to see the written word, and having mastered a language to read and comprehend became important. In memory level, the use of writing released energies that were used for memorizing the oral contents. Modern technology has brought several media that requires the attention of eye – television and internet to name the most common, and new media has brought new devices for saving the written word. We might want to ask if there is anything left to memorize ourselves, since we are able to create reminders in mobile phones. I think it is a good thing to have reminders, however, my question is, are we using the extra released energy that we have available now that we do not need to occupy our brain with reminders which are taken care by electronics?

Ong uses the concept "growth of literacy out of orality" (Ong, 1982, 175). One way of describing this growth is narrative changing into a plotted story via writing, and in electronic age the plotted story deplots back to narratives, described by Ong in the following examples.

"In writing or print culture, the text physically bonds whatever it contains or makes it possible to retrieve any kind of organization of thought as a whole. In primary oral cultures, where there is no text, the narratives serves to bond thought more massively and permanently than other genres" (Ong, 1982, 141). Ong points to narrative as the most

important among all verbal forms, because it is behind many other art forms, even the most abstract.

"Knowledge and discourse come out of human experience, and the elemental way to process human experience is to give an account of it more or less as it really comes into being and exists, embedded in the flow of time. Developing a story line, a narrative, is a way of dealing with the flow of time" (Ong, 1982, 140). Narrative is more functional in primary oral cultures. The narrative does not follow a linear plot, which is a common thread for epics and novels, but there is always some equivalent of a story line. In the oral world, you could not document the various episodes of historical events, for example the Trojan War. You had certain segments of the story, and you would organize them in your memory as you told the story, not always in chronological order. Sometimes in narratives the epic poet might get side tracked and expound on a particular subject and thus end up perhaps describing something, like the shield decorations of a soldier. The epic poet is good when 1) the episodic structure is the only way to tell the narrative 2) the poet knows how to manage flashbacks and other episodic techniques (Ong, 1982, 144).

Ong asks, "What are the effects of literacy and print on the plotting of narrative?" (Ong, 1982, 147) One effect is that the text writer, the author, becomes familiar with his texts, reading them over and over again, and then learns to evaluate what is written and after going through them many times the narrative is improved. Slowly, in this process, the plot is being created. Due to the increased conscious efforts, the story line develops tighter and tighter and the climatic structures replace the old oral episodic plot. The other effect is the voice of the narrator becomes the voice of the writer. But, with printing, the words will be locked into space, creating a firm sense of closure. The print world gave birth to the novel. (Ong, 1982, 148)

And continuing with Ong; "The very reflectiveness of writing – enforced by the slowness of writing process as compared to oral delivery as well as by the isolation of the writer as compared to the oral performer – encourages the growth of consciousness out of unconscious... Writing as has been seen, is essentially a consciousness-raising activity....In

recent decades, as typographic culture has been transmuted into electronic culture, the tightly plotted story has fallen out of favor as too 'easy' (that is too fully controlled by consciousness) for author and reader. Avant-garde literature is now obliged to de-plot its narratives or to obscure their plots. But de-plotted stories of the electronic age are not episodic narratives. They are impressionistic and imagistic variations on the plotted stories that preceded them." (Ong, 1982, 150-151)

The shift from orality to literacy is not only one-way transformation. Ong talks about secondary orality, paralleling the use of the telephone, radio, television, sound tapes and electronic technology as resembling the old, first orality, which emphasized social aspects, participation, fostering communal sense and concentration on the present moment. Like primary orality, secondary orality generates a group sense. But secondary orality generates a sense for groups larger than those of primary oral culture – McLuhan's global village. (Ong, 1982, 136)

Donaghue defines Ong's secondary orality as a superficial orality: conditions provided by electronic technology are similar to those of primary orality, but they are superficial. "They are similar in that the events we witness are oral, and are suffused by oral elucidation, but they are different, in that TV merely mimes orality, displays simulations of spontaneity, and pretends to show social formations as open and permeable" (Donaghue, 1996, 157).

In transformation from orality to literacy, Donaghue emphasizes the technology of expression. "For many centuries after the invention of script – about 3500 BC in Egypt and Mesopotamia, about 700 BC in Greece – it appears that manuscripts were mainly prepared as transcripts of sounds, like scores for modern music, or as imitative allusions to physical objects...Near the end of Plato's Phaedrus Socrates raises the question of writing, as distinct from speaking, as he quotes the Egyptian god Thamus as saying that the invention of script damages the power of memory in those who write." Socrates goes even further saying that script is more like a painting: since it cannot take part in dialogue, it has nothing to say, and writing is good only when you need to remind yourself about something. The only true writing is written into one's soul. (Donaghue, 1996, 149)

If in the Socrates' era they saw script as a painting, the Middle Ages saw the script as an objective, stable, enduring piece of text. The Middle Ages assumed reality to be fully described by knowledge, and knowledge was achievable by science. The subject was distinct from object – in the same as writing or a literate piece is separate from the “self”. (Donaghue, 1996, 151)

The consequences of transforming from orality to literacy were also the move from custom and tradition to law, from oral promise to a written contract, the designation of a noble family by genealogy rather than by the scale of its local affiliations (Donaghue, 1996, 151).

Donaghue reminds us that the most liked works of literature are those pieces that acknowledge the orality they have transcended. Benjamin Franklin was a printer, but the sentences he wrote have their origin in rhetorical tradition, still predicated on the oral persuasion of person to person, preacher to congregation. (Donaghue, 1996, 157)

Donaghue is not fatalist in terms of media – he concludes his article with Michael de Certeau's argument: even though at any given moment a particular system of power is in place, still people engage in local ruses and tactics, practices that are opportunistic, inventive trickery. Even though in the electronic age we are powerless, we still can practice diversionary exercises, tactics of evasion, the skill of detecting simulacra presented to us as real. (Donaghue, 1996, 158)

Ong wants to avoid using the word "media", as described by "sender-recipient box". Communication is depicted too simplistic in that model. To communicate inter-subjectively, a person has to be able to "enter" the mind of the other person. In Ong's opinion, this is easier in oral cultures, where the other person is present. In writing, the writer needs to be aware of the literary tradition of the people he or she is writing to. (Ong, 1982, 176-177)

In his book "The Interface between the Written and the Oral" Goody points out how writing is the facilitator of science. Writing makes it possible to analyze and evaluate the texts. In

oral communication, you do not have the same advantage – you cannot systematize knowledge the same way you can organize it in written texts. In the oral world, the many misses tend to get forgotten in favor of the occasional hits – memory brings forth favorable items (Goody, 1987, 69). Goody points out the Greek achievement needs to be seen in the context of other achievements to systematize knowledge: “In respect of certain of these achievements, writing was the *sine qua non*. It made possible a special kind of debate, not I think based exclusively on a particular political system, nor upon a clash of cultures in a general sense, but upon the framed opposition of theories set on paper, which permitted a different form of scrutiny, the analysis of text. Writing also renders forms of contradiction and proof explicit – though processes themselves are certainly present in oral societies. And it only makes possible a particular type of formalized proof (e.g. Modus Tollens); it also accumulates and records these proofs (and what they prove) for future generations and for further operations.”(Goody, 1987, 77)

Goody (1987, 59-61) talks about the relationship between oral and literate. He says the shift from oral to literate is not a simple binary shift – you cannot switch from oral to literate by one click. Instead, there is a sequence of changes that have to be defined in terms of the means of communication and the mode of communication. Besides the technological organization, each society has its social organization and its ideology that "may inhibit or favor the adoption of a specific technology, the realization of its full potential and the opportunity for its further development "(Goody, 1987, 59).

In Greece, "plurality may have helped to formulate a mode of discourse that allowed different areas to be discussed in the same terms without necessary recourse to ultimate values" (Baines, 1983, 592). In addition to speculation (in the spirit of freedom), you needed to have writing to develop science.

To illustrate the third point; the view that orality and literacy have interplay with each other, I will refer to Cummings' article. Cummings suggests orality and literacy are not two separate entities, or that cultures would develop from orality to literacy. He criticizes the Goody and Watt's article "The Consequences of Literacy", as well as Ong's book "Orality

and Literacy", concluding that the *Great Divide* theory of orality and literacy does not fit the Asian cultures.

Using the Makassarese people in Indonesia as an example, Cummings states that orality and literacy have interplay, or counter play with each other. In his opinion, we should talk about literacies instead of literacy – for example, "the Makassarese-language historical literacy of early modern South Sulawesi is but one literacy. Malay or Arabic literacy on the same place and time may have differed considerably in its character and dynamics" (Cummings, 2003, 534).

Cummings refers to several authors on the interplay of "oral" and "literate" in the Indonesian context (George, 1992; Sears, 1996). Oral performances and written texts are circulating in the flux of communication that is formed by power relations, social structures and cultural contexts. Cummings noted the work of Lutgendorf, "Once we appreciate that the text is experienced orally, or aurally during performances, and not through the Western style of reading a text as literature, then it becomes possible to understand the intimate and seamless interplay of text and oral commentary – a relationship that we might profitably suggest by such paired terms as 'seed' and 'manifestation', 'theme', and 'improvisation' or even 'blueprint' and 'realization' "(Lutgendorf 1991). Cummings concludes: "Oral and written histories, however, did not always confront either explicitly or implicitly. More often they addressed each other from a careful distance, held in tension through an ongoing interplay of assertion and denial as each sought the upper hand." Cummings also concludes that it is impossible to point to how oral and literate historical traditions related. "Oral and written histories collectively produced a world in which the past infused the present by providing the stories, claims, and expectations with which Makassarese created their communities, identities and ultimately their social world, but they did not always do so together." (Cummings, 2003, 548)

1.3.1 Orality and literacy in religion

Harold Innis sees interplay in between the language, the religion and the nationhood. In the world history, they seem to be interwoven. Even though trade and trade routes have been important in facilitating the spread of languages and religions, and nations becoming aware of each other; Innis seems generally to downplay trade and consumerism (Godfrey, 1986, 172).

As for the European situation, Godfrey brings up two main themes from Innis – the position of the church and the position of languages. Innis sees the spread of paper as the facilitator of weakening the position of church. Earlier it was the parchment and monasteries that helped the church to build a monopoly. Monasteries were holding the power of educating the people. Paper supported the growth of trade, cities and of education. (Innis, 1986, 130)

The Church worried that with the spread of vernaculars, the heresies would spread, and the content of instruction could not be checked. Institutions were designed to bridge the gap between the Church, which emphasized Latin, and the demands of increasing literature in the vernacular, reflected in the spread of heresy. Dominicans and Franciscans tried to keep people on the right path by preaching in the vernacular. Referring to Max Weber (Essays in Sociology, 1946), Innis points out that "literature, supported by the patronage of the courts, reinforced the position of the vernacular in the poetry of the troubadours and in the work of writers as Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio and Chaucer. In contrast with the significance of celibacy in the Church, the importance of women in the courts favored a vernacular literature "(Innis, 1986, 133).

Among the Protestants during the 1500s, the Bible, when the book became freely available, replaced the priest. Martin Luther started the Reformation, which emphasized the reading of the Bible by each individual. The Bible was translated into the vernaculars, and printed by the newly invented printing press; the knowledge was made accessible in many languages. However, in the Catholic Church, the role of priest remained essential in

mediating the word of God. The situation can be compared to the Brahmins of India - the role of priest being essential in mediating the word of god. Even today, only the Brahmins are allowed to read the Vedas. The written word is not dependent upon the book. The priest has access to the holy writings as well as to the gods. Goody concludes that Vedic recitations represent an interface between written tradition of composition and an oral tradition of transmission. (Goody, 1987, 119, 125)

"The stress on oral transmission has important consequences for spiritual instruction. As well as emphasizing the necessary role of the guru as intermediary, it acknowledges the validity of Platonic fears about the inadequacies of written communication." (Goody 1987, 120) The perfect knowledge of the written word was acquired once the learner was able to reproduce out of his mouth, verbatim, parrot-fashion, the knowledge that he had internalized, and made part of himself. (Goody, 1987, 120)

Goody (1987, 126) also deals with the coming of Islamic literacy, and then of European literacy, to West Africa and how they impacted the local societies. Even though writing had developed in North Africa as early as the third millennium B.C., it was finally the coming of Islam in 1000 AD that brought a form of literacy to parts of West Africa. It needs to be emphasized that literacy in the Arabic language did not always mean that the Holy Book of Islam was understood when it was read – sometimes the Arabic script was only repeated, and the meaning remained hidden since the language was not generally understood. By and large the adaptation of the Arabic script to local languages was not encouraged. The only exception is Hausa in northern Nigeria in the eighteenth century. At the same time, the Protestant missionaries in particular promoted using the Roman script for writing down the vernaculars, so that people would be able to read the Bible in their own tongue. (Goody, 1987, 126)

Goody notes the impact of Islamic literacy on the oral cultures of Africa. He groups the West African cultures as literates and non-literates (in opposition to literates and illiterates). His point being that non-literacy refers to societies which are aware of written text, but where literacy is limited in its use and limited in its extent. In West African societies, non-

literate did not have the same status as illiterate in a contemporary Western society. Non-literate and literate enjoyed the same prestige; neither was more prestigious than the other. "In the kingdoms of northern Ghana, for example, chiefs rarely possessed the skills of reading and writing which were associated with the Muslim estate whose members sometimes acted as secretaries to the rulers" (Goody, 1987, 126).

Furthermore, Goody (1987, 161) writes : "Written religion implies stratification. The written word belongs to the priest, the learned man, and is enshrined in ritualistic religion: the oral is the sphere of the prophet, of ecstatic religion, of messianic cults, of innovation. For it is one of the contradictions of the written word that at one level it restricts and at another encourages innovatory action. The two different paths to knowledge we noted in oral societies become increasingly separate; the conflict between priest and prophet, between church and sect, is the counterpart of the fixed text and the fluid utterance" (Goody, 1987, 161).

Since later I will focus on Mongolia, it is best to try to understand what role literacy has played in the development of Buddhism. The main religion of Mongolia is Tibetan Buddhism.

1.3.1.1 Buddhism turning from oral to literate tradition

The spread of Buddhism was enhanced by the wide gap in the social classes – a gap which separated the governing from the lower classes. On the one hand the Brahmins held a monopoly as they controlled Vedic literature and were quite prolific in making profound literary achievements in many genres including epic stories, systems of philosophy and theoretical treatises on fine arts and music; it was the lower classes, on the other hand, who had little choice but to remain loyal to the oral tradition. The power of the oral tradition, controlled by a priestly class in India, had resisted the spread of Buddhism not only through the spoken word but in the literate form as well, but after Alexander the Great, both spread rapidly with the encouragement of King Ashoka of India. He converted to Buddhism in 260 BC, giving up all warfare and violence. Ashoka's ambitious zeal for Buddhism converted

the Indian Buddhist sect into a world religion. Ashoka developed Gautama's doctrines, which were philosophical and atheist in essence. As a result, Buddhist doctrines were canonized during a Buddhist gathering held in Paliputra in 240 BC. (Innis, 1986, 124)

After Buddha's death, his followers had to decide how to preserve his teaching to future generations, and how to interpret his teachings in order to uphold the rules of the discipline. Councils (samgitis) were held to help prevent disputes. But it was during the second such council in Vaisali, the controversy resulted in a schism, whereby two parties were formed with their own individual views – democratic and orthodox. The first mentioned were called the Mahasamghika, and the second the Theravadins. (Finnegan, 1953, 2)

The earliest written texts of the Buddhist religion were first composed in the Pali language, an Indic dialect descended from Vedic Aryan. The Pali canonical literature, also called Tipitaka, contains three major groups of Buddhist writings. The first part, called also Vinayapitaka or Discipline Basket, contains rules and regulations for the Buddhist orders of monks and nuns. The second part, Suttapitaka or Discourse Basket, contains sermons, sayings, dialogues of the Buddha and his disciples. Suttapitaka also contains the most important works of Buddhist poetry. Finally, the third basket, named Abhidhammapitaka or Basket of Higher Expositions presents the Suttapitaka in a questions and answers form. (Finnegan, 1952, 236-242)

Pali literature belongs to a sect of Buddhism which adherents gave the name Theravada or Song of the Elders, meaning they are the immediate disciples of Buddha. Another canon was born, and it belonged to the Sarvastida School of Buddhism. This canon was written in Sanskrit language. Even though the Sarvastida school canon had only few fragments of manuscripts, comparisons between these two canons show that they derive from the same source, probably the Magadhi canon. During the rule of Kanishka, who lived in the northwest India during the time of the Kushan kings in the second century A.D., the three Pitakas were thoroughly explained and commentated by Buddhist scholars. At this same time, Buddhism began to spread to Central Asia, through Buddhist texts which were translated into Chinese. King Kanishka's idea was to put together a permanent record of

Buddhist writings. The commentaries, altogether 300,000 verses, were inscribed on copper sheets and enclosed in a stone receptacle, also known as "stupas" and "Buddhist reliquary mounds". (Ebrey, Walthall & Palais, 2006, 67, 69; Finegan, 1952, 278-279)

Even though King Kanishka sought to stop the quarrels between Buddhist sects, at that time the main cleavage of Buddhism took place: the Buddhists divided into what became known as Hinayana and Mahayana Buddhism. According to Hinayana or The Little Vehicle, only a few people are able to reach the Nirvana, while in Mahayana or the Great Vehicle, salvation is offered to all humanity. During King Kanishka's time, two individuals, Asvaghosha and Nagarjuna, were important in systematizing the Buddhist doctrines. Asvaghosha was a poetic author, while Nagarjuna was a monk-philosopher. Of later Mahayana philosophers, Finegan brings out Asanga and Vasabandhu. With the growth of Mahayana, Buddhism became a religion for a lay people as well as for monks. (Ebrey et. al, 2006, 69; Finegan, 1952, 280)

At the time of the rising of Mahayana Buddhism, writing developed. Literacy disrupted the continuation of the oral tradition. The access to knowledge was changed from the oral- and aural-world to a visual world. The change may sound simple, but it was a serious challenge among the monks who worked to establish authority and legitimacy via word. Reciting the exact sayings and words of the Buddha had given the monks authority and legitimacy. Writing was seen as a danger, since it was believed that only the Buddha's speech could present the Dharma. In early Buddhist tradition, the written word was seen simply as an instrumental vehicle for the spoken word. However, the writing down of the sutras had an important effect on the character of Mahayana. First of all written texts were essential to the survival of the tradition, secondly, written sutras became targets of worship as such, and thirdly, writing contributed to a restructuring of knowledge in such a way that vision, rather than hearing became the important mode of access to knowledge in Mahayana Buddhism. (McMahan, 1998, 249-251, 273)

Innis (1986, 124), writes: "In China, Buddhism found an efficient medium of communication in paper and an emphasis on the importance of knowledge of writing.

Characters were cut in reverse on wooden blocks, reproduced on paper in large quantities, and sold as charms. With this advance in printing, attempts were made to reproduce the classics cut in stone by making ink rubbings on very thin transparent paper for impressions on wood. The enormous labor involved in cutting large numbers of woodcuts for single pages implied state support on generous scale." And: "The oral tradition of China was handicapped by large number of dialects, but it was facilitated by a relatively simple script which could be understood throughout the empire, and this bridged enormous gaps. The emphasis on space concepts in imperial organization implied a neglect of time concepts and an inability to solve dynastic problems. Domination of the Mongols from 1280 to 1368 suggested the limitations of political organization, but also the advantages of a tenacious language."

"Translating Buddhist texts into Chinese helped Buddhism spread throughout East Asia; not only did these texts come to circulate throughout China, but they also became basis for Korean and Japanese schools of Buddhism. The Buddhism that reached Japan, for instance, was filtered through Central Asian, Chinese, and Korean lenses" (Ebrey et al., 2006, 70).

1.3.1.2 Buddhism and Mongolia

Even though they lacked a written Buddhist canon in their own language until the 17th century, Mongols favored Buddhists over Confucians. In general, Mongols were open to all kinds of religious experts – in addition to Buddhists; Mongols encountered Daoists, Muslims and Christians. European popes sent envoys to Mongol courts hoping Mongols would come to their side in conflict with Muslim forces in the Holy Land. Popes were also looking for any Nestorian Christians in Central Asia who were cut off from the West by the spread of Islam. (Ebrey et al., 2006, 232)

When a Franciscan monk, Vilhelms av Ruysbroeck, visited Chingiz Khan in 1254 asking him about his views on God, Khan explained..."*We Mongols believe, that there is one God, through which we live and die, and before Him we have a true heart ... may He grant this, because without His gift this cannot be ...But as God has given the hand several fingers, He*

has given men several ways. He has given you the Scripture, and you Christians do not keep it. There, you do not notice it said that one man shall find faults with another - or do you?" (Charpantier, 1919, 252)

Chingiz Khan ordered the Mongol language to be written as Uighur script and in doing so the Mongol laws, customs, and other rules were saved in written form. Mongols used clerks (usually literate Uighurs) without a classical education, and set up a civil service examination in 1315, which ensured that at least half of those who passed should be non-Chinese and Mongols. Khubilai Khan gave exceptional power to a Tibetan cleric, Yang Lianjianjia, who converted the Song palaces into temples, and built new Buddhist temples. (Ebrey et al., 2006, 228, 232, 245)

Until the 17th century the religious language was in Tibetan only, and the literate monks could write the Holy Tibetan sentences onto big stones next to religious sites known as "ovoos". The "ovoos" exist in the Mongolian countryside even today to witness the thankfulness that travelers have shown towards Heaven for their safe journey. (Granö, 1921, 314)

The "ovoos", as well as stone etchings can be classified as iconographic symbols, even though much more simplified than the Buddhist statues or paintings. Before religious writings, the stones were used by nomads as drawing tables. Typically the pictures depicted mountain goats and moose. Stones were also used to mark gravesites, and were sculptured in the shape of a human being, with the face looking towards the east. (Granö, 1921, 477, 479)

It was not until the 18th century that the Lamaist Buddhist canon was translated into the Mongolian language, during the era of Qianlong as emperor (r. 1736-1795). Qianlong saw the importance of having the ability to speak fluently in the language of the people, and particularly to know the political and religious terms of the people being ruled. The emperor Qianlong himself knew several languages, and he compiled several multilingual dictionaries. (Ebrey et. al, 2006, 320)

One hundred years after emperor Qianglong's time a Finnish researcher, G.J.Ramstedt, in his travel book about Mongolia, describes how the priests' literature was in the Tibetan language, and very few priests knew even how to read the old Mongolian writing. The everyday Mongolian language being spoken differed tremendously from the old language used during the days of Chingiz-Khan. Only a few lamas knew how to read the literature in the old Mongolian language. Ramstedt describes how the old Mongolian language differed from the everyday dialect so much, that it was close to the difference between Latin and French, and therefore the lay people were unable to read the Buddhist Sutras. (Ramstedt, 1944, 36, 43, 55)

This being the case the Buddhist religion was internalized by the monks, but not by ordinary people. Or, a Mongol could be a monk and yet not really understand the deep religious meaning of monkhood. Ramstedt describes his acquaintance, a young Mongolian lama called Namsarai, who had a wife and a four-year old son...Namsarai had indeed been to monastery, and even learnt ceremonies by heart, but summertime he had wandered everywhere, since his father had many horses (Kajanto, 1999, 87).

The importance of iconography in Buddhism is evident from this description of Johannes Granö visiting the Mongolian trading city of Kobdo, which otherwise was a simple two-street city: "Being on a walk one day, I ended up near a light structured Buddhist temple at the south end of the main street. It was the most beautiful building of Kobdo, well decorated. The temple door was open with no guards. I opened the door and entered to a small, dim room. In the middle of it, stood golden, nicely dressed picture of Buddha, with an incense vessel. The big Buddha was surrounded by small photos of Buddha, painted white and gold. Also the walls and the ceiling with lanterns were decorated with paintings." (Granö, 1921, 496)

1.3.2 Conclusive remarks on orality and literacy

I chose to look at the orality-literacy dynamic since in radio, and in Mongolia, the background is that of word and sound, and oral culture. We started this chapter by describing the sound. Orality and literacy are not positioned only in terms of oral and literate communication, but also in terms of their effect on our thought patterns and on the way we relate to each other and society as a whole.

Innis brings forth the view that orality, literacy and writing are interwoven in the development of religion and bureaucracy, while Havelock's theories of a special theory of Greek orality and a special theory of Greek literacy emphasize the cultural transition orally shaped and heard to word read. Mongolia's situation could be placed under either case, since Buddhism played a part in writing the doctrines down, however Havelock's theory would fit well with Mongolia's nomads.

Mongolian society is based on community, belonging to the family. Nomads lived as a family in gers; each member had its role, women setting up the gers, men taking care of the horses. Evenings were spent at the fire, telling stories. To me it looks like the Mongols as a nation has during its history been in between three languages – at first; in-between the Tibetan language, which was a written language and related to religion, and the Mongolian language, which was the spoken language of people. Later, it was the Russian language, and the Cyrillic alphabet, which dressed the Mongolian language into a new writing form.

The Mongolian writing system went through a transition from Uighur text to Cyrillic alphabet. Such a change should affect the ability of the nation to express itself, and to form its self-consciousness. I agree with Ong in that even though both orality and literacy are necessary for the evolution of self-consciousness, it is the writing which raises consciousness. It is the analyzing, reflecting and reorganizing of the media message that moves a person or a society to internalize its values and moral codes.

Gronbeck sees Havelock as playing with the relationship between communication modes (orality, literacy), memory (linguistically engaged, whether aphoristically or propositionally), and social-political change (understood both in individuated and institutional ways). (Gronbeck, 2000, 35) These same attributes are represented in this thesis, as we begin, in this chapter, to explore the development of communication in the early history of Mongolia, move in the next chapter to evaluate the relationship of media and religion before the 20th century, and follow that with a look at the methods of communication enlisted by the Soviets to facilitate the prospect of bringing socio-political change to Mongolia in the 20th century.

2 THE HISTORY OF MEDIA AND RELIGION IN MONGOLIA

Across the world, media has been tied to the development of religion, simply because religion has consistently been a common bond holding groups of people or cultures together. Since media has been the means by which religious leaders promulgated their doctrines, both media and religion developed hand-in-hand. Scholars point out that religions were maintained, and spread, depending on the emphasis at the time, whether through orality or literacy. At first, religious texts were read, memorized and chanted. But once the tools for writing were developed, it became necessary to record the oral teachings via text, whether as manuscripts, or books. In media ecology, Innis and Eisenstein in particular hold the view that the development of media is tied to the spread of religions. While Eisenstein concentrates mainly on the printing press and the development of protestantism (Eisenstein, 1979), Innis deals with the developments of media in other religions as well. (Godfrey, 1986)

In this chapter, I propose to show not only the history of the development of religion in Mongolia but also how the use of media, in terms of alphabets, has also been used historically in Central Asia as a tool for power. At times it is religion which has been promulgated through the use of media; at other times it is political power or will that has been effective in bringing about change through the use of media in Central Asia. While in fact the development of media has facilitated the spread of religions, for example the printing press made it possible to print bibles, and printed manuscripts helped to preserve the main teachings of Buddhism, leaders in the Soviet Union utilized the changing of the alphabets as a means to either isolate or incorporate neighbors or satellites. In the case of Mongolia, the purpose was to facilitate Mongolian acceptance of Russian influences.

2.1 Buddhism before entering Mongolia

During Buddha's time, all teaching was imparted orally and retained in memory. The subjects of study in the Samghas, in Monastic Orders, were knowledge of time reckoning, Buddhist legends, moral fables and basic tenets. Congregational recitations (samgiti) reinforced what had been taught. It was with the influence of the rise of Mahayana Buddhism that literary activities became important. (Finegan, 1952, 123)

During the Gupta era, all phases of Indian civilization grew, including Buddhism. The Gupta rulers favoured both Brahmanism as well as Buddhism. The popularity of both forms of Buddhism was based on the literacy works... "Among the Hinayanists, Abhidharma and Vinaya books were revered just as Prajna texts were revered by the Mahayanis" (Finegan, 1952, 8).

As well as the other art forms, the Gupta period is particularly known for the Buddhist paintings which flourished abundantly during that time period. Especially Mahayana Buddhism enhanced the Buddha image as the central figure of popular Buddhism. (Finegan, 1952, 358)

Finegan also maintains how the emphasis in Buddhist education was spiritual realization attainment, which in turn leaves little space for the attainment of literary and intellectual skills in education. Finegan acknowledges literacy was emphasized as far as the preservation of the tradition and doctrine... "The custom of holding philosophical conferences and doctrinal debates among the sectarians of the same system, or among the votaries of rival philosophies and religious systems, contributed not only to the growth of critical philosophy and logic, but also resulted in transforming monasteries as active centres of education, learning and literary activity" (Finegan, 1952, 126).

The third Paliputra council, around 250 B.C., was held to determine the teachings of Buddha and to prevent the heresies. Emperor Ashoka initiated the Buddhist doctrine in such a manner and on such a scale that it is beyond comparison in the history of world

religions. "Ashokan ideals of piety" was shared later by emperor Harsa in the seventh century (Joshi, 1967, 24). During Ashoka's time Buddhism emerged as a distinct religion with great potentials for growth and expansion. During one generation Buddhist teachers were sent systematically to various parts of India, particularly to the Southern part of the Peninsula, going as far as the island of Ceylon and after that to Northern Central Asia as far as to China and the East Indian Archipelago. In particular, Ashoka's missionary work pushed the spread of Buddhism from India to the West, across the Indus River, and up to areas within Persia and even further on into the Mediterranean countries of Syria and Egypt; his efforts included areas which Alexander the Great had conquered one hundred years earlier. This came about despite the fact that in both South and South East Asia the typical stream of religious movement had been from West to East. (Finegan, 1952, 2, Malk, 2002, 30-57)

Mahayana Buddhism (Great Vehicle) became the "literal and cultural" form of Indian Buddhism, while Hinayana Buddhism (Little Vehicle) referred to the ancient form of Buddhism (Finegan, 1952, 2). "The growth of Mahayana seems to have resulted in a visible approach to Hinduism. Image-worship and bhakti became common features of Mahayanism and Hinduism. Since the Mahayana Buddhism became so popular, the Brahmanical Puranas, or religious texts, and Dharmasastras, or Sanskrit texts, started a process of modifying and transforming old Brahmanical doctrines and practices with a view to countering the power and popularity of Buddhism." (Finegan, 1952, 6, Joshi, 1967, 6)

The Prajnaparamita group of literature contains the fundamental ideas of Buddhist doctrine, representing Mahayana Buddhism. The main Mahayana sutras were systematized by philosopher Nagarjuna and his successors during the first century B.C. For literary purposes, Sanskrit and Buddhist Sanskrit were adopted. All in all there are over one hundred sutras. The Mahayana Sutras popularised the devotional and liturgical texts and rituals. (Finegan, 1952, 3 -6, Narain, 1964, 315)

Finegan explains one of the reasons for the popularity of Mahayana Buddhism was that it made little difference between the lay people (upsaka) and the monks (bhiksu). While in Hinduism, the situation was the opposite; and, according to Innis, it was the wide gap between the governing and the lower classes that facilitated the spread of Buddhism from India. The Brahmans, with their Veda knowledge and their power in oral tradition, were set apart from the lower classes which were drawn to Buddhism through the writing. The emphasis of writing, rather than that of the oral tradition, was appealing to China, since the relatively simple script could be understood throughout the empire, bridging several gaps. (Finegan, 1952, 6, Innis, 1986, 124)

Some cities, like Sinkiang and regions like Kucha have Buddhist sculptures and paintings dating back to the fourth through the eighth centuries A.D. In China, in a city called Tuhwang, at the end of the Great Wall, a treasure was found; there were Buddhist paintings on silk, linen and paper, and few specimens of embroidered pictures. All these paintings are about various Bodhisattvas and are important objects of devotion in the Mahayana Buddhism, and show the importance of images connected to Mahayana Buddhism. (Finegan, 1952, 309)

Buddhism started to decline in India in the seventh and the eighth centuries, with the moral and spiritual degeneration of the Buddhist monks and nuns. Finegan mentions that in a number of literary works Buddhist monks and nuns were represented as active participants in political, military and matrimonial affairs. Finegan sees the Mahayana's emphasis on image worship, prayers and incantations, pompous ceremonies and rituals, and incorporating folk beliefs, as well as giving room for emotional demands of laity, actually made it closer to Hinduism. So in the end, lay people could see no difference between Mahayana Buddhism and Hinduism. (Finegan, 1953, 305, 309)

The weakening of Macedonia as a power was followed by the decline of Buddhism and its migration to central Asia and beyond; therefore India was not really influenced by Buddhism. Brahmans, the so-called desired spiritual level of attainment in Hindu society,

invited the inroads of Islam, which was successfully accompanied by its alphabet and access to supplies of paper. (Innis, 1986, 124, Malk, 2002, 30-57, SarDesai, 1997, 20)

As Islam continued spreading into China early on via Muslim immigrants, according to Muslims' own accounts, tens of thousands of Muslims lived in coastal towns in southern China as early as the 7th century, and to some extent in the nation's capital of Shanghai. Even so, Chinese sources date the Muslim arrival in China back to the 12th century, to the era of the Yuan dynasty. Entering China, for the Muslims of Central Asia, was made possible through Mongolia's expeditions of conquest in China's border areas. These open borders made travel possible all the way from the Pacific Ocean to the Mediterranean, and to the North as far as the Baltic Sea. Muslims were actually spreading Islam as they travelled along the Silk Road to the East following in the steps of the conquering Mongols. Another reason for the Muslim influence in China was the fact that Muslims favoured Mongols, both as soldiers and as officials, and brought them to China. In those days Muslims working alongside Mongols rose to attain powerful influential positions. This led initially to an increase in Islam's expansion in China, but later caused Muslims to be looked upon negatively by the Chinese; the Muslims were seen as having originally entered the country with the Mongol invaders. (Malk, 2002, 30-57)

2.2 History of the Mongols

The home of the Tartars, as the Mongols are called in many sources, is described as an immense valley with the land of Khitai (=Northern China), in the west with the country of Uighur, in the north with the Qirqiz (=Kirghiz Turks living in Upper Jenisei region) and the river Selengei and in the south with the Tangut (Tangut people were Tibetan origin and had founded their kingdom in North-Western China) and the Tibetans. (Guwaini, 2003, 20-21)

"Before the appearance of Chingiz-Khan they had no chief or ruler. Each tribe or two tribes lived separately; they were not united with one another, and there was constant fighting and

hostility between them. Some of them regarded robbery and violence, immorality and debauchery as deeds of manliness and excellence" (Guwaini, 2003, 21).

Linguistically, Mongols are categorized under the Altaic people group, together with Kalmyks (also called Oirats) and Buryats. Kalmyks live in the land between Altai and Tien-san, in the southern valley of Tien-san, and the northern border of Tibet. Several Kalmyks also live in the lower course of the river Volga since the 17th century. Buryats, live in the eastern, southern and western side of Lake Baikal. All these people groups are nomads, except for the Buryats who started to cultivate the land. (Harva, 1933, 8)

According to Harva (1933), Chingiz-Khan's wife was Nestorian, open to other religious views too, and did not put down anybody based on religion, which probably influenced Chingiz-Khan (1162-1227). His follower, Kublai, however, favored the doctrine of Buddhism (1260-1294). Harva explains that once the Mongol power fell in China in 1368, the influence of Buddhism also lost its purpose until the 17th century when Buddhism arose again in the form of Lamaism, and found supporters among Mongols as well as the Kalmyks. According to Harva (1933), it was Kalmyks that first chose Dalai-Lama as their spiritual leader, in their war trips to Tibet. With the help of powerful mission work, Lamaism spread into all layers of society, until pagan sacrifices were forbidden by fine or punishment. For political reasons, the old customs were tolerated, once the philosophy behind them was converted to confirm the new religion. Slowly, the "black faith" or shamanism of Mongols and Kalmyks was put aside and gave way to Lamaism, "the yellow faith". Lamas, the messengers of Lamaism with their cloisters and Tibetan prayer books, have put a stamp on the life of the nation, at the same time perishing its war nature. (Harva, 1933, 10-11)

Mongols were also very strong in the beliefs of spirits, and that there are people who become possessed by devils who inform them of all things. It was believed that devils would descend to the ger through the ceiling opening, the chimney or smoke-hole, and have conversations with the people inside the tent. Mongols did not have knowledge of science; instead they relied on the opinion of the so called astrologers. (Guwaini, 2003, 59)

Compared to many Altaic people groups, Mongols believed in a monotheistic god. This could have been seen as influenced by Nestorians, or Islam, but it also fit with the Chinese who called their Emperor the "son of heaven," and with the Mongols who called their khans "God's son." Harva lists several good sources for the study of the religion of the Turks related people groups – a Franciscan monk, Johannes de Plano Carpini, was sent by Pope Innocentius in 1245 to visit Mongol Khan Orkhon. Another important travel log was put together by another Franciscan monk, Vilhelm Ruysbroeck, during his trip to Asia in 1253-1255; he was sent by French king Ludvig IX. Similarly, in 1271 Marco Polo traveled to visit Kublai Khan. He stayed in Mongolia until 1292. (Harva, 1933, 13)

The Mongol area was traditionally a walk-through region, and therefore it was susceptible to influence from varied sources. The Mongol Empire was born in 1206, when small Altaic language speaking tribes united, and were lead by Mongols. In a meeting Chingiz-Khan was chosen to be their leader, and during that same period their written law was coded, which signified the beginning of their written language. The law was called Jasa. In 50 years the Mongols were able to create their empire, reaching out from Siberia to the Indian border, and running from Korea to Eastern Europe. Its strength was in its government and in its army, as well as its law and order and its open mindedness toward other cultures and religions. (De Plano Carpini, 2003, 7-16)

The Mongols came to Europe in 1241, and beginning in Hungary they set out on conquering expeditions through the Baltic States and on into Southern Europe coming as close as 100 km from Venice. For Europeans, their arrival brought great alarm. The Mongols pioneered a route from Asia to Europe; they were the first people to make these two parts of the world aware of each other. Since the 700s the Islamic culture had held Europe and Asia separate from each other, and it was not until the arrival of the Mongols that this changed. The Mongols left Europe as fast as they had arrived. They had heard about the death of the great Khan Odogei, so they had to return to choose a new khan and to re-delegate the power. Still Pope Innocentius IV was not sure if they would return, therefore he sent a delegation of Franciscan monks lead by Johannes De Plano Carpini to give letters to Khan – one letter was theological, asking the Mongols to believe in the God

of Christianity, while the other letter was purely political – appealing for the Mongols not to re-attack Europe. (De Plano Carpini, 2003, 7-16)

2.3 The world view of the Mongols

Most Altaic stories of the creation include a sea that was there in the beginning, with the earth floating on it. Mountains came, when people asked god for a way to keep the piece of land from floating, and god told the people to tie the piece of land with a belt – mountains are the belt. It was known as the earth with three layers; it had the sky above it, and the underworld beneath it. The Chinese talk about "central empire", while Mongols prefer "central land", both indicating they are the center with other countries surrounding them. Harva thinks the Mongols living on the high plains might think of their homeland as the highest and most crucial portion of the earth's circle and that all others are below them. (Harva, 1993, 17-18)

Since the earth is floating, it was believed it needed a supporter to hold it so that it would not sink. Among Turkish related people groups, the supportive animal is a turtle. Harva believes the golden turtle in Mongolian myths came from the Indian tale about the god Visnu supporting the earth. Later, as communicated via Chinese, a Buddhist Bodhisattva replaced the god Visnu. (Harva, 1933, 20)

All Central Asian people groups have a view of a giant mountain that rises from the earth's navel. The Mongols, the Buryats and the Kalmyks call that mountain Sumbur, Sumur or Sumer – again similar to Indian heritage – where the central mountain is called Sumerun. However, Harva says that the idea of a central mountain exists also among Iranian people groups. On top of their mountain is the world tree. (Harva, 1933, 41-43, 49)

Mongols have traditionally recognized Shamanism as their religion, until the sixteenth century, when Altai Khan invited Buddhist teaching. The translation of the Buddhist canon in 1720 and its commentary in 1749 fixed the literary language in "a rather stylized and

conventional mold" (Krueger, 1959, 25). These writings were representative of the spoken language even before the time of Chingiz-Khan, and they remained as the "classical" written language until last century.

2.4 History of the Mongolian alphabet

Henze gives a good example of how the Mongolian alphabets came about as alphabets from other cultures spread through Central Asia from the west and the south toward the northeast: "Its ultimate origins have been traced to the Syriac script used by early Christians in the Eastern Roman Empire. The Syriac script was adapted for their use by Sogdians; alphabet was in turn taken over by the Turkic Uighurs. The Uighurs made some adjustments to suit the peculiarities of their own language and changed the style of writing from horizontal to vertical. The Naiman Turks, close neighbors of the Uighurs, adopted their method of writing and transmitted it to the Mongols at the beginning of the thirteenth century. This alphabet, with relatively little basic change, remained in use among Mongols up to the modern times." (Henze, 1956, 29)

In Central Asia, 1200-1600 was a dynamic era for the Mongol and Turkic peoples – their conquests carried them to India, China, Persia, Russia, and to the heart of Europe. While the conquerors were in foreign territories, the culture at home weakened. It was not until after 1600 that a period of cultural stability set in – until the 19th century when power rivalries began once again – this time it was Russia who would control the heart of Central Asia. This stable period facilitated the development of the alphabets: the Arabic, the Mongolian and the Tibetan alphabets crystallized. These alphabets correspond to the three predominant indigenous racial and cultural strains of Central Asia: the Turkic, the Mongolian and the Tibetan. Henze sees the alphabets associated with religions so that the Arabic alphabet was predominant by those who converted to Islam – Turkic and Iranian peoples, while Mongolian and Tibetan peoples were connected to Buddhism. The Tibetan language was seen as the sacred language of Lamaist Buddhism, and until the 1950s, educated Mongols learned Tibetan as well as their own language. (Henze, 1956, 30, 31)

Henze sees the influence of the alphabets as a relevant view point when studying the political, cultural and social changes in interior regions of Asia in the first half of the 20th century. The Bolshevik Revolution marked a change in how the alphabets would influence the growth of Central Asia. According to Henze, the Communists changed the alphabets in Central Asia for political and communication reasons. Once the Arabic script, being used in Central Asian countries, was changed into the Latin alphabet, the whole area of Central Asia would be isolated from Moslem literature materials, even be cut off from contacts to the rest of outside world. Later, in the late 1930s, the Russians imposed Cyrillic alphabets upon Central Asian Turkic languages. (Henze, 1956, 30)

Russia used the alphabets as cultural and political tools for change. With the alphabet changes, communications and contact to the other parts of the world became complicated. Moreover, using the Russian language helped to identify with the USSR, and non-Russian nationalities would have more incentive to learn Russian. Henze gives example of an autonomous Soviet Republic next to Mongolia, how the Buryats were forced to use Russian terms instead of Mongolian concepts, and explains that the only reason Mongolia was treated with less force, was that the Russians did not want to offend Chinese sensitivities or challenge Japanese ambitions too directly. (Henze, 1956, 36)

The Latin alphabet was also devised to the Khalka Mongolian language of Outer Mongolia in 1931, however, it was never officially decreed compulsory, and the old Mongolian script stayed in use. The Mongolian People's Republic enjoyed comparative peace during the 1930s, and when there is peace, culture has a chance to develop. The official decree for adopting the new Cyrillic alphabet was dated March 25, 1941, and the Central Asian Turkic languages, Tajik, and the Turkic languages of Altai and Buryat Mongolian were changed right away, with the exception of Khalka Mongolian. In Mongolia, the use of Russian script began in 1946, but publications in Mongolian (Uighur) script continued to appear for several years after that. The official proclamation for the use of Arabic numerals was dated September 20, 1940. The change from the old Mongolian script to Cyrillic took longer than in the USSR, and the Khalka language was not Russianized like the other Turkic and Mongolian languages of the Soviet Union. (Henze, 1956, 39, 43, 47, Rupen, 1979, 68)

The change from Uighur script into the Cyrillic alphabet stimulated literacy – the Uighur script, even though very decorative, was hard to learn while Cyrillic script was much easier to read and write than Old Mongolian. The change of the script into Cyrillic started a whole educational reform – science committees, archeological, veterinary research and meteorological stations etc., a whole system of modern science was built up. (Montagu, 1957, 14)

It is important to delve into a protracted history of Mongolia since the majority of the books covering Mongolian history focus on a more recent past; they concentrate mostly on the changes in Mongolia since the Russian revolution. Traveling further back into pre-Russian revolution times in Mongolia's history we can build a case for acknowledging how early Mongolian historical cultural influence itself was so strong that the lifestyles of the early Mongolians are still present in Mongolian society today - despite the alphabetic transitions they endured. For example, about half the population of Mongolia today remains entrenched in a traditional nomadic way of life; they live in gers, in much the same as was used by Chingiz-Khan.

Other early Mongolian traditions have also withstood the test of time and numerous outside cultural influences. For example, despite the communist era, and the attempts to change Mongolian beliefs, Buddhism is still the largest religion of the country. And other social traditions remain as well; annually, the nation celebrates "Naadam", the traditional Mongolian Olympics, with competitions in archery, horse riding and wrestling.

The next chapter covers the period of Soviet influence over the media of these two regions in the 20th century. Comparisons between the USSR/Russia and Mongolia have been made from the viewpoint of media development. The phases of development follow similar paths, since the wars and revolutions had their effects on media in both Mongolia and the USSR. Mongolia's media development will be dealt with, in detail, in a separate chapter.

3 SOVIET MEDIA THEORY -- ITS INFLUENCE AND APPLICATIONS

During the era of Soviet influence Mongolian media was heavily impacted by the Soviet media theory, which has its roots in Marxist/Leninist philosophy.

Originally, Marx created a liberal concept emphasizing the mediating function of the press; however, during the time of socialism, the purpose of the press was changed into that of leading and guiding. And not only press, but according to Soviet-socialist tradition, the media's purpose is to make society strong, and build up individuals with harmonic personality. (Roth in Koschwitz & Firsov, 1979, 167, McQuail, 1987, 109, Siebert, Peterson and Schramm, 1973, 166)

McQuail (1987, 119) presents, as one of six normative media theories, "Soviet media theory", and lists it with the following qualities, based on ideas of Zassoursky 1974, Mickiewicz 1981, Hopkins 1970, Firsov 1979, and Berezhnoi 1978:

- Media should serve the interests of and be in control of the working class
- Media should not be privately owned
- Media should serve positive functions for society by socialization to desired norms, education, information, motivation, mobilization
- Within their overall task for society, the media should respond to wishes and needs of their audiences
- Society has right to use censorship and other legal measures to prevent, or punish after the event of an anti-societal publication
- Media should provide a complete and objective view of society and the world, according to Marxist-Leninist principle
- Journalists are professionals whose aims and ideals should coincide with the best interest of society
- Media should support progressive movements at home and abroad

All these views emphasize the usefulness of media for society as a whole. Media is seen as a servant to society, helping society to reach its goals. Society is a kind of "superego" for the media. In this submissive and servant role of media, the Soviet media theory calls for the media to be objective and neutral.

According to Firsov, the task of radio and television is more complicated than being a means of mediating audio-visual information. The wonders of the 20th century are based on the need for interaction forms of becoming fulfilled. The entire story of mankind is the development of various social interaction forms. The concept of social interaction is tied to communication. Originally man was not missing the highly developed interaction structure, which is so typical of the modern world. (Firsov in Koschwitz & Firsov, 1979, 93, 94)

Firsov divides two spheres of social interaction: 1) the sphere of material life, and 2) the sphere of mental life. In the sphere of material life, the target is the exchange relationship of work and production, while in the sphere of mental life, the target is the change of information between people about their experiences, hopes, findings, and stories. Our forefathers came to face the necessity that we need to say something to each other. And then, in the course of the historical process, once the social organization forms of man became complicated, the necessity to say something brought a social connection. Once men's social interaction became complicated, new forms or ways were born and bred in man's relationship to his surroundings. Interaction became a complex technique, and served on a global scale. (Firsov in Koschwitz & Firsov, 1979, 93, 94)

Firsov defines mass communication as a socially ordained process where information is spread via "technical means" to a public which is structured, dispersed, and numerous. Firsov sees information multi-faceted: as knowledge, mental values, moral and law norms. By "technical means," Firsov refers to the press, radio, film and television. (Firsov in Koschwitz & Firsov, 1979, 95)

Even today we measure the level of development of societies through its level of literacy, and its level of telecommunications infrastructure. Society's development is seen as the

level of development in its communications and interaction forms. The main question is how to better accomplish a mediating of thoughts and experiences with a minimum of distortion of content.

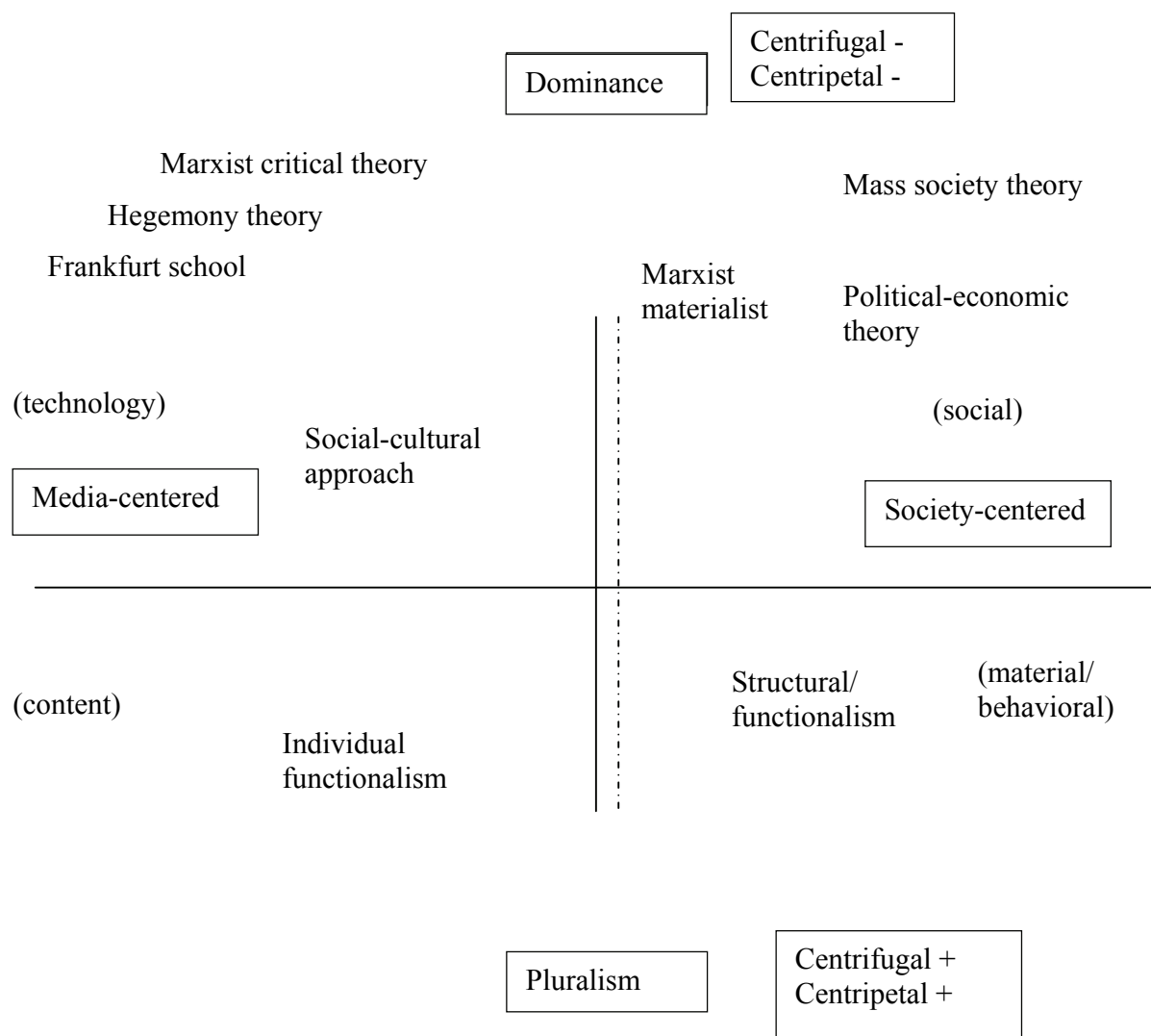
3.1 Soviet media theory and the Mongolian media situation

In order to place Soviet media theory on a wider ground, let's look at McQuail's figure 1 on media theories on page 57. This figure collects several theories into one diagram, and even though it has not been used since McQuail's second edition of *Mass Communication Theory*, I like to include it for its comprehensiveness. In figure 1, in McQuail's dimensional view of media theories, Soviet media theory would settle in the dominance –end of the vertical axel, referring to media in the hands of the elite and with direction - as opposed to media as a response from below without any inbuilt direction. (McQuail, 1987, 58-59)

In the three-dimensional model of McQuail, the vertical axis defines media's relation to power, the horizontal axis its positioning to change - whether it is media or society as the "mover", and the depth axis defines media's effect in society, whether changing or fragmenting it; whether keeping the status quo or unifying society. The third level, "shadowing" the vertical axel, represents a contrast of values and an empirical observation between centrifugal and centripetal tendencies. Centrifugal is for change, freedom, diversity and fragmentation, while centripetal is for order, control, unity and cohesion. (McQuail, 1987, 58-59) Both the centripetal and centrifugal effects of media have an optimistic and a pessimistic vision each; McQuail (2000, 72) defines optimistic centripetal vision as the one which media's effect is integrative and unifying (essentially the functional view), while the pessimistic view of centripetal effect for social integration sees media's effect as one of homogenization and manipulative control (critical theory or mass society view). For the centrifugal proposition, the optimistic version stresses modernization, freedom, and mobility as the effects to be expected from media (individualism in general), while the pessimistic version points to normlessness and loss of identity (a dysfunctional view of change as social disorder). (McQuail, 2000, 71-72, McQuail, 1987, 60)

Lastly, we can choose between a "media-centered" and a "society-centered" view of relationship. The media-centered view stresses the means of communication as a force for change, either through technology or the typical content carried. The society-centered view stresses that both technology and media content are dependent on other forms of society, especially those of politics and money. The forms of mass media are an outcome of historical change – a reflection and consequences of political liberalization and industrialization and a response for servicing from other social institutions. (McQuail, 1987, 61)

Figure1. Main dimensions and locations of media theory (McQuail, 1987, 59)



Innis and McLuhan represent the media-centered view of the relationship between media and society. As McQuail (1987, 62) puts it: "In general, media-centered theory is more supportive of a view of powerful mass media, the power lying either in the consistency and repetition of messages reaching many people or in the inevitability of adaptation by social institutions to the opportunities and pressures of communication forms, with consequences for the messages carried and the relations between senders and receivers." (McQuail, 1987, 62)

In Marxism, the media is seen as a means of production. Therefore, the Marxist theory of media promotes working-class consciousness and is owned and operated by the bourgeois class and their interests. (McQuail, 1994, 77) The mass society theory is similarly inspired by Marxism, in where media content serves those holding political and economical power.

Italian Antonio Gramsci broadened materialist Marxist theory to include the role played by ideology. Gramsci emphasized society's super structure, its ideology-producing institutions (Lull 1995, 32). Mass media's role is to "introduce elements into individual consciousness that would not otherwise appear there, but will not be rejected by consciousness because they are so commonly shared in the cultural community" (Nordenstreng, 1977).

Hegemonic theory of media emphasizes more the ideological content of media rather than the economic and structural side. Actually, it gives ideology independence from the economic base, and it "helps to bring together a lot of different ideas about how the culture of media helps to maintain the class-divided and class-dominated society" (McQuail, 2000, 96). It uses semiological and structural analysis, which offers methods for the uncovering of covert meaning and underlying structures of meaning. (McQuail, 1987, 67)

In hegemony, "mass mediated ideologies are corroborated and strengthened by an interlocking system of efficacious information-distributing agencies and taken-for-granted social practices that permeate every aspect of social and cultural reality. Messages supportive of the status quo emanating from schools, businesses, political organizations, trade unions, religious groups, the military, and the mass media all dovetail together

ideologically. This inter-articulating, mutually reinforcing processes of ideological influence is the essence of hegemony. Society's most entrenched and powerful institutions – which all depend in one way or another on the same sources of economic support – fundamentally agree with each other ideologically" (Lull 1995, 33).

According to Lull, the essence of hegemony is in the major information-diffusing and socializing agencies of a society, and relationships among and between those agencies, as well the interacting, cumulative, socially accepted ideological orientations they create and sustain. In the United States, television has the ability to absorb other major social institutions – organized religion, for instance – and turn them into a popular culture. Hegemony has been central to the management of ideology in communist nations too, though it develops differently. Central ideological planning and the creation of propaganda to advise "the people" represent the same intention – to protect the interests of ruling elites. (Lull 1995, 34, 37)

Referring to the figure on page 57, I see the Mongolian media scene as being influenced by Marxist theory and moving from the era of dominance, mass society theory and Marxist theory, slowly into the direction of pluralism. McQuail (2000, 69, 70) defines pluralism as allowing diversity and unpredictability, as well as change and democratic control. In the pluralistic model, there are several political, social, cultural interests and groups, which in turn have the effect that the audiences are fragmented, and selective; the audiences are reactive, and active in relationship to the media outlets.

Mongolian broadcast media for years functioned only through the use of government owned radio, from 1934, and television, from 1967, until the 1990s. Now, almost twenty years later, the capital has 20 FM private or affiliated stations and 18 television stations (six national and 12 Ulaanbaatar stations), as well as sixty six channels on various cable networks. There is one public television channel, Mongolian National Public TV, and two channels of Mongolian National Public radio. All in all, more than two thirds (68%) of television stations are owned by private organizations, one fifth (20%) by state organizations and the rest 12% by NGOs. In radio sector, the state ownership is even less;

only 5% of radio stations are owned by the state organization (Mongolian media today, 2008). Based on these figures, it is easy to say that Mongolian electronic media scenery has diversified, and diversification has increased the multiplicity of sources as well as the diversity of messages. Consecutively, various content of media appeals to different segments of society, creating diverse publics and sub-audiences.

In her dissertation (1998) describing Mongolian media culture since 1921, Dr. Munkhmandakh Myagmar identifies the Soviet authoritarian theory, which determines that journalism is in service for the state and the leading party, as playing the key role in Mongolian media. The Soviet authoritarian theory, which according to Schramm et al. (1973) the Soviet communist theory is built on, is actually a development of the older authoritarian theory. Here I use the term Soviet theory to refer to Soviet authoritarian theory, and authoritarian theory to refer to the older authoritarianism. They both have a heavy emphasis on the existing social order, but they have differences too: according to authoritarian theory, the duty of the press is to avoid interference with the objectives of the state (Schramm et al., 1973, 28), therefore if media does not align with the goals of the state, it can be obstructed; while in Soviet theory, media is not subject to unpredictable interference since media is "in" and "of" the state. Another difference is how, in the authoritarian system, the press is seen as being subordinate to state power and the interests of the ruling class, to keep the status quo, while in contrast the Soviet theory puts the onus on the media and calls on it to be responsible to the public, or as Schramm et al. expresses it, "the media should be used as instruments of social change and social control" (Schramm et al, 1973, 116). According to McQuail, journalists in authoritarian system lack a true independence, and the authoritarian theory allows a variety of forms on how it is expressed, such as legislation, use of taxation or other economic sanctions, the controlled import of foreign media, the government's right of appointment of editorial staff, and even suspension of publication. (McQuail, 1987, 111-112, 119, Myagmar, 1998, 55)

The Mongolian media scene, in the beginning of July of 2008, was unpredictably obstructed as a result of June 29 election scandal, when the government declared a four day curfew; during which time all the TV and radio stations were closed, with the

exception of the government stations. This incident clearly shows that the Mongolian media environment, in instances like this, is experiencing governmental interference similar to one, which in theory could be classified under the authoritarian model. The New York Times reported the event like this:

Preliminary results announced shortly after the voting showed that the M.P.R.P. won 45 seats; the Democratic Party 28 seats; and three small parties one seat each. Those numbers would give the ruling party the majority it needs in the 76-seat Parliament to form a government.

In a news conference on July 1, however, the leader of the Democratic Party and a former prime minister, Tsakhiagiin Elbegdorj, accused the M.P.R.P. of vote fraud. That assertion was challenged by the 52 foreign observation teams that went to polling stations on June 29.

"In each of those cases, in each of the instances where we observed any part of the process, we were struck by the degree of rigor," said Bill Infante, country representative for the Asia Foundation, a group that promotes democracy, whose observers visited 100 of about 1,700 stations.

Prime Minister Sanjaagiin Bayar defended the state of emergency on Saturday night, saying the government, which is ruled by the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, or M.P.R.P., was concerned with preventing further disturbances.

But Oyungerel and other senior members of the main opposition group, the Democratic Party, accused the government of using the riot as a pretext for quashing dissent. The only television station allowed to broadcast from Wednesday to Saturday was the national network.

<http://www.nytimes.com/2008/07/08/world/asia/08mongolia.html?partner=permalink&exprod=permalink>

On one hand, this incident can be interpreted as a singular case, while on the other hand it gives us a reason to align with Huang's (2003, 444) concept of "post communist authoritarianism" which countries might be experiencing if they once followed the Soviet communist media approach. Huang gives examples of China and Vietnam as post communist "Soviet" authoritarian countries, but I would add Mongolia to this same group. Mongolia can be defined as post communist; the 1990 democratic revolution started a process towards reforms. At the time of this writing, a candidate of the Democratic Party became the first Mongolian president to have never been a member of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (seen on Nov 17th, 2009 on Internet http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tsakhiagiin_Elbegdorj).

In Mongolia since the 1990s, especially in the nation's capital of Ulaanbaatar the number of independent newspapers, radio and television stations have increased bringing a wealth of

independent media to the capital. Even though there has been criticism of the overall quality of television programming, and in particular the non-existence of investigative journalism in Ulaanbaatar there is one community based radio station, which is striving to build the trust of ordinary citizens; and it differs from the main line media in Ulaanbaatar to some extent. Community-based radio WIND-FM has helped to bring diversity in radio programming, educational, informational, advocacy and participatory programming to the Ulaanbaatar area since 2001. WIND-FM is an example of community radio which promotes interaction with listeners and actively seeks to function as an advocate for the citizens of this capital city.

Based on this example of a community radio station, I see it is possible to look at the Mongolian media scene with the structural functional approach. The structural approach fits well, as per McQuail (2000, 12), since its primary focus is on media systems and organizations and their relationship to the wider society. The structural functional approach supports the integrative effects of mass media, and functional theorists have high expectations of the potentially positive contribution of mass media, as part of society. In McQuail's (2000, 46) words: "The general tendency of functional analysis is to assume that communication works towards integration, continuity and normality of the society, also recognizing that mass communication can have dysfunctional consequences". McQuail adds (2000, 80) that mass media is one institution in society contributing to achieving consensus and sufficient control, both for the society as a whole, as well as for segments of society. Local community media have been researched often to show how local media can provide possibilities for formation of identity and organization within the anonymity of large urban societies. (Janowitz 1967, Stamm 1985, Jackson 1969, Cox and Morgan 1973, Murphy 1976)

In addition to WIND-FM there is a number of radio initiatives in the Mongolian country side; Gobi Wave, Khuvsgol wave, and the Selenge and Darkhan stations which function affiliated with local public information centers or assemblies. The Khuvsgol aimag station, Tsaa bug FM 104.1 is funded by UNESCO. As Beck, Mendel & Thindwa (2007) describes, "These stations air programs to empower, educate, and inform Mongolian citizens, while

facilitating dual flow of information between local communities and public officials” (Beck et al, 2007, 25, Mongolian media today, 2008, 36,42).

The "Mongolian media today's" listing of local aimag radio stations shows many of them are public service oriented. The media scenery in Mongolian country side differs a lot from that of the capital. For example, the most listened radio stations in the capital are mostly music stations, with few stations airing other than music and news. Mongolian National Public Radio has politics and social, as well as cultural programming in its weekly programming structure, while WIND-FM has social and educational programming targeted to youth and children. (Mongolian media today, 2008, 38-39)

When placing WIND-FM into McQuail's diagram; its direction shows the positive version of both centrifugal and centripetal propositions in the sense that the station strives to promote values to its listeners, facilitating their functioning in Ulaanbaatar society as family units. WIND-FM is an example of a structural functional mass media outlet, listening to the various age groups of the capital, and offering a forum for ordinary people, young and middle aged, to voice their concerns on societal issues and to seek answers to the difficult questions in life.

I concur with Myagmar's (1998) views, that the audience in Mongolian media is seen not as an object of political influence, but rather as a needy audience capable of interaction with the media outlets. The emphasis has moved from the communicators to the recipients and from theory to providing a forum for society to solve its problems. However, in this increased stage of value pluralism, adhering to rules and respecting authority are also increasingly seen as important. Myagmar came to the conclusion that Mongolia's leadership sees media's task is to make government policies known. (Myagmar. 1998, 110-117)

Nine years after the publicizing of Myagmar's dissertation, in World Bank Report No. 32584-MN entitled, "The Enabling Environment for Social Accountability in Mongolia" (Beck & al., 2007, seen on the internet Sept. 23rd, 2008), the World Bank findings showed that the Mongolian media had not been successful in informing the public about

government decisions, and emphasized that the media - and therefore Mongolian citizens - are not always fed information detailing government decisions. In addition, the WB construed that the Mongolian media does not have access to governmental information; therefore it can not provide it to the public. Even though the number of Mongolian media outlets has grown rapidly, the WB concludes the content of media has not improved. The World Bank analysis observed there are some threats to the independence of Mongolian media, and in addition, media outlets are either politically or financially dependent, which puts them in the position of serving the owners rather than the public. In some cases, the relationships prevent the journalists from being neutral. According to the World Bank, "nor does the licensing system recognize community broadcasting, and effective local voice." The World Bank report recognizes some exceptions to these negative features in the community radios organizations which give voice to the citizens.

http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EXTSOCIALDEVELOPMENT/Resources/244362-1164107274725/3182370-1185983304243/Mongolia_Part_3.pdf

Since the financial aspects of media licensing were such that only the wealthy or government backed sources can apply, it fit the concept of Soviet Media theory which espouses the idea that media should not be privately owned. The roots of today's Mongolian media could, in this respect, be traced back to Soviet media theory, which considers the media as a servant to the government and society. In Lohmus's words, describing Soviet journalism: "In the Soviet system, journalism was regarded as the focal point of political life, since it was necessary for shaping the workers' class- conscience in defense of Party ideology. Journalism became the establisher of the norms of the new society, the shaping factor of the new (collective) identity". (Beck et al. 2007 internet, Lohmus, 2002, 55)

In Mongolia today, media functions as a servant to the wealthy and/or the government. Media serves those with the money as referred to in the World Bank (Beck et al. 2007) report which calls Mongolian journalism "financial journalism", meaning that journalists are forced to write stories from a particular view, or risk losing their financial backing.

The Mongolian media situation will be given further consideration later in this study. For now, we take a step into the past to review how the media environments of the Soviet Union and Mongolia developed under the Soviet communications policies of the Soviet Media theory.

3.2 Historical stages of realization of Soviet communications policy in the Soviet Union and in Mongolia

3.2.1 The Soviet Union

As the leader of Soviet Union, V.I. Lenin saw mass communication as a very important force in not only establishing the political-philosophical backbone of the country, but also for strengthening society and the entire social system. Lenin used public discussion, in the press, to activate citizens and reveal the problems. In the beginning strict politics were applied to keep the nation on the right path. Roth, in Koschwitz & Firsov, describes the first years of communism 1917-1921 as "revolution and destruction of the class enemy". After the October Revolution in 1917, by Lenin's influence, a radio broadcasting system was developed in the country. However, during the same period, the press faced closures, some newspapers and magazines as well as printing presses were closed, and it wasn't until 1921 that press freedom, per se, was re-established. Radio and newspaper were the main media outlets until the 1950's when television started to expand. (Koschwitz & Firsov, 1979, 169, Paasilinna, 1995, 8, 30)

During the NEP (New Economic Policy) years 1921-1928, the media was in the hands of the party. Publicity was included in the politics of the NEP era. During that time, many important central newspapers (for the youth, for the army, for the workers) and magazines were created. Radio in the meantime was taking baby steps. In 1928, there were about 92 000 receivers. The leadership of radio was held under the People's commissariat of the post and film industry. But the atmosphere was getting tighter, and even inside the party the discussions area was getting tighter. (Koschwitz & Firsov, 1979, 170, Paasilinna, 1995, 30)

During the Stalin era years 1928-1940 – the communication policy was tightened, and it functioned with a centrally steered apparatus. During the Stalin era censorship was completely expanded, public discussion was prevented, and central decisions were made in a small circle. Collectivization and industrialization were shepherded by strict and one-way monotonous mass media. (Koschwitz & Firsov, 1979, 171, Paasilinna, 1995, 30)

During this time, communications politics was carried out via a central apparatus. The press became part of the political and ideological construction. Stalin closed some of the magazines, and their number decreased (from 1928 a total of 2074 with annual printing 303.1 million, down to 1822 magazines in 1940 with 254.4 printed annually). But the newspaper pyramid grew, in numbers up to 10,000 in 1934, with a circulation of over 34 million copies, followed by 8806 newspapers in 1940, with a circulation of 38 million. Similarly, the number of radio stations grew from 23 in 1928 to 100 in 1940. The radio reached people especially in the countryside, while in urban centers; the new media was increasingly gaining audiences. By 1940 there were 7 million receivers, out of which 5.8 million were wired radios fixed to receive only one station. (Koschwitz & Firsov, 1979, 172, Wolfe, 2005, 30)

During the war of 1941-1945, there was an appeal for the people to have patriotic awareness, and to defend against Hitler's grip. Communications politics was affected by the war in that special publications were developed for the armed forces, and ideological slogans returned, especially after the war turned against the Germans. This time was good for radio, even though half of the radio network was destroyed; radio had to take some of the roles formerly exposed by the print media since publications were closed. This time of transition was called "the days of radio". Even though the war made it difficult to keep up with the centrally planned mass media functionality, the party's grip on printed media never loosened up. (Koschwitz & Firsov, 1979, 172, 173, Wolfe, 2005, 31, 32)

After the war, from 1945 to 1953, it was realized that to revive the "Bolshevist consciousness", the mass communications system should be used as an instrument. Mass media was part of rebuilding a whole new Soviet Union. This time is called the Stalin

period or the late Stalin era, with a special relationship between culture and politics, in that the party controlled the culture, and Stalin controlled the party. Stalin required an identifiable "party line" on all cultural matters. (Koschwitz & Firsov, 1979, 173, 174, Wolfe, 2005, 32)

After the war the press regained its status, unchanged in hierarchy and differentiation. A new newspaper art was established, called "notices for the agitator". The number of newspapers as well as their spread was increased. Stalin's writings were published. Magazines reached their 1928 levels in numbers and circulation, and newspapers passed their 1940 levels in numbers and circulation. The number of radio receivers rose from 5.5 millions in 1945... up to 22 million in 1954. By that time there were 120 transmitting stations. In this era, it was the screen-movies were mostly used to build up the consciousness, by choosing the heroes of the war and work, and exemplary party people, and fascistic cruelties dominated the movie screen. (Koschwitz & Firsov, 1979, 173, 174)

During the explosive years of communications development, 1954-1964, it was the death of Stalin that brought many changes, including changes in communications politics. On one hand, the changes were brought by leadership in the form of political strategy. On the other hand, the political behavior of the elite created an atmosphere where openness increased. It was a so-called communications explosion at that time, giving the audience various technological possibilities. Media usage became more private; people read or listened to the radio, which brought about "the interpretation of often unwanted messages" (Hannah, 1976, 494). Public readings or lectures of party agitators could be avoided without official attention, and there were less public newspaper readings by agitators during lunch break at work. The increased private access to media added to a somewhat freer atmosphere, and it also increased opportunities to hear foreign broadcasters, which was facilitated by the government, so that between the years 1963-1968 there was no interference of BBC and VOA international shortwave broadcasts. With a growing standard of living, more people were acquiring short-wave radios to listen to foreign broadcasts, which since 1950 had been broadcasting propaganda messages, "contrasting" the virtues of democracies with the vices

of communist regimes, emphasizing the triumph of democracy, and depicting the USSR as 'the scheming villain' (Gorman & McLean, 2003,119)".

Foreign media became not only an alternative to the official communications network, but also a continuation of the internal underground communications network of the Soviet Union. With about 34 million Soviet radio devices, and an additional number of over 20000 licensed (and some one thousand more unlicensed) radio amateurs, there were a great deal of communications received from abroad, especially in European Russia. Thus, in August 1968, amateur broadcasters in the Ukraine were informed of the foreign media's reaction to the Soviet troops' invasion of Czechoslovakia, which was different than the official view. (Hannah, 1976, 504)

To be more effective, it was noted that the communications policy had to take into consideration people's wishes, meanings and attitudes, and target them better than before. Especially the press had to orient itself stronger to the wishes of the readers. At the same time, the importance of all union papers arose. Since 1960, the party had taken responsibility for the content of radio and television, (which also meant that public opinion was diminished again), despite the more open approach in the first half of the Khrushchev era. Ideologically better programs were created, and television, which so far had not been much regulated, received more central guidance. Since 1960 Moscow was running its central radio programming 24 hours daily. Programs had more variety – one example is a program called "Mayak" – with music and short news. But by 1963, for the first time in history, there were more transistor radios than wired radios. During this era television ownership grew a lot, and television became directed from Moscow. (Koschwitz & Firsov, 1979, 174,175, Paasilinna, 1995, 19, 30)

The graph 1 next page depicts the increase of print and electronic media after 1959.

Graph 1. Growth of media in post-Stalin

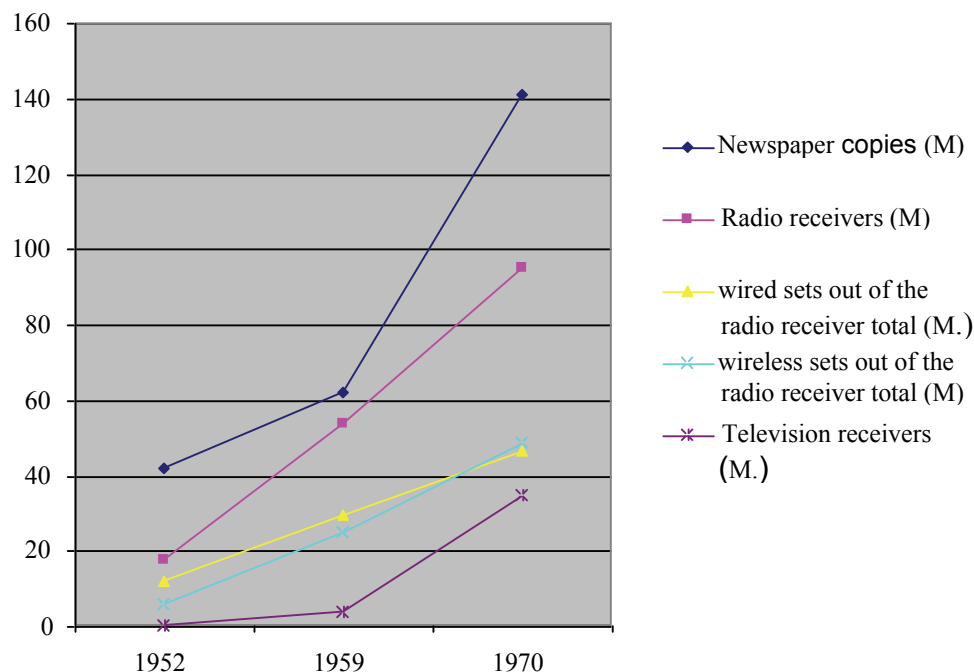


Table 3. Data to the graph 1. Growth of media in post-Stalin USSR (Hannah, 1976, 493)

Years	1952	1959	1970
Newspaper copies (Mill.)	42	62	141
copies per 100 people ages 10-69		40	97
Radio receivers (Mill.)	17,5	53,9	94,8
Radio receivers per 100 people ages 10-69		34	60
wired sets out of the total (Mill.)	11,7	29,2	46,2
Wired sets per 100 people ages 10-69		19	29
wireless sets out of the total (Mill.)	5,8	24,7	48,6
Wireless sets per 100 people ages 10-69		15	31
Television receiver (Mill.)	0,1	3,6	34,8
Television receivers per 100 aged 10-69		2	22

In 1965 the Stalinizing campaign was stopped, and Brezhnev accomplished economic reform. According to Paasilinna, the economic reform of 1965 was criticized by journalists, however, with no resulting actions. Journalism was not effective politically, and political

leaders did not make any concrete changes, instead their purpose was to prevent the discussion of societal problems. Mass media similarly was not reformed; instead the party held the power over the mass media, and thus bureaucracy was guiding the media. Even though the content of the media itself was not renovated, mass media grew in size. The number of newspapers and magazines rose. In audio-visual media, the Soviet Union still retained its effect. The country became completely covered by radio and 75% by television. (Paasilinna, 1995, 29)

Sesjunin, in Koschwitz & Firsov, makes the point that in the country side, the rural population appreciated the possibility of learning about the most important events at home and abroad. The main objective was to be clean, simple, detailed and thorough, rather than supplying an abundance of information where the main point was lost. (Koschwitz & Firsov, 1979, 47)

In addition to being informed on domestic and international affairs, the second most important task of radio among rural inhabitants was seen as the task of "helping people to feel connected with the other people". Via radio, the rural population could learn of life in the world including both the work life and everyday living conditions of people in other parts of the world (Koschwitz & Firsov, 1979, 48).

Much of the research time dedicated to analyzing the Soviet influence in media has been invested on printed media, or television, rather than radio. Even so, the most important era for radio in Russia was in 1950s, when the number of radio sets increased, and their quality improved; it was a time when the Russian audience was able to begin listening to radio broadcasts from outside the country. During that era radio had the biggest impact on nourishing people's curiosity, and it did so by bringing news from abroad and from a different perspective. Foreign broadcasts influenced Russian domestic broadcasting so that domestic content had to become more appealing to compete with the international services who offered current info and music. In 1964, a new domestic national channel, Mayak, was established by Russian leadership, to compete with the news, culture and popular music heard from international radio sources. The wired radio channel, Mayak, offered messages

and music around the clock, and sometimes it was on the same frequencies as the foreign broadcasts causing interference. Mayak was popular especially among intellectuals and young people. (Hannah, 1976, 508)

In the Soviet Union, as well as in other socialist countries, television is seen as the main medium of propaganda of the socialist ideology; a medium to give the mass of people a communist education. Television stands from an interactive standpoint alongside other media for purposes of communist education – especially published media in the form of books. According to Kogan, when there are no commercial demands, then there are real possibilities to build a planned and targeted communist education system via media. The idea of television as an information source was not, however, what the audience was thinking – they saw it as an entertainment tool. (Koschwitz & Firsov, 1979, 151, Hannah, 1976, 497)

During the pre-Glasnost years, the media was seen as a propaganda machine, based on newspapers (Pravda, Izvestia), radio (Radio 1 and Mayak), and state-controlled television. The role of journalism was to be instrumental. (Nordenstreng, Vartanova & Zassoursky, 2001, 86-89) Depending on "prominence of the given media outlet, the particular administrative entity involved, the juncture, and the given topic", the censorship was gradually relaxed. (Downing, 1996, 80)

Media gradually relaxed in the USSR, from 1985 onwards, as a result of the policy of Glasnost. The relaxation of censorship, however, was different depending on the media outlet, or the administrative entity in question, or the topic in question. Downing (1996) sees television as the most strictly controlled, while radio, and small circulation monthlies or quarterlies had more licenses. He gives two examples of control; 1) criticism against pollution – it was ok to criticize the pollution as such, but not the people who were behind it. 2) The broadcast time of a popular satirical radio program was moved to later in the day, once it was noticed that government people were also listening to it on their way to work. According to Downing, television faced the most surveillance. For example, during Lithuania's declaration of independence, television news showed a state's news bulletin on

the events as a script on the screen, instead of showing a news story prepared by an independent news bureau. (Downing, 1996, 79-80)

The Glasnost policy, according to Sparks, was a necessity. He writes, "Here, there were indeed changes in the sort of expectations that were placed upon the media by the ruling group, which in their turn produced a marked difference in the nature of the media themselves...the process of Glasnost in the media was necessary because the mass media did not in practice follow the goals outlined in the 'Leninist theory of the Press'." (Sparks, 1998, 63)

Stages of Glasnost

Paasilinna (1993) distinguishes four stages of publicity politics during the Glasnost years of 1985-1991. The first stage, years 1985-87, was called the reconstruction stage; Paasilinna describes it as a stage with critical and open journalism. The journalism content was modernized, but the right to publicize was still controlled at the top level of power.

The second stage, years 1987-88, is called the trials' stage. Although mass media inspired citizens to become active, there were those who did not like to see the publicity policy growing, because they saw it as having a detrimental effect on "order"; citizens became dynamic to such an extent that citizen groups established their own papers.

The third stage of Glasnost, years 1988-90, was decisive in that Glasnost had matured, as represented by a number of factors including live broadcasts were being shown on TV, the Press Law was put into effect, and there were some media outlets which became independent. The audience became interested in the growth of mass media, and as a result started to actively participate in media; they formed political groups, nationality movements and sects. (Paasilinna, 1995, 31-33)

A new press law was accepted in the summer of 1990 even though the leaders of the country and the old-fashioned forces were against it. According to the Press Law the press was to be free and uncensored. Officials were not allowed to control journalism. Each registered publication had a right to be publicized. Later the same year, Gorbachev set up a statute regarding the development of radio and TV. According to the statute, radio and television were the greatest tools of mass media and useful for both propaganda and education. Radio and television were seen as the stabilizing forces of society, protecting justice and assets of the state. The statute also established the use of permits and legally recognized juridical matters. The changes were seen as necessary within the USSR because there were no rules regarding independent publications and radio stations which were beginning to appear and to function without a permit. The statute established rules for both the press and for the electronic media. (Paasilinna, 1995, 48)

The fourth and last stage of Glasnost took place from 1990-91 and brought about a "disarray" in media politics. Some states in the USSR became independent, and their ex-rulers became ineffective in guiding the mass media. The unified USSR State Committee for Television and Radio broadcasting, or USSR Gosteleradio was dissolved, since each independent state started to make decisions about their media on their own. It created more democracy only in the sense that the control was shifted to the level of former republics i.e. present sovereign states, however, each former republic did the same state TV and radio broadcasting. New rulers were not stabilized though in their positions, and Androunas (1993) criticizes the republican leaders for using their positions to gaining their personal power under the banner of national independency. (Androunas, 1993, 18-22, Paasilinna, 1995, 31-33, 49)

Glasnost seems to have created social processes, which were originally guided by the political leaders. Some writers, like Downing, see the glasnost another case of liberalization induced from above rather than democratization from below. While Paasilinna sees also the citizens becoming active, and causing restlessness on one hand and constructive criticism on the other. But in citizens' groups it was the help of publicity politics which facilitated those groups in improving their positions. Androunas (1993) adds that particularly it was

the printed press which shows the advantages of the new media market, for example as seen in the diversification of the media voices with the multiplicity of views and plurality of opinions. (Androunas, 1993, 29, Downing, 1996, 81, Paasilinna, 1995, 33)

Paasilinna, in his dissertation, saw the wide use of television and its popularity as being the most decisive agent of transformation in the society, particularly the change in style of television programming itself that was fundamental in bringing change. Instead of broadcasting to a passive audience, the programs activated the citizens for change. Two new program formats helped to facilitate the change –live broadcasts and societal documentaries. With an opposing view, Androunas (1993, 29,30) says, "Changes in TV are least noticeable, primarily because of the dominance of two monopolies: the state television and radio which controls virtually all programming, and the Ministry of Communications, which is in charge of the whole telecommunications infrastructure in the country. Regardless of the good intentions declared by state officials, the strong and long-lasting tradition of authoritarian leaders in this country dispels any illusion that the tremendous power of the state controlled mass media will always be used by officials for the benefit of the whole society."

According to Paasilinna, Gorbachev's renovation politics leaned on the powers of the party and mass communication. In Russia, the mass media played a critical role at the start of perestroika, which was followed by the revolution of the system. According to Androunas, on the other hand, Gorbachev used news media to reform the system, and created a new political and ideological environment for the press, which was called glasnost. Androunas sees the process of change as slow, marked by both advances and retreats, but on a positive note, he sees the free market of ideas developing more rapidly than the economy. (Androunas, 1993, 2, 29,154, Paasilinna, 1995, 10, 42, 43)

The historical account of mass media and social change in Russia did not go unnoticed by neighboring Mongolia which was undoubtedly well positioned geographically and historically to view the Soviet revolution as Glasnost was evidently seen in the mass media. Even so, in August 1991, there was an attempt to start controlling the media again, however

it did not succeed. During the five years of Glasnost, the self-esteem, bravery and democratic goals of the Soviet citizens, as well as the newly expressed freedoms of the press and television had developed so much, that it was impossible to extinguish and to retreat into the past. The difficult process to establish democracy was able to continue. Glasnost invariably opened the door to democracy, and protected its first steps. (Paasilinna, 1995, 43)

It is not uncommon for communication studies to focus on comparisons between Russia and East European countries. However, for the purposes of this study, I have chosen to compare the changes in Russia with the changes in Mongolia.

3.2.2 Mongolia: A Soviet satellite in Asia

The concept of "Mass Media" in Mongolia originates from the Soviet concept "Medium for Mass Information". The key role, in the defining of Mongolian mass media, can be traced to the Soviet authoritarian media theory, which defines journalism as directly serving the state and the leading party. Media has therefore been seen as an instrument of educating the nation. The recipient is seen as a passive object of influence. Neither communicator, nor media, nor recipient is seen as holding interdependent status in the communications process. (Myagmar, 1998, 55, Siebert, Peterson and Schramm, 1973, 141)

Historically, the Mongolian mass communication media has existed to promote and educate people in party-consciousness...."the press and other Mongolian communication media regard as one of their main tasks to propagate Marxism-Leninism, the policy and decisions of the MPRP, in close connection with problems of socialist construction. The activities of our press, radio and television are directed to the ideological tempering of our readers, listeners and viewers, to truthfully inform people about international life, to a correct understanding of the tasks of socialist society, to the education of Communists-internationalists who are implacable toward ideologies that are foreign to us" (Bures, 1980, 46). This claim shows very clearly how the all the spheres of media were geared to one

purpose – to that of social change and social control. It also depicts how words in Soviet inherited mass communication style were full of pathos, and full of clichés. (Thom, 1989, 180)

Myagmar uses Maletzke's definition of mass communication... "With mass communication we understand each form of communication, where statements are being transmitted publicly (without restricted and personally defined world of experience), indirectly (there is distance in space and time or both between the communications partners), and in one direction (no changes of roles in between the statement giver and statement receiver), using technical transmitting means (Myagmar, 1998, 55-56)." This definition has been criticized for not recognizing the societal, social-economic and institutional aspects of mass communication.

In her dissertation, "*Unterhaltungsanspruch in Wandel. Entwicklung der Medienkultur in der Mongolie seit 1921*" (Entertainment claim in transformation. The development of Media Culture in Mongolia since 1921), Munkhmandakh Myagmar deals with society's development from the level of how society has been organized and how society has been specialized; not so much from the socialistic model as others have done. Myagmar looks at the historical aspects of Mongolia and in doing so shows how far the country has come today in capturing the typical characteristics of a modern society. The changes Mongolians have endured economically have been difficult to achieve considering the country's nomadic societal organization was backward in the beginning of the 1900s. The Second World War might have complicated the situation and slowed the pace of change, but Mongolia helped the Soviet Union by providing tools for combat and after the war, the Soviet Union facilitated the development of the Mongolian economy. They began by helping with the collectivization of cattle farming, by developing cultivation centers in the country, and by setting up and creating industry centers in both urban and rural areas. It was difficult for the nomads to get used to the idea of industrialization as even today cattle farming, with an estimated 40 million head of cattle in 2007 compared to 24 million head in 2002, has facilitated in helping to preserve the traditions. (IMF Country report No. 08/21, 52).

Myagmar (1998) sees the entertainment function of media as one aspect of media culture. This view differs from the traditional Soviet authoritarian media concept which defines the use of media for relaxation as unworthy (Schramm, 1973, 116). Myagmar describes the values, meaning and functions of mass media in relation to social changes in Mongolia, and continues with a claim to entertainment. Starting from the traditional nomadic society and its forms of entertainment, she concludes that even though aspects of modern life, like urbanization and social differentiation as well as machines and mass media, have become part of everyday life in Mongolian cities, they still have not crowded out the traditional culture. Based on her research, she concludes that media is not looked at in Mongolia as a medicine for loneliness and alienation, because the nomadic culture's mental structure includes calmness, being satisfied, open mindedness and a need for company. But in coming years, especially with the democratization of the country, Mongolia's mass media will undergo more change. The needs of the audience, as well as the widening and the pluralization of media messages, will be important factors as the media development of the country continues.

I agree with Myagmar's views in so much as that I believe it is very important to take into consideration the long history of Mongolia back to the days of Chingiz-Khan, which has influenced Mongolia as a nation, and I have done this in earlier chapters, in dealing with development of orality and literacy in Mongolia. In looking into the change of Mongolia's media has gone through, it is important not to look only into the transformation of media in the long historical perspective, but also in the wide social and political perspective, and look into the transformation of Mongolian media up to this day holistically, similar way as Jakubowicz (2007).

How does the spread of media affect society? Both Jakubowicz (2007) and Myagmar (1998) claim social changes and media development do have a relationship; they have an effect on one another. It is the stage of economic development, and the political structure together which facilitate media's role in the process of social change. Myagmar sees economics and politics as primary variables of social change; followed by the national characteristics of each culture and by the place of traditional values within each culture as

well, as being that which defines the overall development of social change from society to society. When it comes to Mongolia, there is very little research of the effects of media on individuals, or even the basics of everyday life within Mongolian society. (Myagmar, 1998, 96)

Myagmar agrees with the general view that Mongolia did not have any political, economical or ideological decision space of its own. "So far we have seen how Mongolia was both politically and economically under strong leadership of Soviet Union. In general, Mongolia was seen as a soviet marionette state, or satellite state." (Myagmar, 1998, 96)

According to Myagmar, Mongolia's changes were not born out of the society's developing dynamics; rather by changes enforced from the outside. Other writers have acknowledged this is a typical feature of developing countries – which changes in society were enforced from outside the respective countries. In those developing countries, the task of mass media has been to build bridges to the outside world, especially to those countries outside that are helping to facilitate the change of society within. In Mongolia, the state media is serving the construction of socialism. The task is to explain to the nation (public) the goals of the new society. The crucial question to ask is "has the journalistic media been the motor for the societal change in Mongolia?" And "what kind of effect has media practiced on social life? (Myagmar, 1998, 96)"

Next -- the development of Mongolian media in light of the social changes taking place. The subject will be approached in much the same manner as the Soviet Union. Mongolia and the Soviet Union share similarities in their pasts as the main chronological eras have much in common.

3.2.2.1 Societal and media development in Mongolia in 1921-1990

Myagmar (1998), who represents a rather traditional socialist viewpoint, writes that the development of socialism came at an important time in the history of Mongolia.

Experiencing socialism afforded Mongolia a growth in national and political unity. Even though Mongolia's development has many similarities with that of the Soviet Union, there are unique ways in which the Mongolian national culture flourished.

The founding of the Mongolian People's Republic in 1924 was an important stage in the country's history, since it determined the basic direction of development – socialist development. Mongolia became a "socialist developing country" and as such, social change is planned process forced by politics and ideology; societal development is partly enforced by the state, and partly a political cure. Mongolia was heavily influenced by the Soviet Union. It was the communist dictatorship, which made it possible to transition the society from Medieval Times to the Modern Age, and to develop it in all areas of life. (Myagmar, 1998, 100,101)

Unlike the Europeans, the Mongols had not developed a middle class. And since the roots of the tradition-oriented worldview of Mongols were not affected by middle class culture (bourgeois), it was harder to change. Luke (1987) points out that it is the empirical factors (such as backward societies with absence of liberal traditions, a small working class, the chaotic wartime collapse of old regimes, counterrevolution or foreign intervention) in countries of Eastern Europe, Mongolia and Afghanistan which caused that the revolution was "imposed by force of arms from without"; rather than revolution being caused by "some intrinsic evil in Marxism". (Luke, 1987, 116, Myagmar, 1998, 97)

Myagmar explains the consequence of having no bourgeois class in Mongolia; the state initiative became important, and religiously and traditionally oriented worldviews were compensated by goal-oriented teaching. Mongolia developed essentially during these seventy years, 1921-1990. (Myagmar, 1998, 101)

Myagmar (1998, 101) sees the adaptation of socialism in Mongolia as coming in three steps:

1. In 1921-1940 came the revolutionary-democratic period, when several changes were made in society; one of the most important was that the Buddhist cloisters

were closed towards the end of the era, and religious practices were forbidden. Meantime the Marxist-Leninist ideology was spread by the communists, as reported by Urzhindabam in Bures (1980). During this era the media was used to strengthen people's power and explain to the audience the essence of democratic changes. The press called the public's attention to matters of science and reason, rather than to that of religion and prejudice, and it promoted literacy. One fourth of all printed matter dealt with socio-political issues. (Bures, 1980, 15, 36, 47)

In 1936, Mongolia and the Soviet government made an agreement of "Mutual Assistance" between the USSR and the MPR. The Soviets wanted to ensure the military defense of the Mongolian border, and both countries were motivated to keep peace in the Far East. After the agreement was signed, all the Mongolian leaders were changed, and the new leaders of the MPR were thereby conformed to the interests of the USSR. Kh. Choibalsang, as the Mongolian Prime Minister, was asking Soviet leaders to send instructors to teach agitation, propaganda and mass media in Mongolia. Soviet specialists entered Mongolia in response to the MPR expressing interests in 1939 in receiving veterinary doctors, livestock experts, printing workers and workers in culture and the arts. (Kotkin & Elleman, 1999, 114-115) "Mongolia was a buffer zone and a forward defense line for Russians against Japanese, especially in 1937-1939, when Japanese took the Chinese Eastern Railway and Manchuria. With the Red Army help, Russia was able to keep hold on Mongolia, and in 1939 at the battle of Nomonkhan, a combined Soviet-Mongolian forces defeated the Japanese." (Rupen, 1979, 23) The Japanese were no longer a threat.

2. In 1940-1960 the foundation for the building of socialism was created: schooling became compulsory, illiteracy was removed, and a socialist structure of livelihood was developed. Most of the changes happened after the war in the 1950s. For example, the fight against illiteracy did not start until the Cyrillic alphabets were introduced in 1946. This is the time of Y. Tsedenbal, secretary general of the MPRP's central committee, who was leading the social and economic changes in the country.

During the Second World War the media was pointing its audience towards helping the Red Army, which held positions all over Mongolia. "The media chose to stand with the political views of the Soviets; showing loyalty to the Mongolian-Soviet friendship" (Bures, 1980, 47).

The Constitution in 1940 ended feudalism and eliminated the power of the Buddhism. The Communists replaced Buddhism with communism; however, the replacement was not much in content, as seen by Rupen (1979) as being in a negative light, and a view similarly held by Myagmar (1998, 101) as well who saw it as a distortion in societal development.

After the war, the media continued its task of raising up the nation and developing national economy and culture...."The invincible teachings of Marxism-Leninism, tenacious Mongolian-Soviet friendship, co-operation and mutual aid among the socialist countries, the international communist movement, the fight against the machinations of international imperialism and the struggle for peace throughout the world – these were and still are the main subject-matter and contributions of our mass communication media..."(Bures, 1980, 48).

In the 1940s, about 80% of Mongolians were illiterate. During that time, radio carried four to seven hours of daily programming, and was being heard in most parts of Mongolia. (Myagmar, 1998, 97) Literacy grew fast after the Cyrillic alphabets were introduced in 1946; they were easier to learn than the Uighur script.

By the end of the 1950s, the Mongolian mass public began to form quickly, due to socialist order with its low prices, free educational system and compulsory school attendance. The choice of the media content fell under the control of the Mongolian Revolutionary People's Party. Political leadership saw media as a tool to reach as many people as possible, and a tool capable of educating the masses and a means of making the party's political goals a reality. In socialism, the media's development is not defined by public view and consumerism, but by attaining the political goals of those holding power. (Myagmar, 1998, 102)

3. From 1960 onwards - The material and technical foundation of socialism is completed.

One of the most significant societal changes was that work and housing were separated from free time. In the nomadic lifestyle, there is neither free time, nor separation of work from free time because everything takes place in or near the home. The work time had been regulated since 1924, but the new understanding of time did not develop until during the 1960s generation. In the 1950s the first industry workers were still tied to the notion of individual cattle farming. Yet, Mongolia's socialist society saw the benefits of having a free time, whose purpose is to be used for individual development, which in the long run benefits the whole of society. (Myagmar, 1998, 103)

"The societal development after people's revolution in 1921 showed that journalistic media, first of all press and radio, made people more reachable. By the end of 1960s press and radio belonged to most people's everyday life. Mass communication, a mark of civilized society, also in Mongolia, became the basis for society's life. The history of journalistic media in Mongolia cannot be separated from the society's development, but it needed foreign help – Soviet help. Mass media had to solve the issues - of technical tools, qualified staff, and creative producers, the scarcity of people – based on foreign, especially Soviet support. It must be emphasized, that the journalistic media was not involved, as an institution part of social life, in widening the ideas about modernization and educating people into political and ideological goal setting. The journalistic media was not educating people about setting up political-ideological goals, rather it was 'stuck' at the developmental level of nomadic life – it was subject to the development of nomadic life." (Myagmar, 1998, 102)

It was the new generation, (which did not strive so much to retain the nomadic values), whose worldview was formed by the modern school, which was shaped by societal organizations and the media. Even though the media played an important role in social change, it was by no means a trigger of change in and of itself. (Myagmar, 1998, 97)

Mass media took on new meaning during the 60s and 70s when a political press and radio reached a level of permanence in people's everyday lives, and television reception widened. For the nomads, media meant that their worldview was not based only on direct experiences, but life became more either directly or indirectly structured by media, and secondary experiences gained a meaning. Journalistic media held an important role of socialization and political legitimization. Myagmar thinks Mongols' originally trusted magically in the written word, which made it a natural transition to trust in newspapers, and later radio. (Myagmar, 1998, 97)

Television became countrywide by the end of the 1970s and towards the beginning of the 1980s. The social changes were not ushered in by the media, but rather with the help of direct communications. It is also worth mentioning that particular social processes were prohibited; for example, the practice of religion was forbidden, which Myagmar claims resulted in most of the Mongols losing their values. (Myagmar, 1998, 97)

Since the 1980s some statistics have been drawn from studies on time usage; showing that the most important free time use is the use of journalistic media. However, due to communistic censorship, the planned economy, and the Soviet Union's dominant role (importing media content, and low development level of Mongolian economy), the media was limited in width and variety – it was one sided. Media was seen as politically educative, rather than entertaining. Unlike industrial nations free time did not become an industry in Mongolia, and an entertainment media did not institutionalize. Following are the concepts that had not crystallized in Mongol media 1) the needs of recipients, 2) media's societal roles, and 3) media as entertainment. Media retained its role of being politically educative. (Myagmar, 1998, 103)

"From the special features of Mongolia's societal development follows, that aspects of modern life (=social differentiation, machines, buildings, consumption, mass media) become the marks of everyday life in city, but they did not put aside the traditional culture, which followed that 'tradition' and 'modern' walk together in Mongolia." (Myagmar, 1998, 103)

You can see the "tradition" and the "modern" walk together not only in the living situations and in the clothing, but also in the worldviews, opinions, and attitudes of the various generations. Media brings organized entertainment, yet traditional games, parties and other types of refreshment remain important. Moreover, traditional mentality structures are important – happiness, simplicity, being content, and a sincerity towards other people still dominants. The typical features of modern life – stress, a lack of time, and alienation are not yet actual problems in Mongolia. For these reasons, in Mongolia, there is not yet a need for media content that would serve as medication, or help in pain. (Myagmar, 1998, 104)

Myagmar thinks it suitable that the communistic model had what she called a very short time of influence in Mongolia's 800 year history. At the same time, she sees the Soviet Union's domination over media as positive in two respects: first, it preserved the nation's social nature protecting it from industrialized entertainment, and secondly, it brought equality to media coverage so that both urban and rural residents were reachable. To elaborate on the first point, Myagmar values the communist authoritarian media model as far as it protected Mongolians from media's negative influence on family life, and its tendency to narrow social relationships. The spread of media did not have as many dysfunctional effects to Mongolia's cultural life, as it had in other developing countries. Mongols have been able to keep their friendliness to guests, their interest, and eagerness to communicate even in the modern world, despite media development. Elaborating on the second point, in most developing countries mass media is known to widen the gap between the city and the countryside. However, in this case Myagmar suggests political leadership guided mass media development so that the same message, even though ideologically oriented, reached all layers of society – including the rural-urban equation so that the countryside people received the same content from the newspaper and the radio as the city dwellers, only it was received ten days or so later. (Myagmar, 1998, 98)

According to Myagmar the media was seen as a tool for political education rather than a tool for entertainment. She notes there is not a single simple word in Mongolian that means entertainment – the word being used is amusement, and the phrase being used is "having a

jolly good time." For this reason the idea of meeting any entertainment needs via media is not a clear concept in the Mongolians' mind. Myagmar concludes, however, that entertainment via media is solely dependent on how the recipient views the concept as to whether it is entertaining or not. The most important issue being how the media articulates the recipients' expectations and wishes, and what kind of relationship is espoused between the media content and the audience. (Myagmar, 1998, 99)

Media producers work within a framework of technical possibilities and political-ideological tasks. Even though the frames are tight, there are still interesting stories, educational documentaries, even good films which have been enjoyed with excitement by the audience. Myagmar writes that entertainment in its original meaning belongs to all communications cultures as a subjective emotional experience, and it does not need always to be called "media entertainment" as she says it is called nowadays in modern industrialized countries. (Myagmar, 1998, 99)

In conclusion, Myagmar sees the Mongolian media as having little influence over Mongolian society as changes have been forced from outside the country. The socio-political influence of the Soviet Union, as Mongolia's neighbor, has had a bigger effect on Mongolia as a country. Media has played a role in social change, but it has not been triggering the changes. Based on its history, the Mongolian media has been seen rather as a medium of political education rather than one of entertainment. Again, Myagmar believes that by avoiding entertainment in media in the western sense, some negative side effects such as alienation have been avoided.

I think Myagmar's views of Mongolia being protected from negative side effects of western media are too optimistic. One example of this is shown in the UB2002 survey (unpublished) which asked respondents to mention the number one family problem in Ulaanbaatar in general, and the top problem in their personal household. As seen in table 4, financial issues are mentioned as number one problem both on general level, as well as on personal level. In comparison, alcohol abuse and divorce are mentioned by very few as personal problems, even though they are mentioned as citywide problems by almost every

sixth respondent each. However, divorce and unemployment as larger societal problems might be the case in the urban areas only.

Table 4. What is the number one problem for Ulaanbaatar families and your family? Six most mentioned problems. (Romo-Murphy, 2002, unpublished)

**Number one problem
for UB families/your
family?**

Problems	58. UB family problem		59. YOUR family problem	
	n	% of the sample	N	% of the sample
financial issues, money	169	16.4	194	19
Alcohol abuse	143	13.9	20	2
Unemployment	132	12.9	69	6.7
Divorce	125	12.2	5	0.5
Housing and dwelling issues	91	8.8	45	4.4
Poverty	68	6.6	7	

There are also other concerns about the declining moral climate in Mongolian society (Ginsburg, 1998), one example being that Mongolian executives received letters of complaints attempted corrupt practices in the media (Brogger, Norgaard & Cummings, 2004). The internet discussion on the behavior of the Mongolian media to be shown later in this study, points to similar trends.

The print media in Mongolia had negligible effect during the first half of the 20th century, since the majority of the population was illiterate until the 1940s at which time the Uighur alphabet was shelved, and the easier Cyrillic letters become the norm. Even so, Myagmar sees Mongolians as trusting the written word, which leads back historically to a time when the Mongols learned to trust the Buddhist monks' interpretations of the written word.

Myagmar's comments, on the importance of media articulating the recipients' expectations and wishes, and what kind of relationship exists between the content of media and the audience (Myagmar, 1998, 99), are indicative of the roles adopted by at least one radio

organization in Mongolia today. These are concepts that modern community radio emphasizes – being close to the listener, providing channels for interaction, and invariably listening to the audience well enough to be able to create programming that matches their needs and interests. These concepts will be covered in further detail later in this study.

The effect of the Second World War on Mongolian society

The Second World War was seen as an important outside factor influencing the development of Mongolian society. “Certainly much had been done to eliminate the identity of the Mongols. The most important elements of that identity had been the Buddhist religion, the nomadic livestock herding of most Mongols outside the church, the Turkic language of the Mongols, unrelated to Chinese or Russian; their literature, which was largely folkloric and epic in form and content; and their history which could be summed up in the name of Chingiz-Khan and in the idea of pan-Mongolism. By 1940 the Buddhism had essentially been eliminated, but the nomadic way of life continued much as before. The traditional language was retained and even encouraged, but the Russian influence was felt in the adoption of Cyrillic script instead of the old form and in the content of education – the regime manipulated investigation and scholarship to discredit Chingiz-Khan and pan-Mongolism and thus the old 'nationalistic version' of Mongolian history." (Rupen, 1979, 68)

Rupen says one important area of Buddhist domination was in the field of medicine. The new regime had to delay the elimination of Buddhism for a few years, giving it time to establish its own version of the field of medicine. The number of Russian-educated doctors increased slowly, and later, towards the end of the 1970s, the attitudes towards Tibetan traditional medicine became more tolerant. Mongolians eventually gave up altogether the prejudice that Tibetan medicine was part of Buddhism's deceit (Rupen, 1979, 120).

A new system of education was formed, unlike the Buddhist system which taught only male students, to provide an education for both genders. Secular education was carried in

Mongolian, while the religious system stressed the Tibetan language. In the 1930s, one third of the children of school age in Mongolia received some kind of education, most of them in monastery schools based on Buddhist and Tibetan teaching. From 1937-39 the monasteries were closed, which left a total of 22,000 students in the secular schools. The army made sure it educated its recruits up to the point of literacy. Mongols made up 51% of the MPR workforce in 1934, and 88% in 1939; respectively; the Russians 39% and 6%, followed by the Chinese with 10% and 7%. (Rupen, 1979, 53)

The development in Mongolia was fairly un-dynamic until the 1950s. Also the fight against illiteracy did not start until the 1950s, four years after the Cyrillic alphabets were introduced; at that time Mongolia experienced a massive wave of Russian cultural influence in the cities and within the formal institutions, which were epitomized by the use of the Cyrillic alphabet. The knowledge of Russian was a sign of modernity and a key to social mobility, especially after 1970. Starting in 1982, Russian language study had to begin in kindergarten. Myagmar sees that the elimination of illiteracy was accelerated by ideological education via mass organization, through political pressure, and in the wake of the development of an educational system. Furthermore, during the 1950s came the first new generation whose values did not originate from traditional views, but rather from science, and technology. This same generation experienced socialist modernization with its aid driven programs of industrialization and urbanization, and which now forms the Mongolian elite. (Myagmar, 1998, 101, 102, Kotkin & Elleman, 1999, 258-259)

It was during the long rule of Yumjaagiin Tsedenbal (1952-1984), a time when livestock was collectivized and urbanization increased; as Mongolia experienced economic success, which enhanced media development. The level of literacy increased- from 6% in 1935 to 20% in 1940 and even up to 60% in 1950. During this time of change, the use of Tibetan had almost disappeared (Rupen, 1979, 68). With the attainment of a respectable level of reading competence, newspapers were read by a large enough number of Mongolians that for the first time referring to the print media as "mass media" was appropriate. In 2000, the literacy of 15+ populations was 99.3% (UNESCO 1999).

Mongolians have historically been facing several languages – besides their mother tongue of Mongolian, known officially as "Mongolian, Halh" (www.ethnologue.com), because of their proximity they have had their share of Tibetan influences, as well as Russian and Mandarin Chinese which have always been necessary and useful for maintaining relationships on both sides of the border. In addition, "Mongolian, Peripheral" is spoken by a number of Mongols living in the Autonomous Region of China, shortened to "IMAR" and also called "Inner Mongolia". Ethnologue defines "Mongolian, Peripheral" as "Largely intelligible with the Halh standard dialect of Mongolia, but there are phonological and important loan differences." A comparison in 1975 between Inner Mongolia (the Mongol autonomous region situated inside the People's Republic of China) and Outer Mongolia (the independent country of Mongolia); shows that Inner Mongolia was less Mongolian in the sense that education was primarily in Chinese after the elementary level, while in Outer Mongolia the Mongolian language was pervasive throughout all levels of education. Only some university courses were in Russian in Outer Mongolia. It seems the Russian influence on Mongols in Outer Mongolia was less than Chinese influence on Mongols in Inner Mongolia. The Mongolian language is still written in the traditional vertical script, from left to right in Inner Mongolia. Newspapers and publications usually include both Mongolian and Chinese writing. The Chinese language undoubtedly dominates in Inner Mongolia far more than the Russian language does in Outer Mongolia. (Rupen, 1979, 97)

In the 1970s, a comparison study between these two areas shows that Outer Mongolian households seemed to have more possessions than Inner Mongolian households; even though watches, radios and clocks seemed to be common among Inner Mongolian nomads. According to Rupen (1979), out of the Inner Mongolian population of eight million, a total of only 5% were true Mongolians. The Chinese had encouraged Mongolians to move around and mix with Chinese, to be diluted. Even though Mongolians have been mixed with Chinese in Inner Mongolia, their language has remained alive, according to Ethnologue (Languages of the World data maintained by SIL International), over 3 million people still speak Mongolian, Peripheral. It is an official regional language of Inner Mongolia. According to the PRC's fourth census, according to Hurelbaatar (in Kotkin & Elleman, 1999, 195), in 1990, out of the IMAR population of 21.5m people, 15.7% were

Mongolians. That means, in twenty years, the share of Mongolians in IMAR had a little more than tripled.

It is evident that media has been used to exercise power and retain the political structure within both Inner and Outer Mongolia. The language used is pervasive, in that it makes a Mongol a Mongol, or a Mongol a Chinese or a Russian. The language is at the heart of identity and cultural existence. The Chinese have historically exercised their power in Inner Mongolia, while the Russians have historically showed their power in Outer Mongolia via media and communication. The Mongolian identity has withstood the test of time in that it remains strong, since even those living in China, have kept their Mongolian mother tongue, and more than that, kept their alphabets and unique writing style which uses the vertical writing from left to right; it is the only script on earth written in such a way.

The effect of the end of the socialist era on Mongolian society

The chaos connected with the end of the socialist era hit Mongolia stronger than in other Eastern Bloc countries, since economically Mongolia was tied in with Soviet Russia – there were 40 000 technical advisers in Mongolia that returned to the former Soviet Union, and the annual budget subsidy of 100 million rubles to the Mongols was discontinued.

Mongolia's inflation rate was 178% in 1992; the number of unemployed was 72 000 or about 8% of the population. The prices rose by 400% and meat, bread, flour and other basic food stuffs had to be rationed. It took two years, until 1994, before the GNP rose a little (2.1% in comparison to previous year). (Myagmar, 1998, 105, 106)

During the economic crisis, the main task of the society was to concentrate on the basic needs, like nourishment, clothing and living conditions – the spiritual or cultural needs that are higher in the hierarchy of needs became less important. The schools providing a basic education suffered the most. After 1993, over 2000 teachers in Ulaanbaatar gave up their professions and schools were closed. In the countryside the situation was the worse; a total of 50-60% of the children lived too far away from the nearest schools. As a result, the

number of illiterates rose between 1991 and 1994 by 10%. But, in book publishing, the situation got even worse; not only were fewer books printed, but even more films of a lower quality were shown in the longstanding Mongolian Film studio "Mongol Kino". (Myagmar, 1998, 112-113)

Myagmar separates the awakening of Mongolia's own national culture and heritage into three fronts:

1. The reevaluation of our own identity.
2. The liberalization of religions politics including the opening up of religious life.
3. The return of the old Mongolian script.

Myagmar sees Chingiz-Khan as once again becoming a symbol of national pride and unity – a national hero. On a religious level, Lamaist Buddhism is making a comeback. The official socialist picture of Mongolia, as Asia's first atheistic state, she claims does not correspond to the truth. Legalizing the religion was shown in the restoration of Buddhist temples - in 1990 only a few Buddhist temples were alive (out of 720 originally) – in 1994 there were as many as 120 temples opened in Mongolia, with 2000 lamas active in 1995. According to Myagmar, parents have started sending their children to religious schools, and the Parliament even established a council to tackle religious questions. In 1993 a document was drafted that secured religious freedom and explained that "Mongolians need to pay attention to their cultural traditions, including the Buddhist religion." (Myagmar, 1998, 107, 108)

Other religions are allowed, however, on a country-level there is no data showing the popularity of other religions. The UB2002 survey showed two thirds of the capital city residents as adherents to Buddhism, and less than one third claiming no philosophy or religion. Only 2% claimed to be Atheists. (Romo-Murphy 2002, unpublished)

Table 5. Affiliation to religion or philosophy in Ulaanbaatar (Romo-Murphy 2002, unpublished)

Religion	% of 1025
Atheism	1.9
Buddhism	63.4
Christianity	3.3
Islam	0.6
Shamanism	0.4
Other	0.4
no philosophy/religion	29.4
refused to answer	0.7

Myagmar sees religious culture as having returned to the nation. She recognizes that before the 70 year Soviet era, almost every important life stage was discussed with a Lama, and it was important in those days for a family to send at least one son to a monastery. Even so, the young and the middle-aged of today are more often likely to be atheist, or without religion, as shown in the UB2002 survey. It is also becoming common for people to be interested in using horoscopes, and fortune telling. On Buddhist side; Tibetan lamas have come to teach Mongols, and Mongols have gone to Tibet to learn more. While one group believes Lamaism needs to adjust to a modern world, another group of Mongolians believe people need to have an understanding of Buddhist teachings. Myagmar notes that the Tibetan language is still a language of Liturgy, but that most Mongolians do not know Tibetan, a condition which she says means the Mongolian religiosity remains blind and under the influence of magical thoughts. (Myagmar, 1998, 108-109)

Along with the awakening of Mongolian history and its effects on religion came also a revival of the literate culture. By the end of the 1980s there were aspirations of bringing back the old Mongolian form of writing. However, it was too difficult a task to carry out, since the population would have to learn the old Uighur script; the script itself did not match well with the modern form of speaking. Up until 1988 the central TV and most of the important newspapers were written in the old Mongolian script. To show national independency, there were even some street signs changed into the Uighur script. (Myagmar, 1998, 109)

Myagmar refers to the concept of a self-reliance strategy. In difficult times, it is the traditional culture that is the savior of the country and the savior of the cultural identity of people. Seventy years of socialism changed Mongolian's lives, thoughts, and behaviors. During those years, already two generations had grown up; both of which whose own traditions held less meaning to them. The current Mongolia is looking for an optional way forward; a developmental path that combines the technological change with respect to maintaining the value of cultural uniqueness. (Myagmar, 1998, 110)

3.2.2.2 Changes in mass media in the 1990s

Russians had supported the material prerequisites for both the electronic and the print media. At first, the print media became independent, however, independent papers found it difficult to actually find a suitable location to produce printed matter. Meeting the need a new printing house was created and was known as the Free Press; it was funded by the Danish Development Agency and established specifically for the publishing of independent papers. Nevertheless, state-run newspapers dominated the print media during the whole of the 1990s. The electronic media itself opened at a slower pace than the journalistic media, however, during the 1990s a few independent radio stations, as well as two private television stations were established; one of them came through foreign funding.

The biggest change in mass media was that the audience was seen, not as an object of political influence, but as a needy audience, with its own wishes. Newspapers were no longer the loudspeaker of the party, but provided a discussion forum to post views and opinions. Newspaper offices received letters from readers who wanted to express their visions on the future of the country, as well as share how to solve the problems. The communications culture changed from there being an emphasis on the communicator to there being an emphasis on the recipient, and to being problem oriented rather than theory oriented. The relationship between the communicator and the audience became dynamic. (Myagmar, 1998, 114)

The interest in the audience was also made apparent by the increase in communications research; the “Sant Maral” Foundation (SMF) was established in September, 1994 as a public benefit, self-governing, non-profit NGO (www.santmaral.com). Sant Maral has conducted several opinion polls concerning politics, the financial situation, and people’s trust in media.

In the printed media, there was a shift from communal use to individual use of the newspapers. People ordered their own subscriptions, or bought a paper from the newsstand. In television, during the 1990s, foreign programs with a capitalist background began to be integrated with traditional Mongolian and Russian programs. From 1995 on it became possible to have a cable connection, which added more channels, and therefore diversified the TV market. (Myagmar, 1998, 136)

Even though there was more freedom in the media following the end of the communist era, and the media was not subjugated by the party; still the orientation towards rules and authority continues to play an important role in the Mongolian media. In politics and the economy, the state has retained its role of central rule as an organizational principle. (Myagmar, 1998, 115)

Out of all media, newspaper ownership became the most privatized during the 1990s – in 2000, about 65% of the newspapers were owned by private companies, compared to 25% of the magazines, 10% of the radio stations and 5% of the TV stations respectively. In comparison to the print media, the electronic media experienced less radical changes, and television and radio have remained dependent on the government and thus under the influence of the state apparatus. Small changes were detected in the content of programming – with less commentaries and economic and political topics, but there was more production aimed at the cultural and entertainment side of programming. (Monitoring Mongolian Media 2001, Myagmar, 2002, 7)

To sum up, in the 1990s, the diversification of Mongolia’s mass media began; different types of printed matter made its debut, and radio stations and television stations, including

cable service, were established. Media's attitude towards the audience changed; the audience was seen for the first time as responding and active instead of passive. The next chapter covers in more detail the development of the Mongolian mass media from the 1920s up to the new millennium; it shows how the beginning and the end of the socialist era affected Mongolian society. The UB2002 survey (James & Romo-Murphy, 2003; Romo-Murphy, 2002, unpublished), conducted in co-operation with WIND-FM and Health Communications Resources from Australia, gives a comprehensive look at the capital's media and its use at that time. The UB2002 survey is compared with recent empirical data on Mongolian media environment. To complete the picture, finally, a look at Mongolia's development heading towards being a country with Public Service Broadcasting.

3.3 Development of Mongolian media

3.3.1 The Press

Mongolia's first newspaper "Mongolyn Unen" was born in 1920, but its publishing was at first illegal inside the Mongolian border, and it was published in Irkutsk, Russia.

Mongolyn Unen was a political paper, and it played a special role in extending the national liberation movement, in strengthening the People's Party, in criticizing feudalism, and in mobilizing the broad masses for the revolutionary struggle, or to exercise power over the working class. In addition to Mongolyn Unen, other smaller publications played a big roll politically as advertisements and for motivating the masses to the revolutionary struggle. (Bures, 1980, 32, Myagmar, 1998, 63)

Besides the socio-politically oriented printed matter, it was the Red Army and its Communist oriented political administration that served as an ideological role model for the Mongolians. Mongolia's people's revolution included not only philosophical, historical, political, and sociological orthodoxy, but it also worked to build up the Mongolian Communist Party, a Communist-oriented government, and a Communist-directed army, as well as collaborate with the Comintern. The army was subject to a Communist-oriented political administration. (Bures, 1980, 36, Rupen, 1979, 23)

After the people's revolution in 1921 the Russian publishing house went under Mongolian ownership. Mongolians were able to print their own books, papers and magazines in their own publishing house, but printing still needed foreign funding. The next important step in the development of journalism was the founding of the Mongolian news agency "Monta", nowadays known as "Montsame", since 1957. (Myagmar, 1998, 64)

The 1924 constitution defined Mongolia as "sovereign people's republic", and it guaranteed the freedom of opinion for the workers, which meant that the press and the spreading of the print products became a matter of state. In all socialist countries, the opinion and press freedom is seen as a collective right, and not as an individual right. (Myagmar, 1998, 64)

In the period from 1921-25 several political newspapers were born and legally published in the country. The Mongolyn Unen continued as "Unen", explaining the party politics and decisions, bringing up and mobilizing the masses, bringing forth democratic reforms, commenting on the outer and inner politics, and rejoicing over the Soviet-Mongolian friendship. (Bures, 1980, 33, Myagmar, 1998, 64)

The first local paper "Ulaanbaataryn medee" – News from Ulaanbaatar - was published in the capital in 1929. In the end of the 1930s, in Mongolia, there were five newspapers and seven magazines published, with a circulation of 90,000. This meant every ninth person received a paper or magazine, even though at that time only every fifth person was literate. Myagmar (1998) thinks this ratio might not be correct, since the alphabetization campaign of introducing to replace the traditional system with "easier-to-typeset and read Latin script" was carried out on the surface level of the population. (Dugarova-Montgomery & Montgomery in Kotkin & Elleman, 1999, 79, Myagmar, 1998, 65)

The Revolution inspired the founding of many papers targeting different groups to instruct them in the communist world outlook. Each of these groups was educated to the communist world view, with special attention to adolescents and young people (Manai Unen – Our Truth in 1923 which is today called Mongolyn Zaluucud – Mongolian Youth), as well as children. And in the spirit of equality, women received their own magazine as early as 1925 – "Mongolyn Emegteichuud" – Women of Mongolia. This paper took a big leap forward by breaking down century old prejudices and offering women an important role in creating the new society. (Bures, 1980, 34-35, Myagmar, 1998, 64)

After the war, the papers discussed the war experience and the international proletariat, as well as the friendly relations with the Soviet Union. In 1944-45 local papers emerged. They were published by district Party committees and the local Khurals (assemblies) of people's deputies. (Bures, 1980, 34-35, Myagmar, 1998, 64, 70)

The number of newspapers and magazines increased in the 1940s and 1950s, and at the same time, the press became centralized. Many papers and magazines that had started

independently went under the editorial staff of Unen, which was able to then define the content of these independent papers and magazines. Myagmar sees Unen as the main governor of the printed media until the 1990s and she cites examples of their dominance; Unen had been published daily since 1942, it was printed both in Mongolian and Russian, it was the first paper that had its own correspondents in all regions, and it had its own foreign news section. (Myagmar, 1998, 66)

According to Myagmar, reading competence did not develop in the majority of the population until the 1960s, after the adoption of the Cyrillic alphabets and along with help from Russia for the development of education; so it was not until the 1960s that the press can be called a mass media. This was a time for positive reflection on economics, which had grown since the early 1950s; it was supported with help from the Soviets and the Chinese, and the economy continued to grow into the 1960s and 1970s, and was seen as instrumental in helping to increase the living standards of Mongolians. Over this period of time all 18 provinces (aimags) had regional papers, all of which worked towards securing the ideological and organizational functions of the press in all areas, rather than addressing the people's need for information, or looking into the readers' particular interests. Similarly, there was no differentiation between political and nonpolitical papers, since the entire press was lead and controlled by the party. (Morozova, 2007, 401, Myagmar, 1998, 65, 70)

Towards the end of the 1980s the government's grip on media loosened as a result of the Mongolian version of Perestroika, and transformation from the Soviet authoritarian system began. The new era was seen first as editorial staff and journalists gained more freedom to make decisions. Both the party and the government controlled media personnel began to write about controversial issues such as personality cults, pollution, prostitution, and crime. With the new themes being addressed in the print media, reader's motivation increased. The circulation of the Unen increased to a record-high of 184 000, a circulation level which was not broken until 1998. February 1990 is a benchmark date in Mongolian free press history; it marks the publishing date of the country's first independent paper, Shine Toly (New Mirror). (Myagmar, 1998, 71, Myagmar & Nielsen, 2001, 4)

The number of newspapers and magazines grew quickly, from 70 publications in 1991, to 155 in 1992, and up to as many as 270 publications in 1993 – the increase was fourfold in two year's time. And since the political scenery changed, so did the papers. Some papers changed their Russian name into Mongolian. It was the first time ever in the history of Mongolia there came into being several of the so called "Boulevard newspapers", or yellow papers. During that period the "serious" papers (Unen, Chodolmor, Mongolyn Zaluucuud) also changed and they started to publish sensational stories and horoscopes. (Myagmar, 1998, 116)

Even though the number of publications increased, the use of printed media decreased between 1990 and 1994 as the independent papers were more costly than those papers supported by the state. During the same period, the number of radios and TVs remained the same. Myagmar lists the reasons for the decline in the use of printed media: people could not afford to buy newspapers, but also in the earlier days the ordering of papers was organized by institutions and companies, while with the freed press the act of purchasing a paper was based on free choice and the real interests and needs of the readers. Myagmar refers to the Ulaanbaatar National University survey in 1994, which shows 22.5% of the city people were regular readers of a newspaper ordered subscription, while 44.1% of the city people bought their papers from the street shops. Street shops were a new phenomenon in the 1990s. (Myagmar, 1998, 130)

Myagmar claims, even though there is no empirical data on that during the period before the society changed in 1990s, that reading the papers has changed; nowadays papers are read at work, in traffic or at a friend's house – earlier they were read inside the four walls after the duties were done. (Myagmar, 1998, 132) With this comment, Myagmar emphasizes that newspaper reading was starting to become a part of the people's everyday lives, and was no longer being separated from everyday life.

Mongolians' newspaper subscriptions fell off again between 1999 and 2001. According to the Press Institute, newspapers do not live long, for example, out of the 37 monthly newspapers listed in the year 2000; only 27 were represented in the first half of 2001. The

most common reason for stopping the publication of newspapers is financial difficulties. In 2000, a majority of the newspapers were either privately owned, or owned by a NGO, while 11% were owned by a state organization, and 3% by a political party. (Monitoring Mongolian media, 2001, 9-13)

Even though the communists saw the printed word as valuable in spreading the party's views, the newspapers were freed first. According to Myagmar & Nielsen (2001), as many as two thirds of the newspapers were privately owned in 2000. The overall effect of the independent newspapers was diminished after perestroika as a result of the financial hardships. Government papers were state supported and cheaper, moreover, institutions subscribed to them so that they were available in the work place. Until the mid-1990s the only printing press was the government owned Suhbaatar Publishing House, until a new printing house, the *Free Press*, was founded in 1996 with the help of the Danish, which made printing independent papers affordable. (Myagmar & Nielsen, 2001, 4)

3.3.2 Radio

Revolutions paved the way for the establishment of radio broadcasting in Mongolia. The joint Mongolian-Soviet stock company, "Mongolian radio" was founded in 1931. There were aspirations that since the majority of the population were illiterate; radio would become popular. The Mongolian press had already collected several years of experience as a "revolutionary press system" (as Myagmar 1998 calls it), with local and regional newspapers. However, due to the large distances, it was difficult to sell papers throughout Mongolia. (Bures, 1980, 38)

Radio had actually been introduced in the mid 1920s in Mongolia by the Russians, and onwards from June 10th, 1931 the Mongolian language could be heard periodically on the "machine of air news" as it was known. The development of radio was no easier than that of the printed word, to name a few of the challenges – the technical tools of the trade were needed, along with a staff with know-how and experience. In 1933 an inter-governmental

treaty between the USSR and MoPR (Mongolian People's Republic) enabled the establishment of a radio network throughout the vast country, and the following year the national broadcasting service began from (then known as) Ulan Bator. With the Soviet aid and technical assistance, an extensive medium and short wave system were both established, featuring one national service and 20 provincial stations by the mid-1970s. The foreign service for radio, the "Voice of Mongolia" was established in 1964. (Bures, 1980, 38, Myagmar, 1998, 78, Sterling & McDaniel, 2004, 109)

The state run *Mongolian Radio* was founded in 1934 and since 1960 the station has been airing programs nation-wide with almost total coverage. Between 1978 and 1979 the radio network was further extended to cover the cities of Altai-Ugii and Erdenet. In 1994 *Mongolian Radio* expanded to a second channel, *Khukh Tenger* broadcasting, in Ulaanbaatar and the central region. In the mid-1990s, in addition to the new government channel, several private new radio stations were launched in Ulaanbaatar. (Myagmar, 1998, 78, Myagmar & Nielsen, 2001, 4)

Listening to the radio decreased from the 1980s to the 1990s in the countryside, because the Soviet Union imported less radios and fewer parts. This trend of poor communications in rural areas continued during the transition from the command to the market economy, partly since the remote areas were under the responsibility of the aimag (province) government, instead of the central government, and partly due to the people moving away from smaller sums (districts), which shrinks the rationale for the need for cultural facilities in those areas. (Bruun in Bruun & Odgaard, 1996, 87, 89, Myagmar, 1998, 132)

Myagmar (1998) distinguishes five stages in the history of radio in Mongolia (by Myagmar, 1998, 77-81)

1. The first broadcast in Ulaanbaatar radio, named "Lenin", was aired on September 1st in 1934. This program was a continuation of the periodic trial broadcast in the Mongolian language, which had been started three years earlier. The programming, targeted to Mongolia in the 1920s, had been in the Russian language. In the 1930s radio's jurisdiction was controlled by a special Radio commission, which was part

of the MPRP Central Committee. The air time was filled with individual programs made by various organizations due to the lack of qualified producers. Since there were many households without radios, listening to the radio was publicly organized in official buildings. There were a total of 1700 such radio listening centers in the capital and district centers. Myagmar calls these the experimental years of radio.

2. Mongolian radio was very limited it aired the same types of broadcasts, and the reach was small, until 1947 when the tape recorder was introduced from Russia, adding variety to the broadcasts and making live taped broadcasts possible. At the ministry level, a committee for radio broadcasts was established, with two departments, the one for politics, and the other for culture. The department of culture had an orchestra with twelve musicians. This could be called the time of political and cultural programming.
3. In 1959, the committee of broadcasting was united with the "Administration of Information and Radio department", both with directors, and an additional department for correspondents, one for technical, and another for foreign relations, and its own press organ (Orcin ujein mongol uls, Modern Mongolia) was established. This is the era of mixture programming.
4. With the improved circumstances, the daily broadcast hours increased in ten years (from the end of 1940s till the end of 1950s) from seven to ten hours a day. This is the era of expansion.
5. The technical quality of broadcasts improved when a stronger radio transmitter was installed in Ulaanbaatar in 1960. Technical conditions were improved so that it was possible to broadcast in several frequencies; this improved the signal to the remote areas of Mongolia, and even to abroad. The same year a new building for post and communications was opened, facilitating the exchange of information with other countries. Radio started to spread tremendously from 1960 onwards, which can be seen in the amount of broadcast hours increasing up to 25 hours daily, and radio expanding to the two channels. This the Radio era with improvement in all respects – technically, coverage wise, internationalization, and content wise.

The Glasnost Period did not initially bring any significant changes to the programming structure. However the content of the broadcasts on journalistic issues and societal problems eased a little: more emphasis was given to the economic situation, particularly the agricultural arena, and also to the prevailing social problems which often raised questions of an ethical or moral nature. By the end of the 80's there was ever more frequently being raised the emerging concept of "public opinion" in the media. While in some socialist countries (Poland, Czechoslovakia, and the Soviet Union in the Khrushchev era) already in the 1950s there were surveys designed for the audience, in Mongolia, it was not until 1987-88 that the opinion of readers, listeners and viewers were examined empirically during the process of media communication. It was Mongolia's central radio programming's newly created series in which listener letters were discussed (eg "Njam garigiin suudan" post-Sunday or questions were answered e.g. "radio suud cholboo" - direct radio connections) and used as a basis for designing new programs, that the concept of audience opinion took off even before the 1988 poll results of Mongolian radio listeners were published. Myagmar notes in her dissertation that it is the critical public that needs to be thanked for the starting a comprehensive social change even though in Mongolia, as in many other socialist countries, the democratic transition is seen as coming from the top down.

The electronic media did not become free from state control as fast as the papers did. In 1993, April 12th, a regulation allowed private radio stations to rent air time on state channels. However, the rental price was so high that the broadcast station "Tenchleg" (Crisis) and "Sum" (Arrow) had to be closed. "Cagaan Sonchor" (White Eagle), a private station founded in 1993, managed to stay on air with four hours of weekly broadcasts. It was much favored with its music programs and documentaries. Mongolia's first private music station didn't appear until 1994 when "Radio Ulaan-Baatar 102.5" was founded and run by the country's biggest media corporation Mongol News Co. Ltd. In addition to radio, MNC also runs five Mongolian dailies, three weeklies and TV Channel 25. As of 1998, with 98 hours of weekly programming Radio Ulaan-Baatar enjoyed a great popularity, especially among the young people. Radio Ulaan-Baatar 102.5 was among the four most listened to stations in Ulaanbaatar in 2002. (Myagmar, 1998, 48, 117, James & Romo-Murphy, 2003, 105)

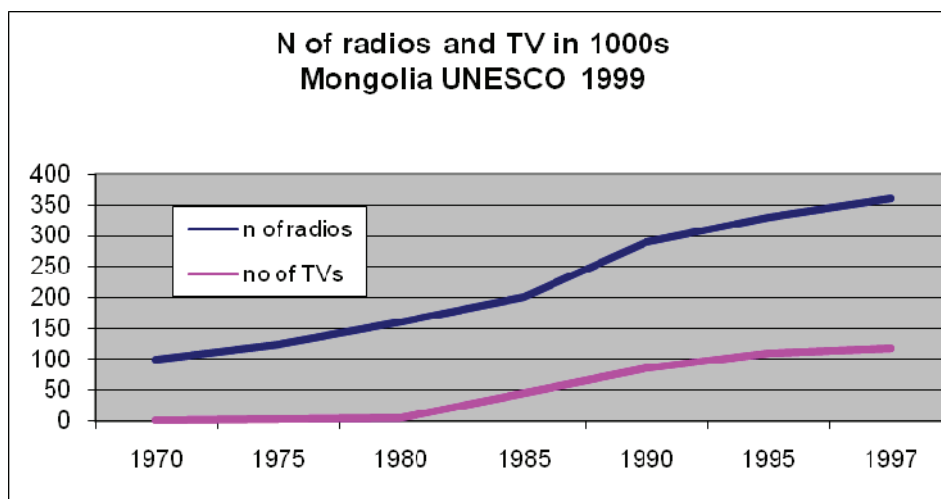
3.3.3 Television

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the 1960s was the best growing era for radio; it was a time when it developed in all fields, technically, program, and, coverage wise. Radio development was well ahead of televisions, as shown in graphs 6 and 7. First of all, it can be seen in the radio and television statistics published by UNESCO. The number of radios in Mongolia started to increase during the good economic times in the 60s and 70s, while the growth of television set ownership did not begin until the 1980s, after the television network expanded to become nationwide. According to the statistical handbook, there were just fewer than 15,000 television sets in Mongolia in 1970, and almost 25,000 in 1973. Foreign-trade statistics show that Russians sent over 5,000 sets in 1970, and 6,000 in 1973, and after that until 1977 either two or three thousands sets annually. (Rupen, 1979, 191)

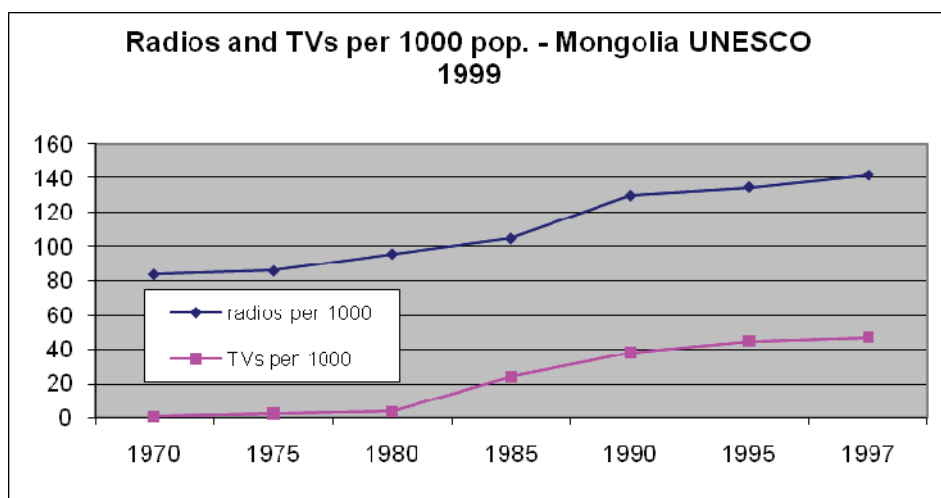
Television ownership increased slowly in Mongolia; in 1970 only 6 out of 100 households had a TV set, in comparison to 14 out of 100 in 1980, and up to 48 out of 100 in 1990, respectively. As for radio, there were 41 units per 100 household in 1990. Radio served 90 percent of the country's population, while television could reach only 60 percent of the population in the 1990s. Radio's reach was facilitated with some towns being reached by wired networks. (Myagmar, 1998, 25,130, Sterling & McDaniel, 2004, 109)

Graphs 2a and 2b next page show how the number of televisions in Mongolia did not increase until the 1980s. Number of radios show steady increase since 1970s.

Graph 2a. Number of radios and televisions in Mongolia, years 1970 – 1997 (UNESCO 1999)



Graph 2b. Radios and televisions per 1000 population in Mongolia, years 1970-1997 (UNESCO 1999)



Mongolian National Television was established and based on an agreement between the Soviet and Mongolian governments in 1965. Two years later the Mongolian television center was built, again with the help of the Soviet Union. The Russians also installed the satellite transmission "Orbita" telecommunications system in 1970, which made it possible to watch television in other towns besides Ulaanbaatar. "Intersputnik" channels brought Mongolians programs from other socialist countries and from Cuba. "Orbita" delivered

more weekly program hours via satellite than Mongolian National TV, for example in 1972 a total of 18 hours was broadcast by Orbita compared to 11 hours from national TV. Since Orbita started daily broadcasts as early as 1976, it had the advantage over Mongolian Television which did not start daily broadcasts until 1992. Until 1986, the Mongolian Television broadcast limited hours on four nights a week Orbita thus lead the hours of weekly broadcasting compared to Mongolian television in 1992 by as much as 63 hours to 32.5 hours. The weekly transmission hours of Mongolian television grew after the construction of a new television center with help of the Soviet government in 1988, and overall, TV watching time increased by 1.2 hours in between 1980s and 1994. A sharp rise of 42% in the amount of weekly transmission hours happened between 2000 and 2001: from 42 to 72 hours on Mongolyn Undesnii (National) TV. Today, Mongolyn Undesnii TV broadcasts 119 hours weekly. In 2008, there are 18 Russian cable channels available in Mongolia. (Monitoring Mongolian Media, 2001, 21, 25, Mongolian Media today, 2008, 28, 34, Myagmar, 1998, 24, 132, 135, Myagmar & Nielsen, 2001, 4-5, Niamsuren & Urzhinbadam in Bures, 1980, 39, Rupen, 1979, 105)

Not much is known about the use of television since its first days, except for one piece of information by Niamsuren & Urzhinbadam (1980) stating that in 1980, every third Mongolian watches television from two channels; the national channel carries 20 hours weekly while the "intervision" channel carries 50 hours of programming each week. (Niamsuren & Urzhinbadam in Bures, 1980, 39)

The other record of audience measurement is about watching "Orbita" of the Central Soviet Television, which historically enjoyed great popularity especially among the youth and children. According to an opinion poll conducted in 1976 among young television viewers, which involved 400 people between the ages of 10 to 20 years, 70% of the participants gave preference to "Orbita", compared to 49% of the viewers who favored Mongolian National Television. The high number of "Orbita" viewers can also be justified because of its longer transmission time. (http://www.policy.hu/myagmar/research_paper.PDF)

Rupen (1979) lists the television programming available during one month in 1977 like this: "Newspaper listings for the last month indicate that Ulan Bator television presented programs 6 to 7 hours daily five days a week, and for about 12 hours on weekends. Most of the programming on single local channel derived from the USSR, and there was also an "Orbit" transmission from Moscow. Ten or fifteen minutes of nightly news, late movies and a great deal of sports made up most of the viewing schedule. There was no evidence of regular and systematic educational programs on television. During the month several programs, including locally originated ones, were presented in the Russian language. The programming a great deal of music, some films from Eastern Europe and Cuba, one-time presentations from Japan and Finland, and a special on Panama featuring a speech by the general secretary of the People's party of Panama. At least two original television plays by Mongolian authors (one a woman) in the Mongolian language and two Mongolian-made films were shown during the month, and about once a week a short documentary focused on one aimag (district). There were no programs dealing with China." (Rupen, 1979, 105)

Socialist countries supplied content to Mongolian national television so that, during the twenty year period, from 1972 to 1992, the Soviet central television Orbita has increased its weekly programming from 11 hours to 32 hours respectively. In comparison, during that same time, the weekly programming of Mongolia's national television increased from 18 hours in 1972 to 63 hours in 1992. Most of the imported material was game- and trick shows, as well as documentaries. Among the cultural programs, travel reports about other countries were the most common. From 1991 onwards the American and Italian movies and music programs were integrated with traditional Mongolian and Russian programs. And starting in 1995, it was possible to have a cable connection in the households, which in turn changed the media scene from homogenous to fragmented. (Myagmar, 1998, 135-136)

Mongolian National Television (MNTV) has undergone significant changes from its first trial days of poetry recitals and transmissions from concert halls, to a wide range of informational, entertainment, and educational programs. Having neither experience, nor sufficient qualified staff during its first years, MNTV modeled the Soviet broadcasting. Until the mid 1980s the format of MNTV was dominated by "serious" programs supplying

political information, documentaries and educational programs, whereas entertainment (shows, quiz, contest and music programs) was reserved for official holidays and the weekends. The period of "Glasnost" and "Perestroika" slightly livened up the programming of MNTV with talk shows and contest programs for youth and children, and sometimes concerts were broadcast during "regular" weekdays too. The social and economic changes in the country, since the beginning of the 1990s, lead to further changes in programming; more entertainment and sports, and more youth programs at the expense of the documentaries can be seen, even though the overall share of information programs concerning social, economic, and political issues still dominated. The choices of MNTV viewers rose: from 5-6 program types per day in the 1980s up to 10-15 types of programs per day. Despite the changes mentioned, Myagmar criticizes Mongolian television overall saying that fundamental alterations in MNTV have been missing, such as MNTV as an institution and its structure, as well as its positioning to the government. "The content of information programs, especially evening news, has been lingering on government biased news, and the restricted technical possibilities limit the quality and design of programs." "The current status and structure of the Mongolian National Television stipulate an explicit dependence on political authorities and constrain the objectivity of information: critics on the government or the ruling political party are in the MNTV hardly present, the information programs, especially news are clearly aligned with the government and parliament majority. At this point it must be noticed that also private broadcasts have been bound by partial interests of the owners: the Eagle TV, despite of its high professionalism of news programs (meaning balanced news programs and government opposed position in information programs) clearly pursue a missionary function promoting Christian values. The Channel 25 is a sympathizer of the current president, but it does not directly support the government." (On the Internet http://www.policy.hu/myagmar/research_paper.PDF)

3.4 Development of Media Laws in Mongolia

Since changes in media in the Soviet Union had their effect in Mongolia, we begin with a look at how the media laws evolved in the Soviet Union. Glasnost had started a societal and

media transition, which broke down the authoritarian Soviet communist media approach. The change is best described as transitional, meaning it did not happen at once, but is a slow process and needs time. In June of 1990, the Soviet Union stated its democratic press law "On the press and other Mass Media". "The statute was a product of liberal thinkers based on three important pillars: total abolition of censorship, permission of private ownership of the press, and independency of editors and journalists from the owners of the media. In June of 1990, the All-Russian TV and Radio Broadcasting Company (VGTRK) were founded by decree by the Russian parliament. However, at first the USSR government allocated VGTRK only the frequencies reaching small audiences. The following year another more liberal statute, "On the Mass Media" was adopted by the Russian Supreme Soviet, to prove that Russian authorities had a higher respect for press freedoms than the USSR government. (Nordenstreng, Vartanova and Zassoursky, 2001, 116, 117)

Overall, there were thirty federal statutes adopted, by the Russian parliament between 1991 and 1999, to regulate the field of mass media. The statutes gave mass media a good base to build on...they guaranteed the absence of state censorship, defined procedures to start a newspaper, stopped arbitrary closures of newspapers, provided an availability to information resources, gave access to sources, and opened the possibility to investigate and attack the government. The major gap was that there was no law created to protect broadcasting, and no regulations on how to gain access to government information. (Nordenstreng et al. 2001, 121)

The concept of "freedom" in Mongolian media is very young. It was not officially born until after the collapse of the Soviet Union. In theory, and as a movement, it started in the mid 80's with Gorbachev's reform, when the editorial staff was given more freedom to make decisions and journalists were allowed to argue about controversial issues. But the official date for the birth of the free press in Mongolia was February 1990, not as a form of law, but as a form of action; with the first issue of the newspaper "Shine Toly" (New Mirror). It started a flow of independent newspapers so that in one and a half year's time, a total of 155 new publications were added to the existing 70 publications. The number of publications stayed at about the same level for a long period of time, since in 2000 the

figure was about the same as in 1990; a total of 160 newspapers and 37 magazines were published in the year 2000. (Monitoring Mongolian Media 2000, 4, Myagmar & Nielsen, 2001, 4)

The transformation of the Mongolian broadcasting system has been slow, and making media laws has not been easy, according to Myagmar (2002, 49). At first, when the freedom of expression was guaranteed, "nobody knew quite right, if and how this freedom should be specified in a special media law" (Myagmar, 2002, 8). During the 1990s, ten draft laws were presented to politicians and media managers, showing a need to transform the broadcasting system, but also designed to draw public attention to the issue. The 1990's can be called the days of "lawless freedom" – there was freedom to establish new publications, and the censorship authorities were abolished, but there existed no media law, and the state owned media had a powerful monopoly. Myagmar points out that the initiatives to transform the broadcasting sector originated from both the NGOs and the journalists themselves; whereas in the government it was quite normal to proceed hesitantly with making any decisions concerning the liberalization of the electronic media. Yet every approach to change the Mongolian broadcasting system contributed on the one hand to a better understanding of the necessity to transform, and, on the other hand, to drawing public attention to respectively keeping the issue on the public agenda. At first, however, the main focus was only on Mongolia National Television, and not on the broadcasting system as a whole. (http://www.policy.hu/myagmar/research_paper.PDF, 2002, 2, 9)

The Mongolian journalist union edited the Russian press law and brought it to a vote in 1992; however, most government people voted against it. With the adoption of the Mongolian constitution in 1992, the freedom of expression was guaranteed as well as a citizens' right to seek and receive information. Even though the governmental censorship authority was abolished already in 1989, at first there were no legal provisions about the prohibition of censorship. (Myagmar & Nielsen, 2001, 5) Myagmar sees this as inexperience – nobody knowing what to do in the new circumstances which prevailed.

To illustrate the confusion which existed at the time over the meaning of press freedom, not even the journalists knew what the new freedom actually meant – according to a survey conducted in 1994 at the Mongolian National University, half of respondents said that "freedom of the press" means "writing about the truth of life."

(http://www.policy.hu/myagmar/research_paper.PDF, 2002, 9)

Despite the seventy years of influence Russia had over Mongolia, Mongolia's press law was not influenced by Russia, but by the west with the help of the USA's Asia Foundation, which suggested a proposal for a Press Law in 1994. The proposal for press law included all the essential elements present in the media laws of western countries, for example, both the right to establish media companies, and the forbidding of censorship. (Myagmar, 1998, 115, Myagmar & Nielsen, 2001, 5,)

Among the first steps taken to regulate the media environment was the Telecommunications Act of Mongolia, in 1995. A regulatory body, headed by the minister in charge of communications, was set up to look after the licensing and standards for telecommunications services.

(http://idrinform.idrc.ca/Archive/114638/pamy_inst_version/mn1.htm in Nov 18, 2009)

The Press Law was approved in 1994 by the government, and was accepted by the parliament in 1998 as the "Law on Freedom of Media", and it came into effect in 1999, and it required state-owned television, radio and wire services to be pooled under a self-funding national public broadcasting service (Jakubowicz, 2007, 194). The law freed state owned media from government control and prohibited censorship. The state owned newspapers were privatized, and the state radio and television organizations were dismantled and organized as national public media institutions. Even though many details were left open (financing of local media, right of access to information), it was a step forward, "towards breaking the state monopoly on news, since it legalized the idea of both private and public service media, prohibited state ownership on media, and brought the discussion on public service media as a clearly formulated objective on the agenda"

(http://www.policy.hu/myagmar/research_paper.PDF, 2002, 49-50) However, despite the

new media freedom law Mongolian National Television, as well as Mongolian National Radio were government run until 2005, when the Law on Public Radio and TV was passed. From July 2005 onwards, national radio and TV has been called "Mongolian National Public TV" and "Mongolian National Public Radio".

A license fee, called in Mongolia the "television fee" became part of the revenue sources of Mongolian National Television since 1998. The television fee began to be collected in Mongolia in 1972 and was known as the "transmission fee", to cover airing expenses. Since 1998, the collecting and distributing of the financial assets donated by households for "watching TV" has been assigned to the State Directorate for Broadcasting Affairs. The Directorate aggregates and directs state grants from the amount collected from households and distributes them between Mongolian Radio, Television, the transmission stations, and the technical departments of Mongolian National Television.

(http://www.policy.hu/myagmar/research_paper.PDF, 2002, 28)

Formation the law of public broadcasting

In Mongolia, the idea of public broadcasting did not emerge in connection with the enacting of the media freedom law. The concept of public broadcasting did not appear all at once, but rather in the slow course of social changes, which included the attitude changes towards media (http://www.policy.hu/myagmar/research_paper.PDF, 2002, 12).

After several years of talk and preparation, the Mongolian parliament passed a Law on Public Radio and TV on the 27th of January, 2005, which stipulates that state-owned Mongolian National Radio and TV shall be restructured as a public service broadcaster. Public Radio TV, PRTV, shall be independent from any organization, person or political parties or forces. It guarantees journalists the right to access information. The law also guarantees a citizen's right to reply. The new law is also an important step in the implementation of the 1998 Media Freedom Law. The Law on Public Radio and TV obliges Mongolian radio and TV to produce and broadcast programs covering a variety of subjects, such as politics, economics, science, culture, arts and sports. The law prohibits

producing and broadcasting programs about terrorism, discrimination, war, obscenity, violence, and such programs what would affect a person's reputation and honor. The highest governing body- the National Council of PRTV shall consist of 17 members, out of which 9 shall be nominated by NGOs, 2 by the Government, 2 by the President and 4 by the Parliament. Kh.Naranjargal, the president of Globe International, criticizes the law funding issues with respect to the advertising being restricted to 2% of the daily broadcasting time available. Besides advertising, the other forms of funding include license fees, state subsidies, and sponsorship. Kh.Naranjargal sees the formation of the law a result of long discussions between politicians and the public, and he recognizes that it comes as a result of the contributions of several Mongolian and international agencies, such as the Globe International, the Open Forum and the Press Institute on the Mongolian side, and such organizations as the Open Society Institute networks, Mongolian Foundation for Open Society, and UNESCO. (<http://www.openforum.mn/contents.php?coid=773&cid=149> published 16.2.2005)

The future will tell how PRTV in Mongolia has faired. Sweden's SIDA is helping PRTV to develop the radio broadcasting until 2010. It would be appropriate to evaluate how PRTV has developed after the year 2010.

Mongolian journalism hot-spots

In an interview, Lodongiin Tudev, the then chairman of the Union of Mongolian Journalists said in 1989...*"Mongolian journalism and Mongolian journalists are experiencing revolutionary changes in the present time. The impetus for this was given by discussion at the 5th Congress of our journalist's organization, held at the beginning of 1988. "... "Right after the congress, journalists adopted an objectively critical stance concerning our life, and this, in turn was reflected on the pages of newspapers and magazines, in the content of radio and television broadcasts...I would say that Mongolian journalists are in the stage of mastering the principles of glasnost...we are learning to use glasnost in solving vital economic, political and ethical problems.'* ... *"On the other hand, and this is no secret, not everyone welcomes the changes (in Mongolia). At all times and everywhere one finds*

people who place their personal or group interests above those of society and they, as you can understand, are threatened by our critical approach to shortcomings.' "I am firmly convinced that the public and the leadership of the State and our Party fully support us in our efforts to implement the principles of glasnost." (Hejc, 1989, 9)

In 1989, Lodongiin Tudev saw it the main task of Mongolian journalism as telling the truth. He mentioned the personality cult of Marshal Choibalsang, who made mistakes but was not criticized for the mistakes. "Such a period, naturally, has an effect on the ethics of the profession, and we must in many ways begin at the beginning" (Hejc, 1989, 10)

Eight years later, in 1997, Tsendiin Dashdondov, the President of the Free Democratic Journalists' Association, admits... "The image of the free press has certainly been damaged by unqualified, untalented journalists publishing newspapers and periodicals of poor journalistic quality (Lowe, 1997, 6)". On the other hand, Lowe (1997) continues... "in the mid 1990's, the Mongolian journalists were facing difficulties in getting government officials to respond to media enquiries. Journalists cannot help with being open, if the officials are not respecting the idea of openness."

There has been a solution to solve the first mentioned problem, the training of journalists. The Mongolian Press Institute was founded in 1995 with the goal of improving the journalistic standards through training journalists and giving them models of journalism from Western societies. The second mentioned problem; that of getting information from government officials is more difficult to solve, and still exists. Mr. B.Ganbold, the chairman of Mongolian National Radio and TV, admits in his interview in the *Udriin Soniin* daily paper, that there is some censorship in the National media, to prevent conflict, and "to run things normally without irritating the society."

(<http://www.openforum.mn/contents.php?coid=147&cid=149>. Published 10.12.2004)

After almost ten years since the Press Institute was established, the Mongolian television and press is still being criticized as low quality; journalists, when trying to do investigative journalism, are being taken to courts, even sometimes still persecuted. Even so, in 2004, the Mongols saw freedom of expression more "as having many media outlets, and all topics

open to deal with" rather than the free expression of opinion. (From an article by M.Altansukh, Senior Research Fellow of the Press Institute's Information and Research Department, published 25.8.2004. Public perception on Freedom of Press in Mongolia <http://www.openforum.mn/contents.php?coid=490&cid=149>)

There have been several criticisms (Myagmar & Nielsen 2001, Lowe 1996) of the media scenery having expanded in quantity, but not in quality. Several media outlets have been established, a variety of opinions are being expressed, however, the content of the media has not been broadened to deal with the various topics, public broadcast – the idea is still missing. Citizens' participation is non-existent, since several media outlets are seen to be serving the purposes of the owners, and not the public. And media outlets are still living according to the authoritarian approach to public information – whatever the government says is true, and the rest is untrue. The citizen's participatory view is missing, and the public broadcast view is missing. It will take time, maybe another 15 years to develop. But renovation has started at the broadcast level and with it a certain level of diversification.

The World Bank (WB) report of 2007, (http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EXTSOCIALDEVELOPMENT/Resources/244362-1164107274725/3182370-1185983304243/Mongolia_Part_3.pdf) sees several obstacles to implementing laws on media freedom and public broadcasting in Mongolia. One of them is the secrecy law, which unduly exercised, prevents journalists from getting information. WB says the Mongolian secrecy laws are too strict and have negative effects; therefore the laws should be adjusted to the international level. The other obstacle is financial – journalists are not well paid, and to get money, they write stories that sell, or they write stories so they can keep their jobs. One example is a newspaper story about Mongolians in Saudi Arabia, even though actually it was the Russians in Saudi Arabia, but it was changed to match the local audience. The World Bank (2007) evaluation sees the needs of Mongolian media like this:

"The media in any democracy have a crucial role to play in informing the public, transmitting popular views to officials, providing a forum for public debate, and monitoring public performance. A combination of legal, informal, and internal constraints undermine the media's ability to fulfill these roles. Since the end of socialism, Mongolia has made significant advances in the legal framework and in the diversification of the media sector. More is currently required to refine the legal framework, to improve implementation of progressive laws, to address the financial constraints facing the media, to build a culture of tolerance among political figures, and to promote professionalism in the media."

(Was available in Dec 2008 on the Internet

http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EXTSOCIALDEVELOPMENT/Resources/244362-1164107274725/.../Mongolia_Annexes.pdf)

The WB report (2007) sees the reason for the "regime of secrecy," dating back to the socialist rule when the government was secretive with anything bureaucratic. Even today, the journalists need to be secretive to get information, usually sourcing from one central contact point. There are delays in providing information, and lower officials are afraid of the consequences of disclosing the information. It has been suggested that reform of the state secrecy laws should be taken up, and also an introduction to the "freedom of information" law.

Mongolia's Defamation Law makes it difficult to do free reporting, since it provides special a protection for public officials. According to the World Bank report (2007), the MPs and the representatives of the Ministry of Justice and Home Affairs have expressed their support for a reform of the criminal code on defamation.

Even though numerous training programs have existed in Mongolia, the WB report continues to be critical of the quality of media content and the reasons for the poor quality. The WB reports the funding constraints, the extent of politicization, the lack of a standard-setting body, as well as the weak ethical and the professional traditions of the journalists are some of the reasons for the poor quality of media content. In addition to these problems, it is noted that the funding for investigative journalism is missing. Shortly, "the journalists stick to the "Mongolian principle" of devoting the program a target audience and telling them what the latter wants to hear". (D. Narantuya, journalist, 2004 on the Internet <http://www.openforum.mn/contents.php?coid=180&cid=149>, published 25.2.2004 in Mongol Messenger)

World Bank Report (2007) continues...

"Social and cultural considerations also affect journalistic standards. For example, sports writers find it difficult to criticize players because they are personally familiar or socially connected with many of them. A mutual acquaintance may request that the journalist refrain from a negative or unflattering account, as is also the case with politicians. Moreover, media owners, who are all politically linked, exercise close control over political content, which results in systemic biases in coverage. There are numerous accounts of editors who either refuse to carry content or insist on a certain slant to a story. Thus, even highly qualified journalists may face obstacles from their

editors or the owners of the media outlet. In light of this, stakeholders have proposed trainings for owners and editors as well as journalists. The media in any democracy have a crucial role to play in informing the public, transmitting popular views to officials, providing a forum for public debate, and monitoring public performance. A combination of legal, informal, and internal constraints undermine the media's ability to fulfill these roles. Since the end of socialism, Mongolia has made significant advances in the legal framework and in the diversification of the media sector. More is currently required to refine the legal framework, to improve implementation of progressive laws, to address the financial constraints facing the media, to build a culture of tolerance among political figures, and to promote professionalism in the media."

(http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EXTSOCIALDEVELOPMENT/Resources/244362-1164107274725/3182370-1185983304243/Mongolia_Full_Report.pdf, 95-98)

Mongolia, with powerful, strong political and cultural history, is looking for how to behave. There are some rules set for the media behavior, but learning to live along those guidelines takes time. Media is in transition, forming its heart beat. Heart beat is still irregular, trying to get steady. What will help it to stabilize? Culture? Religion? Economy?

3.5 Comparison of the development in the Soviet Union and in Mongolia

The changes in the Soviet Union have affected Mongolia. Stalin's death brought a communications explosion, which was seen also in Mongolia. In the 1950s, Mongolia's media was seen as being both quantitatively and qualitatively influenced by the Soviets. As a result of Glasnost, Mongolia experienced new winds of change, but was pondering getting back to its old form of writing Uighur text, and starting to create an independent media. Press Freedom was created in Mongolia four years after the Russian example.

The Soviet system saw the printed word as a propaganda tool, more than radio, and therefore radio was developed after the newspapers in Mongolia. But illiteracy in Mongolia did not help to internalize the communist printed word. At the same time, monastic lamas were mastering the religious words in spoken Tibetan. Neither politics nor religion were communicated in the heart language of the people, until after the war, the Russians brought their alphabets to Mongolia to give a boost to media development. Even though the written language changed its form, the spoken language remained the same. Would it be possible to conclude that the spoken language remained closer to the heart of the people? It bonded

them together with the same strength it had provided over the years as it had been spoken on an interpersonal level within the families, group gatherings and neighborhoods.

When it comes to the printed media, the events which took place within the newspaper sector were almost identical in Mongolia and Russia: fluctuation of the press market, new titles coming in while long-established titles were on the way out, closures were happening on economic grounds, and new types of print media appeared, including tabloids, and scandal papers. (Downing, 1996, 128, Wolfe, 2005, 176-201)

Several writers (Androunas, 1993, Freire 1998, quoted by McLaren 2000, Huang, 2003, Höyer et al., 1993) have dealt with how difficult and how slow it is for countries to distance themselves from the authoritarianism that is embedded in the socialist regimes. Usually the authoritarianism moves from the party to the state, and politicians try to use mass media to acquire power. Mongolia's geographical location has protected it from being "invaded" by Western media influences, therefore it might have more chances to develop its own unique media system, based on democratic socialism, as McLaren (2000, 191) proposes that it is possible to create a socialist alternative to global capitalism. In the mediascapes of ex-communist countries, it would mean a media option where citizens can participate on a local level, and the market forces would not need to drive the entire media system. Ulaanbaatar media survey 2002, dealt with in next chapter, shows community radio station WIND-FM's standing in the midst of a commercial media.

A detailed, chronological comparison of the media development of former Soviet Union and Mongolia is provided in the Appendix.1.

4 ULAANBAATAR MEDIA SURVEY 2002

This chapter reports the results of the Ulaanbaatar media survey in 2002, where I held the position of leading consultant, designing the questionnaire in co-operation with a Mongolian research team which included the WIND-FM staff, and Satu Salmi, a research consultant of Intermedia. The comprehensive media survey of Ulaanbaatar was conducted in the spring of 2002, as requested by WIND-FM local community radio in the Bayanzurkh district of Ulaanbaatar. At the time of survey, WIND-FM had been on air in an official capacity for one year and the management was keen to learn as much as possible about the listeners. (A more detailed introduction to WIND-FM will be covered later in Chapter 5 “Paulo Freire's Writings”.) The media survey was the first of its kind in Ulaanbaatar, covering the entire city representing residents 15 years and older. The main purpose of the survey was to determine the media use of Ulaanbaatar households, but the survey was also designed to calculate the health information needs of urban Mongolians. Following are the findings from the media related portions of the survey.

The survey, consisting of 1000 face-to-face interviews, represents Ulaanbaatar residents 15 years and older, and has been now published only here in this chapter, and in an abbreviated article written by Dr. Ross James and myself, and published in Media Asia (http://www.h-c-r.org/docs/mongolia_amic_2003_ub2002.pdf). The survey gives a comprehensive look to the Ulaanbaatar city media as of spring 2002, a cross-section of the media situation at that time. The Mongolian Press Institute prepares annually the report "Monitoring Mongolian Media", which gives the current status of media in the country. Reporting this survey gives baseline data for the Mongolian media environment in 2002, and it benefits those concerned in drawing a detailed picture of the current situation. In presenting the 2002 survey results, when possible, I have made comparisons to the latest monitoring data available. In the future, this survey will serve as a comparison point for other media related studies in Mongolia.

4.1 Methodology

The questionnaire consists of 62 questions, divided into three sections including media, health and demographics, and was originally constructed in the English language (available in appendix 3) before being translated into the Mongolian language for presentation. The questionnaire was back-translated, pre-tested and revised several times before final approval. Face-to-face personal interviews were carried out by 26 fourth-year sociology research students. The interviewers practiced using the questionnaire during a three-day intensive training course. Observers validated the interviewing procedures and the random selection of households by observing 5.7 per cent of the interviewers, which represented standard validation requirements for this type of survey. In addition, a follow-up team phoned 38.7 per cent of all the households surveyed to verify that the questionnaire had in fact been completed at that household. All questionnaires were returned for thorough checking before the interviewer was allowed to proceed with the next set of questionnaires. The Mongolian National Statistics Office (NSO) provided the locations of the randomly sampled Primary Sampling Units; blocks of households in *komisses* (residential sub-districts). The research team applied the fifth-door rule to randomly select a household inside the blocks that had been randomly sampled by the NSO. All members of the household aged 15 years and above were listed in order of descending age and a Kish grid selection of one respondent was made. If the randomly chosen respondent was not available at that time, the interviewers returned to the same household later to administer the questionnaire to the randomly-selected respondent. If the chosen respondent was not available after three attempts, the interviewers were allowed to choose another interviewee from a different household. Table 6 lists the six districts of Ulaanbaatar that were surveyed along with the population of each district as of December 2001, the share of each district from the total population of districts, the number of the Primary Sampling Units for each district, and the share each district had of all interviewees. Demographic data of the sample is provided in the annex.

Table 6 shows the populations by district and their respective shares in the census estimate of December 2001 (% pop) and the UB2002 survey (weighted result). The census and survey percentages by district are similar.

Table 6. UB Population by district

District	pop	% of pop	% survey
Khan-Uul	52425	9.9%	9.6
Bayanzurkh	109811	20.8%	22.1
Bayangol	103051	19.5%	18
Sukhbaatar	71718	13.6%	12.2
Chingeltei	78516	14.9%	14.4
Songinokhairk han	111818	21.2%	23.8
	527339		

Since the most recent census for Ulaanbaatar was completed in 2000, the NSO provided updated population projections for 2001 for the Ulaanbaatar inhabitants. The questionnaire used the same census categories as the NSO for all data except for education, because said categories were not available at the time of the survey. As the education categories were received, after the interviews were conducted, it was not possible to weigh the data with the same education categories as the NSO. However, the data were weighted by sex and district. The assumption was that the demographic breakdown of the population in April–May 2002 was not significantly different from that projected by the NSO for 2001, and therefore the 2002 survey represents the UB population as of spring 2002. The unofficial estimates of the Ulaanbaatar population are higher because people who move into the city ger areas do not always register their arrival with local authorities. The strength of this survey is that it was organized and managed with a team approach with the involvement of WIND-FM, also known as Ger Buliin Radio, a local community radio station. The Mongolian NSO provided the sample representing the Ulaanbaatar population. Interviews were conducted by trained, local interviewers under the supervision of an experienced media researcher. Observers conducted checks to validate the interviews and the coding of data was continuously checked to avoid errors. One organizational difficulty of this survey was that sufficient translators were not available to assist foreign supervisors during the training of interviewers and the cross-checking of the questionnaires. Although this

lengthened the communication process unnecessarily at times between the interviewers and the supervisors, it had no effect on the results.

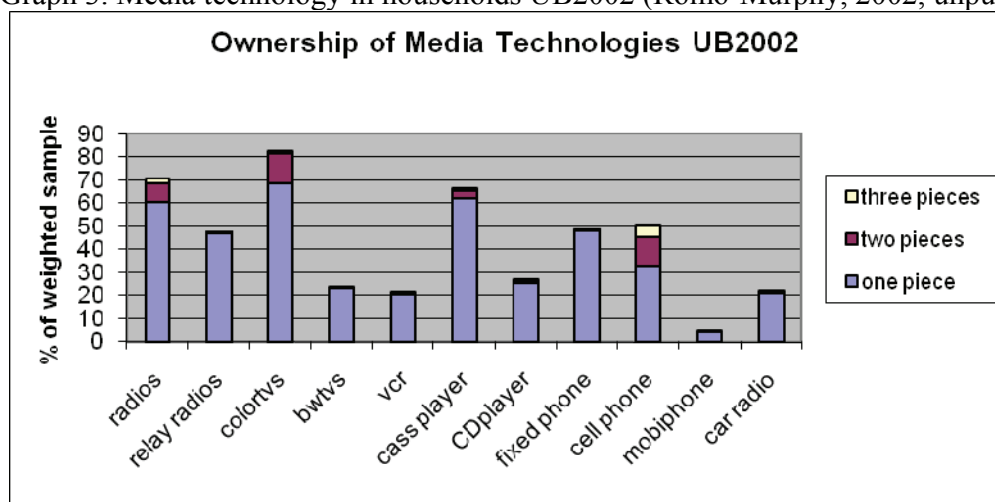
4.2 Findings of the UB2002 survey

After validating the questionnaires, a trained research team of three Mongolians sent the coded data to me for SPSS statistical analysis. The findings of my analysis, the media portion of the survey, are shown here; the listing is in the same order as in the questionnaire starting with general media questions, followed by the results of the more detailed media questions pertaining specifically to the print media, radio, and television.

4.2.1 Ownership of media technologies

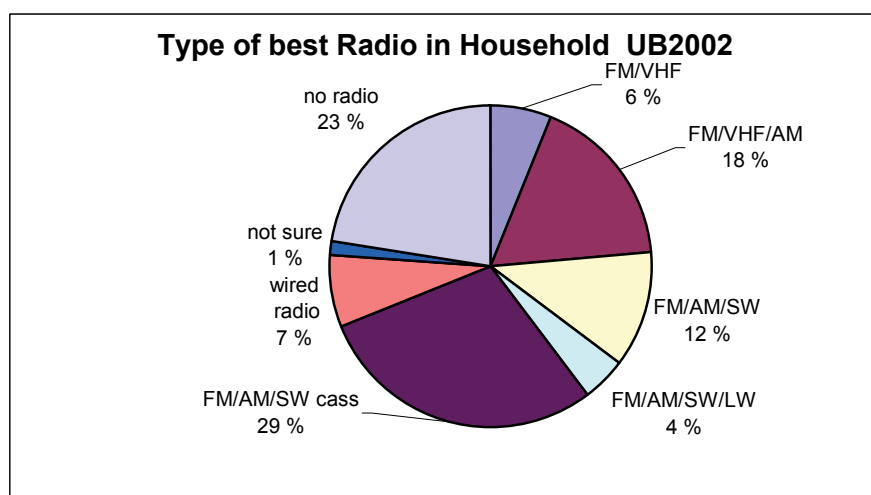
The most commonly owned media in UB is color TV, owned by 82.6% of the households, followed by radio and cassette player with 70.5% and 66.4% respectively. Relay or wired radios were still common, in almost every other household. Half of the households had a fixed phone, and half had a cell phone. Out of the half without a fixed phone, every other person had acquired a cell phone. Graph 3 shows it is possible for households to have several cell phones, even as many as three.

Graph 3. Media technology in households UB2002 (Romo-Murphy, 2002, unpublished)



To determine the type of the radio, interviewers visually checked most radios. One tenth of the households preferred to tell the interviewer what type of radio they used, and their radios were not checked by the interviewer. FM appears to be the most available waveband: Combining all the radios in the graph 4 with FM, the conclusion is that 70% of the households have a radio capable of tuning into an FM station. Those who cannot listen to FM at home are those without a transistor radio or those with only a wired radio. As many as 7% of the households have "wired radio", a radio based on the radio-diffusion network which was a very common type of controlled broadcasting in the Soviet Union. Almost half (45%) of every household had a radio with both an AM band and a SW band. An additional question was asked about SW ownership; "Do you have at least one radio that receives SW?" There were 28 (2.8% of sample) positive answers, which brings the total of SW band ownership up to 47.8%.

Graph 4. Bands in the best radio of the household UB2002 (Romo-Murphy, 2002, unpublished)

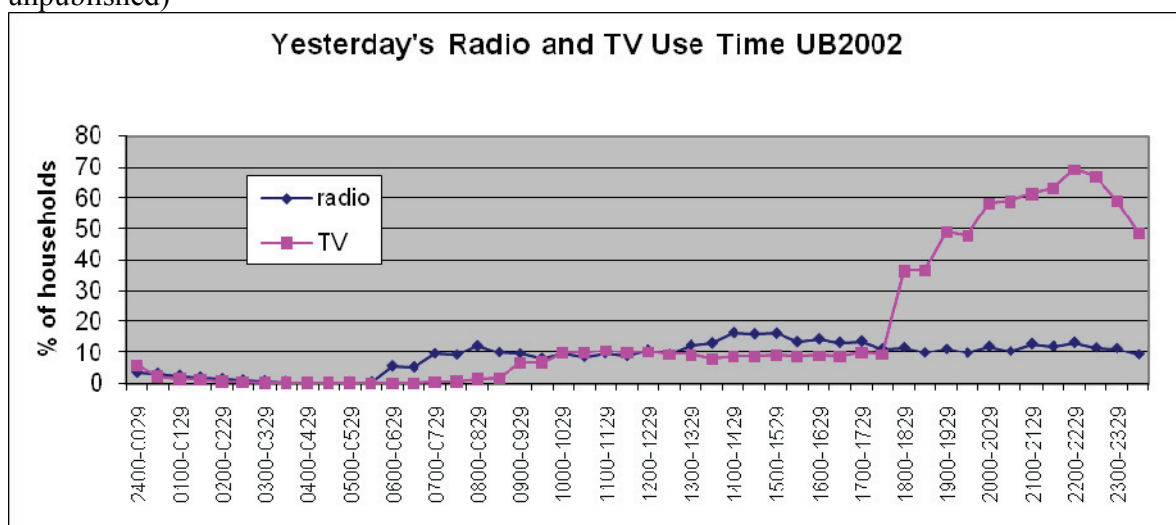


4.2.2 Media use

Two thirds of UB households (65%) listened to the radio "yesterday", one fourth (23.1%) within the last 7 days and the rest more seldom, as shown in graph 5. Watching TV is more frequent, almost every household watches TV daily or weekly (91.3% and 7.7% respectively). Listening to the radio stays at the same level throughout the day, between 10-15% of households. In the evening, radio listening remains fairly steady, falling a little,

while TV viewing takes a dramatic leap. Radio and TV times "yesterday" overlap each other past midnight until the morning radio block from 0600-0900, which is radio's best time since every tenth household in UB is listening, and not watching TV at all. From 9am to 1 pm radio and TV times overlap, and after that, the afternoon is radio's second "best" listening time, starting at 1300 and continuing until 1700.

Graph 5. Listening to radio and watching TV "yesterday" UB2002 (Romo-Murphy, 2002, unpublished)



Watching TV is more frequent than listening to radio in UB households, as seen in table 7. As many as 86.5% of the households watch TV daily, while radio gets that high of an audience on a weekly basis.

Table 7. Frequency of Radio and TV use UB2002 (Romo-Murphy, 2002, unpublished)

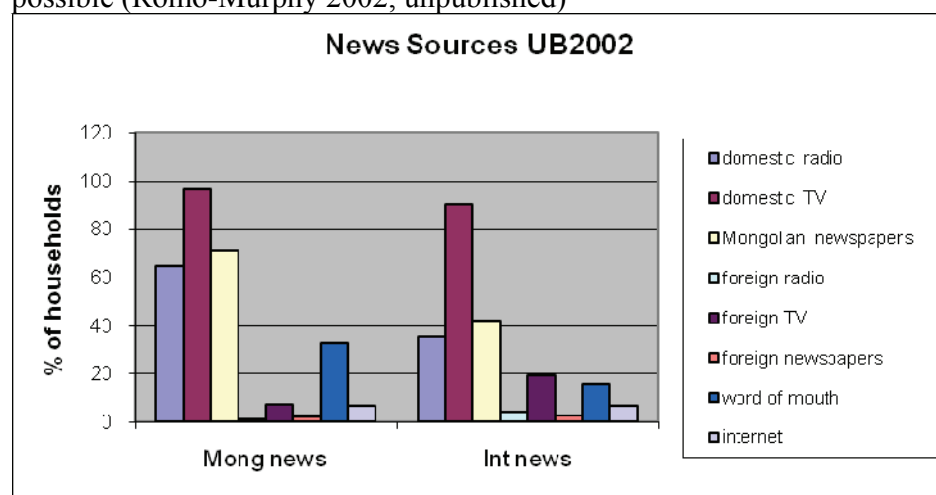
	Radio % of 1025	TV % of 1025
every day	46.6	86.5
at least once a week	39.8	12.4
at least once a month	6.1	0.5
less often	4.2	0.2
Never	2.2	0.4
Dk	1.1	0.1

4.2.3 News sources

Domestic TV appeared to be the most used source for both Mongolian and international news. Mongolian newspapers are the second most used source for both local and international news and it takes a small lead over domestic radio. Word of mouth is a fairly used source for both Mongolian news and international news, while the share of internet and foreign newspapers remains small.

When asked in a separate question, “What is the one most important source of news,” TV is mentioned as most important by over three-quarters (75%) of the households for both local and world news. Domestic TV appears to be the most used source for both Mongolian and international news. Mongolian newspapers are the second most important source for both local and international news since it takes a small lead over domestic radio in both cases. Word of mouth is a source of Mongolian news for every third city resident, and for every sixth about international news. Other "most important sources" for international news were mentioned: foreign TV by 7.4% of UB residents, the Internet by 3.7% and foreign radio by 0.8% respectively.

Graph 6. News sources for Mongolian and international news, UB2002, multiple reply possible (Romo-Murphy 2002, unpublished)



The results above are close to those of the Asian Foundation Ger survey, conducted in 2004 which showed news sources of ger households, except for the importance of other people as a source of news was higher among the Ger survey 2004 respondents than among the

UB2002 survey respondents. The vast majority of Ger survey respondents get all or most of their news from television (94.3% of ger households); the most watched stations being TV-5, MNTV and MN-25. Word of mouth via friends is the second most frequent source of information (55.2% of ger households), with radio (50.7% of ger households) and print media (43.6% of ger households) reportedly lesser sources. (Seen on Oct 1st, 2008 in website <http://asiafoundation.org/resources/pdfs/MGGerReport.pdf>)

Domestic information was queried by the Press Institute survey in 2007 (Mongolian media today, 2008, 50), resulting in the following: television 87.7%, newspaper 28.7%, friends 25.5%, Internet 18.9%, FM-radio 17%, colleagues 11.5%, billboard 10%, magazine 4.3%, and brochure 2%. It is noteworthy that word of mouth, either from friends or colleagues, is an important source of information. If colleagues and friends are combined, word of mouth becomes the second most important source of domestic news. At the same time, radio is not seen as a major source of domestic information. In my opinion, the importance of personal communication as a source of information shows that Mongolians are still, in the new millennium, favoring the oral means of communication.

4.2.4 Printed media

The Mongolian Press Institute report of 2001 listed the top ten daily or almost daily nationwide newspapers (by number of copies sold by subscription and at newsstands in 2001): Udriin Sonin (4.4m), Unen (2.2m), Unoodor (1.7m), Zuuny Medee (2.5m), Mongolyn Medee (0.8m), and weekly newspapers with largest circulation are listed as Khongorzul (0.6m), Khumuus (n.a.), Deedsiin Khureelen (0.6m), Seruuleg (1.4m), Alag Khorvoo (0.3m), Tavan tsagarig (0.2m), and Shar sonin (0.2m).

In the UB2002 survey, Unen is not as popular as in the Press Institute media watch, which reports that in 1999, Unen was number eight out of the top ten newspapers, however, its circulation increased in 2000, and took second position in the first half of 2001. Mongolians' newspaper subscriptions fell between 1999 and 2001. From the UB Times' circulation as much as 93% is sold by subscription. According to the Press Institute,

newspapers do not live long, for example, out of the 37 monthly newspapers listed in the year 2000; only 8 were represented in the first half of 2001.

The former state-run and state-owned newspapers *Ardyn Erkh* and *Zasgiin Gazryn Medee* (now *Zuuny Medee*) were privatized in 1999 according to the law. In 1999, there were five daily newspapers with 12, 6 million nationwide circulations, out of which the three biggest ones were *Udriin Sonin*, *Zuuny Medee*, *Unuudur*, with a total of 11 million circulations. The two biggest private weekly papers were *Seruuleg* and *Khongorzul* with a circulation of 2, 7 million nationwide. In 2007, the number of nationwide daily papers had risen up to 12, with a total circulation of over 14 million, between *Udriin Sonin* and *Zuuny Medee* the nationwide circulation totaled 4.9 million a year. *Unuudur* figures were listed as "confidential" (it was 2.5 million in 2005). The combined nationwide circulation of *Seruuleg* and *Khongorzul* in 2007 was 0.88 million. These figures show that the diversification of the newspaper market really has not increased circulations, but has increased the choices for the readers. (Mongolian Media 2005, 2006, 10, Mongolian Media Today, 2008, 10, Myagmar & Nielsen, 2001, 5, 6)

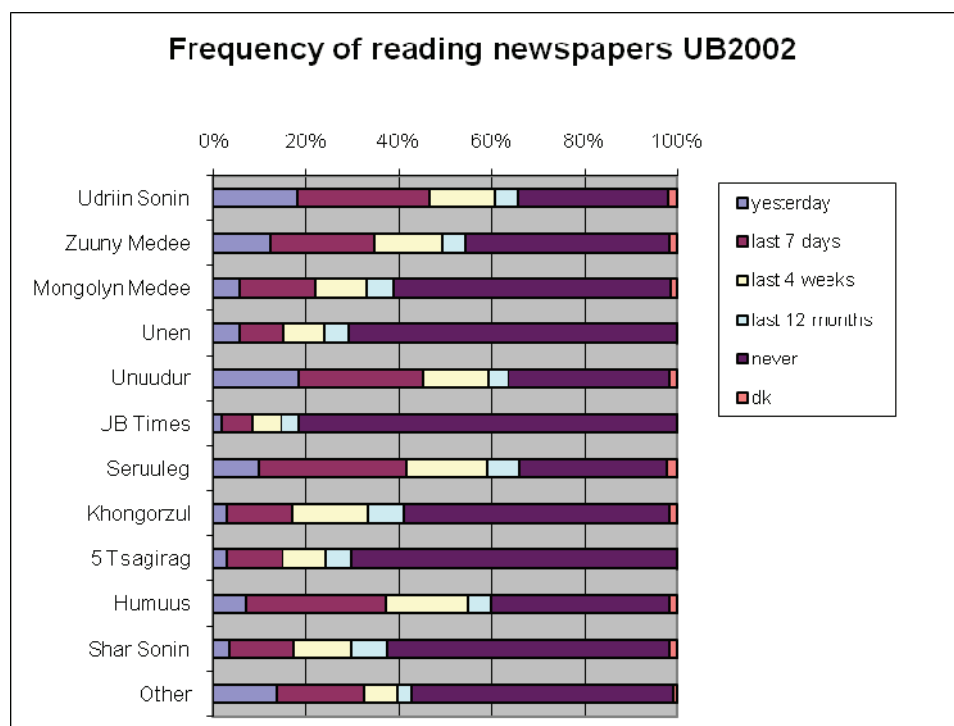
The following papers are also the most read according to the UB2002 survey...About 40% of Ulaanbaatar households read regularly (daily or weekly) the *Seruuleg*, *Udriin Sonin*, and *the Unuudur*. Almost 40% of Ulaanbaatar households read regularly *the Zuuny Medee* and a paper called "*Humuus*". The list of "other" newspapers volunteered by respondents without prompting was quite lengthy, reflecting the multitude of newspapers and magazines that are published. "Other" newspapers or magazines mentioned the most often were *High Society*, *The Life of People*, *Secondary School News*, *Companions*, *Mongolian Appearance*, *Your Photograph* and *Super Newspaper*. (James & Romo-Murphy, 2003, 106)

The oldest government run newspaper *Unen* is read by just over by every sixth Ulaanbaatar household regularly, yet almost three quarters of the households do not read it at all in the capital, as shown in graph 7.

As can be seen in graph 7: *Udriin Sonin*, *Unuudur*, and *Seruuleg* are the most read papers, each read by over 40% of UB residents weekly. Next often read are the *Zuuny Medee* and

Humuus. There could have been more newspapers included on the list; 43.7% of respondents read a newspaper "other" than what was listed.

Graph 7. Frequency of reading selected newspapers in Ulaanbaatar 2002 (Romo-Murphy, 2002, unpublished)



About two-thirds of Ulaanbaatar households have read Seruuleg, Udriin Sonin, Unuudur and Humuus during the past twelve months, as shown in table 8. These same papers belong to the top newspapers by number of readers in 2007-2008. (Mongolian media today, 2008, 54)

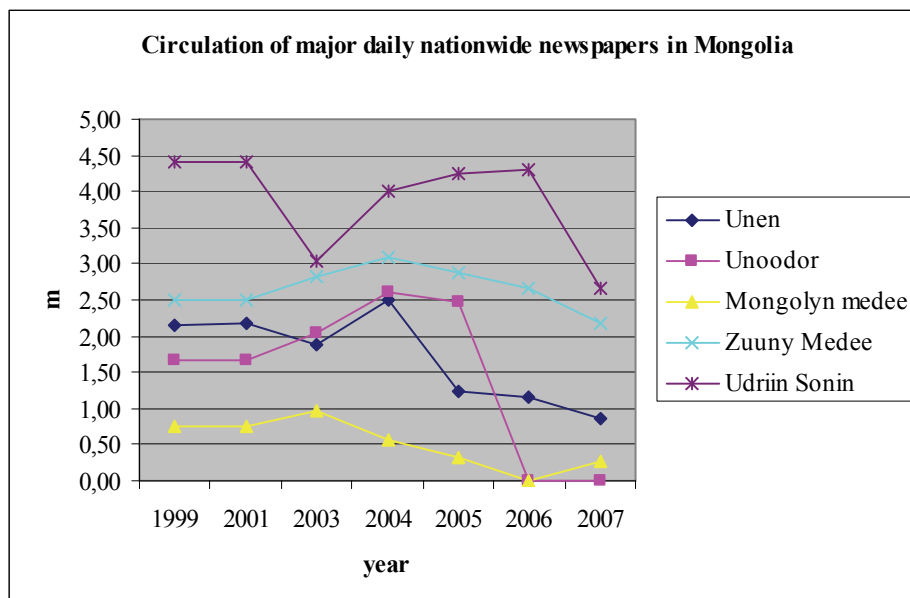
Table 8. Newspapers and magazines read in last 12 months (UB2002) (Romo-Murphy, 2002, unpublished)

	read last 12 months
	% of 1025
Seruuleg	68.8
Udriin Sonin	67.9
Unuudur	66.1
Humuus	62.6
Zuuny Medee	56.3
Other	43.7
Khongorzul	42.5
Mongolyn	
Medee	39.8
Shar Sonin	39.3
5 Tsagirag	30.2
Unen	29.7
UB Times	18.1

Comparing to the Asia Foundation Ger survey in 2004, "what newspaper do you read?" the listing looked quite different...Seruuleg 39.1%, Humuus 20.3%, Zindaa 14.1%, Shar Medee 7.8%, Business News 4.7%, Khani 3.1%, Onoogiin Torh 3.1%, Other 7.8%). The question was set differently, so these two results are not easily compared, however the result comparison does show the popularity of Seruuleg weekly was high also among ger residents. ("MMCG" LLC, 2006, 25)

On the national level in 2007, Udriin Sonin enjoyed the largest circulation, having sold 2,66 million copies throughout the entire country. As a reference, the nationwide circulation of selected papers in 2007 was: Unen (0.85 m), Unuudur (confidential), Zuuny Medee (2.2m), Seruuleg weekly (0.8m), (K)Humuus weekly (1.2m), Mongolyn Medee (0.27m), Deedsiin Khureelen private, bimonthly (0.07m), Khongorzul private bimonthly (0.08m), Zindaa, weekly, (0.84m). (Mongolian Media Today, 2008, 10-14)

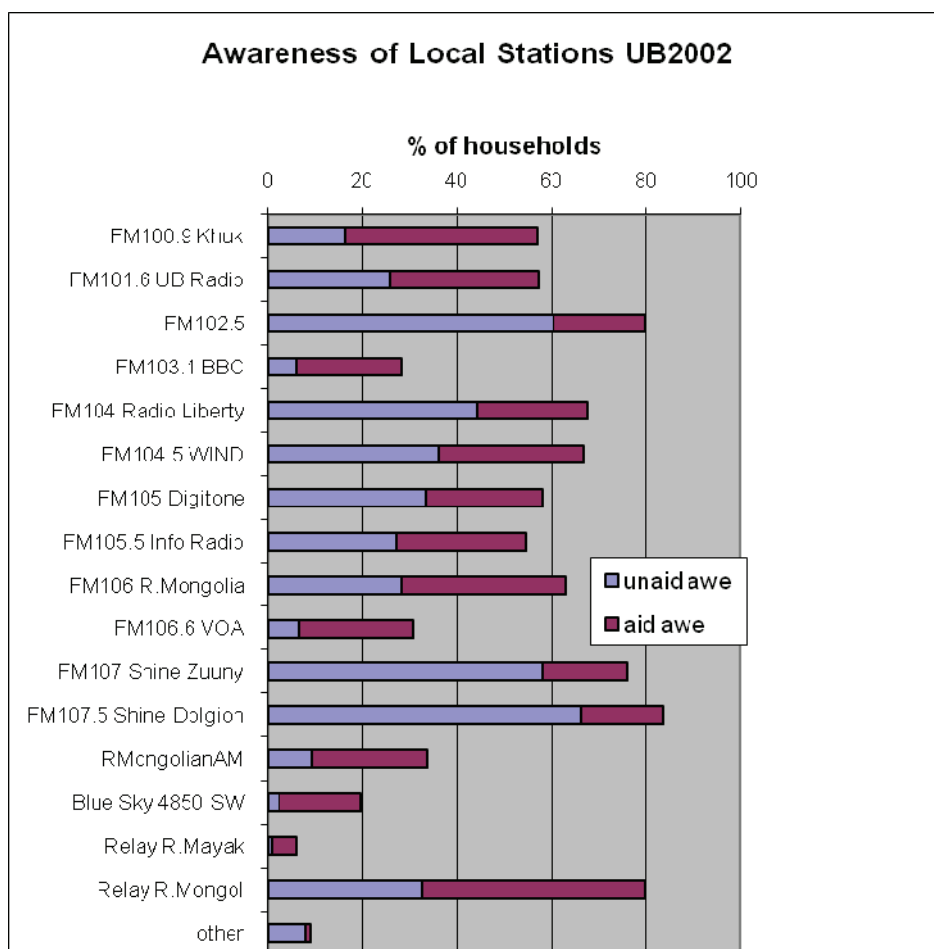
Graph 8. Circulation of major nationwide daily newspapers 1999-2007 (sources Mongolia monitoring reports for respective years)



4.2.5 Awareness and listening to local radio stations in Ulaanbaatar 2002

The Ulaanbaatar city survey 2002 (partly reported in James & Romo-Murphy, 2003, 103-107) asked for awareness and listening for fourteen FM stations and four either AM, SW or LW relay stations. The best known stations (unaided and aided awareness combined) were FM 102.5, FM 107, FM 107.5 and Relay Radio Mongol, known by roughly 80% of the households. The next well-known stations were FM 104, WIND-FM, and FM 106; all were known by two thirds of the households, shown in graph 9.

Graph 9. Awareness of local stations UB2002 (Romo-Murphy, 2002, unpublished)

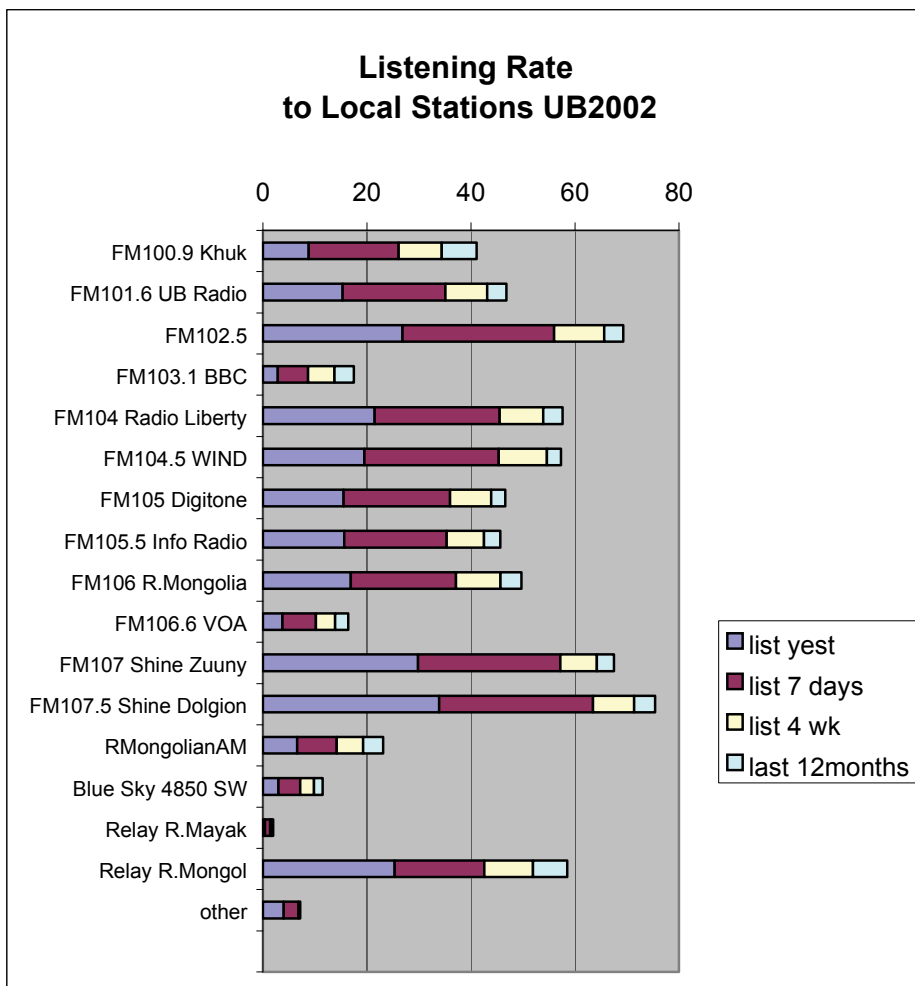


Relay Radio Mongol refers to the nationwide, oldest (since 1934) national radio, also called "central radio". In Mongolian language "relay radio" is called "*shugamyn* radio". Elderly people especially distinguish between "radio" and "FM radio". For them, radio means first of all the Mongolian radio that in the countryside is transmitted via relay technology on LW, and is therefore called "Relay Radio Mongol". Relay Radio Mongol is actually the same as Radio Mongolian AM, the state-owned radio. They transmit on two separate channels. However, the programming hardly differs one from the other. Relay Radio Mongol is more well-known than Radio Mongolian AM (35 per cent of household were aware of the Radio Mongolian AM). "FM100.9 Khuk" refers to the 1994 established Mongolian Radio's second channel "Khukh Tenger" broadcasting to the capital and central

region. Radio Ulaanbaatar FM102.5 was the first private radio station, therefore it is known well. (James & Romo-Murphy, 2003, 107)

The three most well known stations, FM 102.5, FM 107, and FM 107.5, had regular (listening at least once a week, "list yesterday" and "list 7 days" combined) audiences of about 60% of households each. As shown in graph 10, WIND-FM's share is about 40% of the households, which gives it a regular listening audience of about 200,000 in Ulaanbaatar. The UB local stations broadcast mainly in Mongolian, with the exception of FM 103.1 BBC, and FM 106.6 VOA, which broadcast in English.

Graph 10. Frequency of listening to local stations UB2002 (Romo-Murphy, 2002, unpublished)



Some local stations broadcast in a language other than the "main" language of Mongolian Halh. These languages, however, have low listenership, for example, Mongolian Radio AM has a regular audience of 0.9% listening in Russian.

Table 9. Listening Frequency in "other language" in Local Stations UB2002 (Romo-Murphy, 2002, unpublished)

Station	list yest	list 7 days	list 4 wk	last 12months
FM100.9 Khuk Eng	0.1	0.6		0.1
FM105 Eng	0.5	0.3	0.4	
FM107.5 Jap	0.1	0.4	0.1	
Relay R.Ma.Rus	0.2	0.7	0.3	0.6
Relay R.Ma.Oth		0.3		0.1
other other lang		0.3		

Radio station ratings in 2007 show WIND-FM the third most listened, while Life FM (in 2002 survey named Radio Liberty) was the most listened, followed by KISS FM. In a turn around, the three most listened in the 2002 survey dropped to the lower end of the popularity ratings. (Mongolian media today, 2008, 54)

In comparison, the Asia Foundation Ger Survey in 2006 found 8.4% of the Ger households listened to WIND-FM 104.5, which is close to the ratings of the Mongolian media today 2006 report shown in table 10. The ger listening of some stations differs from the results of the Mongolian media today 2006 ratings report; it names in order of most to least listened - - KISS, Radio Ulaanbaatar, Khuhk Tenger, UB radio and FM 103.6. ("MMCG" LLC, 2006, 25, Mongolian media today, 2006, 70)

Table 10. Which radio station do you listen to? Asia Foundation ger survey AFS 2006 vs. Press Institute UB2006 monitoring results (Romo-Murphy, 2002, unpublished)

Radio station	AFS2006 Ger	PI2006 UB
R. Mongol AM	1.2%	3.5%
FM-100.1 Kiss	1.2%	7.3%
FM-102.1 Eh Oron	1.8%	3.3%
FM-99.3 Ineemsegel	3.0%	6.5%
FM-107 Shine Zuuny	3.6%	5.5%
FM-104 Radio Liberty	3.6%	20.8%
FM-105 Info Radio	5.4%	3%
FM-98.1 Formula	6.6%	10.3%
FM-104.5 WIND-FM	8.4%	8.8%
FM-107.5 Shine Dolgion	10.2%	11.8%
FM-102.5 Radio Ulaanbaatar	10.2%	5.3%
FM-100.5 Khuhk Tenger (gov)	11.4%	2%
FM-101.7 UB radio (gov)	11.4%	17.3%
FM-103.6 TV9's TV-FM	21.1%	7.8%

FM103.6 has interns hosting talk shows, which might explain its popularity. (Seen on Oct 1st, 2008 at <http://www.projects-abroad.org/projects/journalism/mongolia/?content=print/>)

4.2.6 WIND-FM audience in 2002

Demographically, half of community radio WIND-FM 104,5's listeners are men, half are women, and 83% of those WIND-FM listeners are under 40 years of age – this is the same group demographically that WIND-FM targets. (Romo-Murphy 2002, unpublished)

By education, one third of WIND-FM listeners have attended secondary school, and another one third has been to the university. Half are single and half are married. The largest income group earns 50,000-100,000 tugruks. By occupation, 32% are students, and 36% are working regularly - very few are retired – (retired people make up one third of

those who do not know of WIND-FM). Two thirds (64%) of WIND-FM listeners are Buddhist, and one third do not have a religion. A total of 3.3 % are Christian. (Romo-Murphy 2002, unpublished)

WIND-FM listeners are media rich; they have a higher ownership of radios, color-TVs, VCRs, cassette players, cell phones and car radios, than those of who do not know of WIND-FM and have never listened to it. (Romo-Murphy 2002, unpublished)

WIND-FM listeners usually listen to radio while doing household chores, or riding in a bus, a taxi or a car. Calling in to talk radio is more common among WIND-FM listeners than among those who do not know of WIND-FM. (Romo-Murphy 2002, unpublished)

Comparing the Mongolian Media reports for consecutive years, WIND-FM is rated among the six most listened stations; therefore, we can deduce it belongs to the most popular stations in the age group 12 to 39, with its emphasis on social and educational programming. No other radio station in Ulaanbaatar has one third of its weekly programming structure targeted to "social" programming. As for educational, children's and youth programming; besides WIND-FM, Minii Mongol FM's weekly programming includes the same amount of educational programming. The most listened station, Shine Dolgion FM 107.5 in the UB2002 survey, shows 70% music programming as of 2007. (Mongolian Media Today, 2008, 38, 39)

4.2.7 Listening situation

A variety of situations were listed, and the respondents evaluated each situation, whether they usually listen to radio or not. The most common situation for listening to radio is while traveling in a bus, in a car/taxi, or in a microbus, each were mentioned by close to one-third of the households. One third (30.8%) of the respondents also listen to radio while being alone, for company; and another one-third (30.6%) listen to radio while doing household chores. Listening to radio in the morning when getting up is more common than listening in the evening. Listening to radio at meal times is the least common situation.

Table 11. Listening situations in UB2002, N=1025, multiple answers possible (Romo-Murphy, 2002, unpublished)

Situations listening to radio

	% of 1025
in a bus	32.8
Alone	30.8
while household scores	30.6
In car/taxi	28.7
In a microbus	28.6
when getting up	26.6
with family	23.1
background listening	16.9
night time	15.2
At breakfast	14.1
At dinner	11
At work	10.7
with friends	8.3
from home to work	6.5
from work to home	5.8
At lunchtime	5.4

4.2.8 Calling to talk radio

Although the majority of UB residents (77.3%) have never actually called in to participate in a radio station's call-in program, the results show that every fifth Ulaanbaatar resident has called in to a talk radio program. Calling in is not a frequent activity; most people who called in have done so once a month or less often than that. Out of three callers, one always fails to make the connection to the station, because lines are busy. Clearly, stations that utilize call-in programs should have an adequate number of phone lines. I think it is worth noting, based on the oral background of Mongolians, to provide the listeners opportunities to participate in talk programs in the future.

4.2.9 Ulaanbaatar television stations 2002-2007

In the mid-1990s two private television stations were launched in Ulaanbaatar. A Christian American-Mongolian foundation, *AMONG*, established *Eagle TV* in 1994, and

The Mongol News Co., Media Corporation, launched *MN Channel 25* in 1995. Four years later the local government in Ulaanbaatar launched *UBS TV*. The launching of new stations coincided with establishing cable-TV systems in the many huge apartment complexes in Ulaanbaatar and a few of the urban centers in the countryside. With the introduction of cable, and to a lesser degree satellite-TV, some of the Mongolians acquired access to a wide range of transnational and Asiatic television channels.

According to the Press Institute's Media report in the first half of 2001, Mongolyn Undesnii is a national television channel, while Eagle TV, MN channel 25, and UBS are Ulaanbaatar television channels. All four have been watched by over 90% of UB residents. ORT is Russian Public TV. The US-sponsored Eagle TV is most "foreign", with half of its programming transmitted in the foreign language, while the remaining half are own productions or mixed and/or dubbed and in the Mongolian language. These stations were surveyed in 2002 (Romo-Murphy 2002), showing the National channel's weekly audience: over 97% of Ulaanbaatar residents, followed by MN Channel 25 (95.8%), UBS TV (90.5%) and Eagle TV (86.7%), and the Russian-language ORT (72.6%). Mongolyn Undesnii, UBS TV and MN Channel 25 seemed to have the largest regular audiences in 2002.

Table 12. Which of the following TV channels have you watched in last 12months?
(Romo-Murphy 2002 unpublished)

	past 12 months
	% of 1025
Mongolyn Undesnii	99.3
ORT	72.6
EagleTV	92.7
MN Channel 25	97.3
UBS TV	94.6

Table 13. Apart from today, when was the last time you watched ...UB2002 (Romo-Murphy 2002 unpublished)

Channel	yesterday	last 7 days	last 4 weeks	last 12 months	Dk	NA
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Mongolyn Undesnii	86.3	11.2	0.4	0.4	0.5	1.1
ORT	31.4	31.5	7.7	2	0.9	26.5
Eagle TV	58	28.7	3.6	0.9	1.1	7.6
MN Channel	76	18.2	1.7	0.4	0.6	3.1
UBS TV	74.2	16.3	1.8	1.2	0.7	5.7

In 2003, two new Ulaanbaatar stations were born, private TV5 and Media Holding's TV9, added by Sansar Cable TV's station STV in 2004. Eagle TV was down in 2004, but it resurfaced in 2005; the same year as BBS TV was established in Ulaanbaatar. In 2006, a few more private TV stations were born in Ulaanbaatar, totaling up to 12.

The most watched TV channels by the capital's ger households in 2006 were TV-5, MNTV and MN-25. (As shown on Oct 1st, 2008 in website

<http://asiafoundation.org/resources/pdfs/MGGerReport.pdf>)

The Ulaanbaatar television scene has undergone many changes since the beginning of the millennium, and with new stations on the market, providing viewers with more choices; each station's audience share becomes more and more fragmented. Comparing daily reaches between 2002 and 2007, one fourth of Mongolian National TV's daily audience has disappeared. A similar trend is detected with MN Channel 25 as well as with UBS TV. The new comers, TV5 and TV9, have squeezed their way to the top, as shown in table 14.

Table 14. Daily and weekly reach of Ulaanbaatar TV stations October 2007 (Data from Mongolian media today, 2008, 51)

TV station	Daily reach	Weekly reach
Mongolyn Undesnii (1967)	66	81
TV5 (2003)	65	80
TV9 (2003)	58	78
MN Channel 25 (1996)	55	76
C1 (2006)	43	68
UBS TV (1999)	47	67
TV8 (2006)	43	65
SBN TV (2006)	41	64
TM TV (2005)	39	62
NTV TV (2006)	37	62
Eagle Broadcasting (2005)	24	52
Education TV	7	19

4.2.10 Ulaanbaatar cable operators 2002

The UB2002 survey also gathered data on the cable subscriptions. In 2002, a cable channel subscription cost 2300 to 4400 tugriks a month; LhMongol cable TV being the cheapest (with least weekly transmission hours), and Khiimore cable the most expensive. (Monitoring Mongolian Media, 2001)

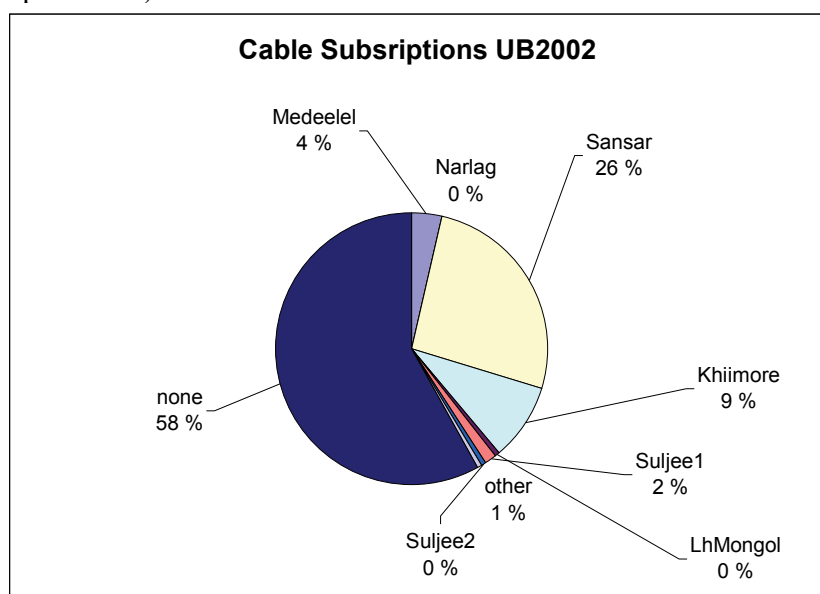
About four out of five Ulaanbaatar residents watch cable TV, either at home (40% of households), or at neighbors' or relatives' (33.2% respectively), or at work, or at public place (1.4% and 0.1% respectively). As shown in table 15, Inner Mongolian TV in 2002 was the most watched channel on cable TV in the capital; watched weekly by 43% of UB households, followed by Russian ORT, MTV, and TV3 Russian TV. The Asian channels NHK and Arirang TV were watched "ever" by almost 50% of UB households. Inner Mongolian TV is still watched in 2007, with 7% daily reach, and 23% weekly reach. (Mongolian Media Today, 2008, 52, Romo-Murphy 2002 unpublished)

Table.15. Viewing Frequency of selected channels on cable TV 2002 (Romo-Murphy 2002 unpublished)

Channel	at least once a week	less often than once a week	never	DK/NA
Inner Mongolian TV	43	22.7	0.3	34
ORT	41.2	17.3	0.2	41.3
MTV	36.4	14.9	0.3	48.4
TV3 Russian TV	33.3	15.2	0.4	51.1
Arirang TV	30.2	13.3	0.6	55.9
NHK	26.3	18.1	0.4	55.2
National Geographic	24.9	10	0.4	64.7
Star TV Prime sports	22.4	11.5	0.4	65.7
Star TV Movies	21.4	12.8	0.6	65.2
Cartoon Network	20.5	10.5	0.8	68.2
Channel V	16.5	10.7	0.5	72.4
DW	15.5	11.2	0.8	72.5
BBC World	15.1	12	0.6	72.3
other 1	12.7	3.6	0.1	83.6
CNBC	10.7	6.1	0.5	82.6
ABC Asia Pacific	6.6	4	0.5	88.9
Worldnet/VOA TV	6	3.2	0.4	90.4
other 2	4.7	2.1	0.1	93.2

Sansar and Khiimore are the two most subscribed cable companies, both in 2002 as well as in 2006, with Sansar having more than 26% share in both years, while Khiimore held 9% share in 2002 (7% in 2006) of the subscriptions. In four years cable subscriptions have increased so that in 2002, over one third (42%) of UB households subscribed to a cable service, compared to over half (55% of households) with subscriptions in 2006. Prices of the subscriptions have remained at the same level. (Mongolian Media Monitoring, 2007, 69, Romo-Murphy 2002 unpublished)

Graph 11. Cable operators subscribed to in Ulaanbaatar 2002 (Romo-Murphy 2002 unpublished)



4.2.11 New media in Ulaanbaatar 2002 and 2006

UB2002 surveyed the use of new media, and use of the Internet was of particular interest. Table 16 depicts the access to selected facilities: cable, satellite dish, PC, internet access and email service. From these facilities, most Ulaanbaatar households have access to cable, while half have access to a PC, which is most often available at a work/study place. Every sixth UB household has a PC at home, but only 1/20 households can use the internet from home, or send email from home. Internet cafes and work/study places are used for that purpose: 19.2% and 14.4% of UB residents respectively have access to the internet in those places, and most people use that opportunity. (The UB2002 questionnaire asked in a separate question where respondents usually accessed the internet, and 17.3% said in a café, and 13.7% said at work/study, see table 17). Very few UB residents have Wireless Application Protocol or WAP phones, 0.5% of residents use cell phone for internet, 0.8% for email, and nobody uses them for browsing via WAP enabled phones.

Table 16. Where do you have access to any of the following facilities? (Romo-Murphy, 2002, unpublished)

	Home	friends	I-net café	work/study	Cell	no access
cable	42.9	39.1	0.4	2.9		21.7
satellite dish	2	2.5	0.5	1.6		86
PC	14.6	9.5	11.2	25.2		51.7
I-net access	5.5	4.2	19.2	14.4	0.5	62.5
e-mail service	5.1	3.7	17.8	11.7	0.8	64.1

Home internet access has stayed at about the same level from 2002 to 2007; however using internet in internet café has increased from 19.2% to 44.6% during the same period.

(Mongolian Media Today, 2008, 55)

One-third of UB residents have used the internet sometimes: 6.3% used it yesterday, 15.2% within past 7 days, 6.9% within past 4 weeks, 4.1% past 12 months, and 0.8% longer than twelve months ago. All in all, every fifth UB resident uses the internet weekly, usually for exchanging emails and gathering news and information. (Romo-Murphy, 2002, unpublished)

Reasons (Romo-Murphy, 2002, unpublished) to use the Internet (each percentage refers to the share of UB residents):

- To exchange e-mail with friends or colleagues, 25.6%
- To make school/study assignments, 4.1%
- To chat, 4.2%
- To web-surf/browse the web, 7.1%
- To gather news and information, 19.2%
- To listen to the radio or audio programs, 3.3%
- Other reason, 2.8%

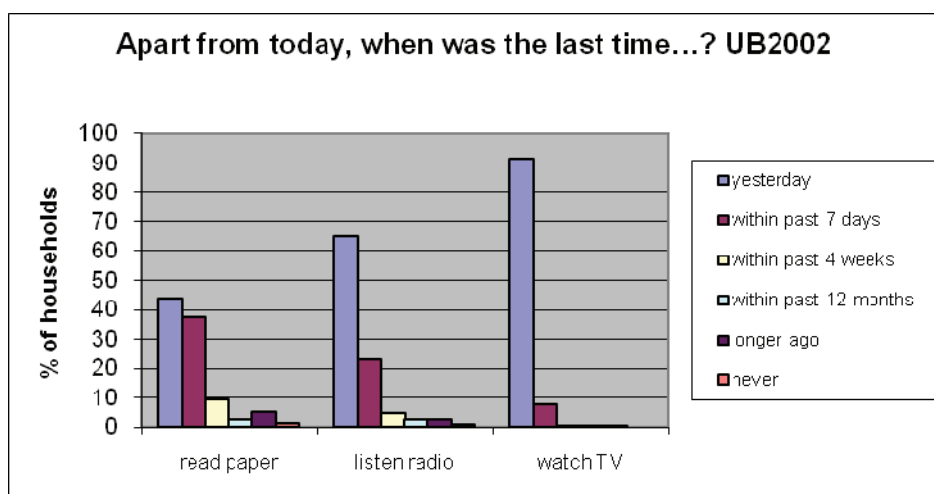
Table 17. Where do you usually use the internet? (Romo-Murphy, 2002, unpublished)

Internet use place	% of households
at home	4.9
at work/study	13.7
at neighbour/relative	3.4
at internet café	17.3
via cell phone	
somewhere else	0.1

4.3 Media use in 2002 and in 2007

Romo-Murphy (2002) also surveyed the frequency of media use, comparing newspaper, radio and television. Television was most frequently watched, while 2/3 of Ulaanbaatar residents listen to radio daily, compared to 40% who are reading the paper. When "yesterday" and "within past 7 days" results are combined; the weekly use of radio and newspapers is at the same level, as seen in graph 12.

Graph 12. Frequency of media use in Ulaanbaatar (Romo-Murphy 2002 unpublished)



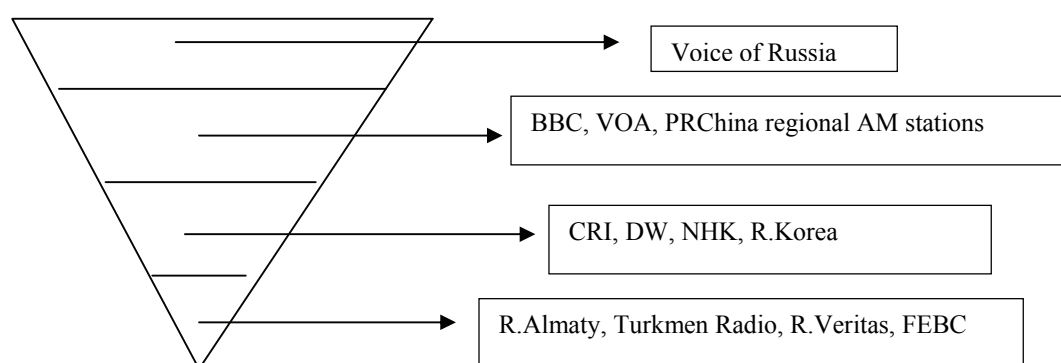
Looking at the 2007 figures in "Mongolian media today 2008" on media use in Ulaanbaatar and in the country side, the daily reach of television is 92%, of FM-radio 25%, of newspaper 16%, of magazines 7%, and finally, of internet 16%. (Mongolian media today, 2008, 51) There is no comparative data for Ulaanbaatar for these two years only; therefore it is difficult to say if the newspapers and radio are less used now than in 2002. Two things are certain – TV continues to dominate, and the use of the internet is increasing. These facts point to the development of orality in Mongolia as evolving into a secondary orality, as described in the theoretical section of this thesis.

4.4 Soviet influence seen in the listening of international radio

The UB2002 survey found that every third UB resident has, sometimes during the past 12 months, listened to a foreign radio station. The most often listened station was the Voice of Russia in the Russian language (every tenth UB resident has listened to it in the past 12 months), followed by VOA English and BBC English. The regular audiences (listening to the station at least once a week) were as follows: 3.3% for Voice of Russia in Russian, 2.9% VOA in English, and finally, 2.8% BBC in English.

The international stations can be sorted into four main groups, based on awareness and listening figures -see drawing below. The level of awareness and listening always halves in moving from the top of the inverted triangle and going down. For example, we can say the Voice of Russia is -twice as well known as those in the shared BBC & al.-level, or we can say the Voice of Russia is -twice more listened than those on the shared BBC et al. level, etc. China Radio International (CRI), Deutsche Welle (DW), NHK and Radio Korea enjoy the same popularity. R.Almaty, R.Veritas, Turkmen radio, FEBC and R.Pyongyang are at the same levels prompted awareness (1.4% each) as well as total and regular audiences.

Figure 2. International stations' triangle (Romo-Murphy 2002, unpublished)



Mongolians in the capital are more prone to tune to Soviet foreign stations than Chinese. Shortwave audiences in UB are likely to tune in to foreign stations based on languages they know. Based on historical connections, the Russian language is well known in Mongolia, and therefore they tune in to the Voice of Russia to listen in Russian, but 1/10 of the Russian speakers also to listen to BBC and VOA in English, and many other stations in

other languages. BBC and VOA are listened by those who know English, but also by those who know other languages, for example Chinese, Korean, Japanese, and Russian. (Romo-Murphy, 2002, unpublished)

The statistical T-tests I carried out between those who had listened to any international radio during the past year, and those who had not listened to any, showed that international radio listeners own more radios and VCRs than those who do not listen to international radio. However, both groups have TVs in the same amount. Similarly, international radio listeners own more fixed phones and cell phones, while there is only a small difference between the listener groups in terms of car phone ownership.

UB international radio listeners are unique in that they are both men and women, while in most cases international listening has been viewed as a man's hobby, and in several countries surveyed before, it is more men than women who listen to SW radio.

Moreover, my statistical T-test showed international radio listeners in UB are younger (32 years on average) than those who do not listen to international radio (37 years on average). International radio listeners tend to have higher incomes; however, in education there is only a small but not significant difference between the international radio listeners and those who do not listen to international radio. That means, in UB, higher education does not conclude that a person would listen to international radio. Several surveys to East Europe have confirmed that university students and the technical, scientific and literary intelligentsia make up the highest portion of listeners to Western broadcasts (Lendvai, 1981, 162). It is not impossible that this could also be the case in Ulaanbaatar, however, it is worth noting that the international radio listeners in this survey refers to those who listened to both Western and non-Western broadcasters.

In UB2002, international radio listeners listen to radio more often, and read local newspapers more often, when asked "when was the last time you read a local newspaper", than those who do not listen to foreign radio. Interestingly, both groups watch TV about as often. And, what came as a surprise to me: international radio listeners in UB2002 use the internet about the same frequency as do those who do not listen to international radio. In

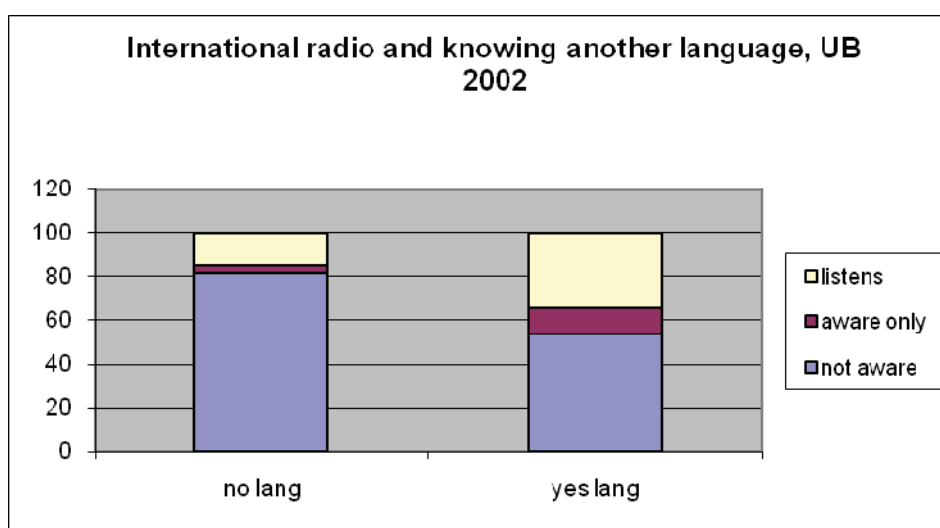
most cases, in the other country surveys I have analyzed in Asia, international radio listening has been connected to a higher use of all kinds of other media, including internet use.

Language knowledge of international radio listeners

Knowing another language besides Mongolian is more common among international radio listeners (those who have sometimes listened to foreign radio) than among average UB residents (those who have sometimes listened to foreign radio) than among average UB residents. The most known other language is Russian (every other UB resident), followed by English (every third UB resident). Knowing Chinese, Korean, Japanese, or German is at the same level, between 3-5%, while 1.4% of UB residents know Kazakh.

Graph 18 shows a comparison between two groups of people: between those who know only Mongolian ("no lang" –group), and those who know other languages as well ("yes lang" –group). In the "yes-lang" group, the share of international radio listeners is bigger than in the "no-lang" group.

Graph 18. Relationship to international radio in two groups, "no lang" n=299, and "yes lang" n=718 (Romo-Murphy, 2002, unpublished)



To sum up, when compared to non-listeners those who listen to international radio seem to own more different types of electronic media at home, and read more often the local papers,

and are also more likely to know another language. However, these two groups do not seem to differ in gender, education and Internet use.

4.5 Conclusions about the UB2002 survey and 2007 monitoring data

The 2002 Ulaanbaatar media survey was conducted at a time when Mongolian media was at the starting point of diversification. It will provide first comprehensive details of media access and usage by Ulaanbaatar households, and can be used for comparisons in the future. Even comparing the 2002 survey results with Mongolian Media 2007 –report by the Mongolian Press Institute, shows media has grown in quantity tremendously in four years, but the main trends have remained the same.

The most regularly accessed medium was television, followed by radio and newspapers. Domestic TV is the main source of national news; however, domestic radio and newspaper follow close behind. The nomad culture still exists even in the city – word of mouth is an important source for hearing domestic and international news. Hearing the news from friends, neighbors or colleagues is more common than hearing from radio or reading from the paper; showing perhaps the importance of oral and interpersonal communications. The sign of keeping with the old traditions was seen in UB2002 by the popularity of Inner Mongolian television, which is available for cable households. In UB2002, Inner Mongolian television was more watched than Russian television channels, which shows that the Mongols appreciate their ethnic culture at that time. However, this changed in four years as the weekly reach of Inner Mongolian TV was only 16.5% of October 2006 (Mongolian media monitoring, 2006, 69).

Besides Inner Mongolian TV, the UB2002 survey showed Russian-language cable channels as popular, with English language and other foreign channels watched the least. The Mongolian media 2007-2008 report lists 19 Russian cable channels, and 20 USA cable channels, however there is no media usage data for 2007. The trend seems to be diversification in that with more options available, the traditional television channel tends to lose a share of its audience.

Russian influence still exists considering the presence of households' radios – almost every other household still has a relay radio (also called wired radio, or cable radio), and 7% of the households declare it is the best radio they have; in 2006, as many as every tenth household considers wired radio as the main source for domestic news. Russian influence was seen in UB2002, where the Voice of Russia was shown as the most listened to international radio.

In FM radio, in UB2002, the Western channels of BBC and VOA were not popular; Radio Liberty's Life FM started its rise so that by 2007 it was the most listened to FM station in Ulaanbaatar. In watching TV, however, the Western style English-language Eagle TV was popular in UB2002; but by 2007 its popularity had fallen off.

Internet is not yet "the media" of the home, rather it is being used in a public place, usually in an internet café, however, its use is increasing; this shows Mongolia is joining the global trend of Internet communication. It is also a sign indicating Mongolia's development towards secondary orality.

In the next chapter we consider the matter of participatory communication. Since Mongolia has been ruled by Soviets, and recently consulted by Americans on how to set up their media, it follows that participatory communication, based on Paulo Freire's theory, might bring insights into the interpretation of the functions of community radio. We will look at how one of the popular radio stations, WIND-FM, is viewed by the citizens of Ulaanbaatar, and how community radio is an example of media transformation in Mongolian society today.

5 PAULO FREIRE'S WRITINGS

I have selected Freire's writings as one of the approaches in looking at the popularity of community radio WIND-FM. In the beginning, I looked at orality as having formed the roots of the Mongols as a people group. I dealt with religion and media, and how the Buddhist religion had been based first on orality, and later on literacy. Historically, I have looked at the Russian influence over Mongolia as seen in the media sphere beginning in the 1920's. Using these two backgrounds, religion and media, I have been explaining the good ratings of community radio WIND-FM. But one crucial aspect is missing – an articulation of the social development aspect of WIND-FM's structure which is built on the concept of "participatory communication" as WIND-FM strives to serve the "community".

Participatory communication is very key to the approach and the operations of community radio WIND-FM. Back in 2002, when I was designing the survey for Ulaanbaatar, the WIND-FM station manager, Batjargal Tuvshintsengel, sent me a draft document, "Radio Wind 104.5 Presentation and Production Guidelines", describing the station's vision as follows:

This outlines what we want to be as a radio station. We want to work with families in the pursuit of hope, socio-economic justice, and quality of life. We recognize that a partnership with the community will have more impact than attempting to bring about change through our own perspective and effort. Therefore, we want to give the highest priority to being in partnership with the listener. We can only achieve that if we get "closer to the listener" and become a part of his or her life. Our vision of what we want to be, then, is: Being closer to the listener in order to promote positive family life.'

The "Salhki entertainment - Ger Buliin Radio 104.5" (in English WIND entertainment – family radio 104.5) – leaflet of spring 2008 describes the radio station's themes as "Healthy Relationships", "Happy Family", and "Harmonious Community". The goal of WIND-FM, or Ger Buliin radio, is to "inspire families in the city of Ulaanbaatar with music, news and education that empower." (Ger Buliin Leaflet, 2008). Besides radio programming, WIND-FM conducts community development activities and training. The name "WIND-FM family radio", used since its inception in 2001, is promoted on their 2008 leaflet as, "Family radio – Social Development radio."

The mission statement in the leaflet of 2008 emphasizes the social development aspect of radio: "We strive to promote social development through education that encourages positive attitudes, and an understanding of moral issues that affect family and ultimately the society." In seven years, WIND-FM enlarged its mission from family to society as a whole, while keeping the family as the key aspect of societal development. WIND-FM is not aiming at the politics and governing structures of Mongolian society, rather its goal is to have an effect on the family, which is seen as the core unit of the society.

WIND-FM is facilitating its audience to bring up the problems of the area, and is facilitating the audience to find solutions for the problems as defined by the Freirian model's politicizing aspect, as described by Srampickal (2006, 5)...

"development communication can be considered as a tool that the grassroots can use to assert control through becoming aware of various facets of real development problems in their region, organizing in order to react collectively and effectively to these problems, bringing to light the conflicts that divide the various interest groups; becoming politicized – learning to provide alternatives to problem situations and finding solutions to various problems; and becoming "technicized" – obtaining the necessary tools to put to concrete use the solutions provided by the community".

WIND-FM offers a channel of communication for solutions to the problems of the ger residents as it works to enable a partnership of community between NGOs, governmental offices, and the ger residents. At the same time, the WIND-FM mission statement of 2008 moves closer to the other aspect of Freire's theory – the "paradigm of another development", which according to Srampickal (2006, 7) emphasizes development of values and cultures, along with material development. WIND-FM can be seen as an intervention of development communication, where community radio is creating networks, and reinforcing grassroots participation. The focus groups discussions of 2002 gave WIND-FM ideas for the programming, by asking the participants about the problems in the community, as well as their ideas on how radio could help to solve the community problems.

The focus group activity is an example of WIND-FM's emphasis on the importance of listening to the audience, and learning the needs of the audience. That is the reason I see Freire's writings fitting very well to the philosophy of the radio station. Mongolia, as a country trying to pave its way to democracy, will benefit from a media that promotes

participation, interactivity, and encourages listeners to think, rather than giving them straight answers, or what Freire (1972, 56,58) calls "banking education" at schools.

"Banking education" emphasizes the fact that the student should capitalize on the matter learned as effectively as possible to make most use of the education. "Banking education" is opposite to dialogue and learning to think. It treats students as objects, and fails to see men as historical beings. Freire, however, prefers that education should awaken the thought life of those learning, and engage them in the process of inquiry, and problem solving. The problem-posing education involves "a constant unveiling of reality"; striving "for the *emergence* of consciousness and *critical intervention* in reality." (Freire in the *Critical Pedagogy Reader*, 2003, 64)

In the Freirian model, education becomes a dialogue in which teacher and student learn from each other. I think media has a choice to make, whether to see the audience as passive learners, or interactive learners. When radio sees its audience as passive learners, it broadcasts programs that are easy and affordable from the radio's point of view, and it provides the kind of content to its audience that benefits the station on a purely financial level. But, when radio sees its audience as interactive participants, it provides them a means of interaction, and produces radio programs based on that interaction, molding its program content to reflect this interaction. Compared to a national and international level, in community radio, it is easier to get listeners involved in bringing content to the programming, and by participating in media through this interaction; they are participating in the society.

Strampickal (2006, 10) sees community radio in many Third World countries in a similar fashion, as local conscientizing agents. "Besides providing much needed information to the local audiences, it can focus on local problems with a certain commitment. Local radio can transform communities by giving a voice to the people, increasing free flow of accurate information, and celebrating local culture in music, songs and story-telling. A healthy local station is accountable to its community, broadcasts programs that meet the needs of its listeners, and helps bring about government accountability. A healthy station has diverse sources of revenue to ensure the integrity of its programming and its long-term viability.

More than any other media, radio is increasingly playing an invaluable role in rural, post-conflict communities."

Even though Srampickal talks about rural and post-conflict community, I prefer using "city and post-communist community." The Bayanzurkh district in Ulaanbaatar, where WIND-FM is located, has not had any conflict, however the area is post-communist in the sense that Mongolia is considered post-communist. One fifth of the Ulaanbaatar population lives in this district according to the 2001 census.

Table 19. Ulaanbaatar population by district (2001 census), its share in city, and its share in the UB2002 survey. (Murphy, 2002, unpublished)

District	Pop	% of pop	% survey
Khan-Uul	52425	9.9	9.6
Bayanzurkh	109811	20.8	22.1
Bayangol	103051	19.5	18
Sukhbaatar	71718	13.6	12.2
Chingeltei	78516	14.9	14.4
Songinokhairk	111818	21.2	23.8
han	527339		

(Remote districts of Baganuur, Nalakh, and Bagkhangai are not included in the table 19).

5.1 Dialogue facilitates liberation

Ever since perestroika, the previously Soviet-influenced countries have been under the world media's magnifying glass, to be followed closely so as to observe how their democratic processes might unfold. And it does not happen overnight. It takes time; it is rather a back-and-forth movement, one step forward, one step back, rather than a steady progression forward.

Freire (1972, 30, 31) is close to Marxist thinking in that he sees society in two camps – those who oppress and those who are being oppressed. Oppression is defined as any situation where A exploits B, or hinders one's pursuit of self-affirmation as a responsible person. It is the oppressed that unveil the world of oppression, and through the practice, commit themselves to the transformation. It is possible for the oppressed to be "freed" from their situation, by finding themselves and becoming responsible persons. Once the reality of oppression has been transformed; there is no need for the pedagogy of the oppressed. But this liberation from oppression does not happen by work, as in communist thinking, rather, in Freire's case, it happens by dialogue. Freire comes closer to Marxism in that he emphasizes that people are freed from their chains by preparing them collectively to free themselves (McLaren, 2000, 175). Neither does Freire deny work completely, according to Mayo (1995, 376); instead he advocates education and work at the same time. Especially, in a post-revolutionary situation, it takes time to change an entire whole school system; therefore, non-formal education is a viable option.

Freire (1972, 42) states: "The correct method of revolutionary leadership to employ in the task of liberation is therefore, not libertarian propaganda. Nor can the leadership merely 'implant' in the oppressed a belief in freedom, thus thinking to him they trust. The correct method lies in dialogue. The conviction of the oppressed that they must fight for their liberation is not a gift bestowed by the revolutionary leadership, but the result of their own 'conscientization', or consciousness raising."

Freire (1972,44,95) calls for participation: "The important thing from the point of view of libertarian education, is for men to come to feel like masters of their thinking by discussing the thinking and the views of the world explicitly or implicitly manifest in their own suggestions and those of their comrades. Because this view of education starts with the conviction that it can not present its own program but must search for this program dialogically with the people, it serves to introduce the pedagogy of the oppressed in the development of which the oppressed must participate. And this participation has to be committed involvement, so that the oppressed are 100% present in their struggle to be liberated." (Freire, 1972, 44, 95)

One of way education facilitating the development of cultural literacy is that teaching should be dialogue – not pouring the subject matter into the learners' heads, but rather to "speak to and with the learners". Dialogic method produces responsible and critical citizens. Freire defines certain democratic dispositions for a school – listening, and respecting others, being tolerant, questioning, criticizing and debating (Freire, 1998, 66).

Freire emphasizes thinking and dialogue as a key to participation and liberation. On the opposite side, no dialogue results into cultural invasion, "divide and rule" – philosophy and manipulation, which 'attempts to anaesthetize the people so they will not think'(Freire, 1972, 118). A key word in Freire's later writings is "critical", which presumes teaching being critical, as well as comprehension being critical (Freire, 1998, 22).

According to Mayo's (1995, 373-379) interpretation of applying Freirian pedagogy in post-revolutionary context, critical literacy is not just learning to read and be critical. Critical literacy entails larger ideas of Cultural Revolution, and cultural action for freedom. People see themselves as part of the society, as part of a larger context, and they see themselves, not as objects of events, but rather as subjects, and active molders of history. Reading and writing skills give the citizens essential tools in participating in post-independent situations and in democratic life.

Freire speaks of two main themes in our epoch: domination and liberation. When these two themes are not clearly perceived, they reside in the space which Freire calls "limit situations". And when they are not perceived, men's response in the form of historical actions can neither be authentically nor critically fulfilled. Once the people who are curbed by "limit situations", realize that these situations are the frontier between being and being more human, they begin to direct their critical actions towards having the untested feasibility implicit in that perception. (Freire, 1972, 74)

According to Freire, we find themes and limit-situations characteristic of societies, which through these themes and limit situations share historical similarities. For example,

underdevelopment represents a limit-situation characteristic of the Third World. Therefore, it is important that in the Third World countries we use thematic investigation, or investigation of people's thinking. The kind of thinking that occurs in and among men seeking out reality together, while at the same time thinking independently. "I can not think for others, or without others, nor can others think for me". (Freire, 1972, 72, 79, 80)

"Every thematic investigation which deepens historical awareness is thus really educational, while all authentic education investigates thinking." (Freire, 1972, 81) Man's historicity is as a starting point for problem posing theory and practice. Historical themes are never isolated, independent, disconnected, or static; instead, they are always interacting dialectically with their opposites. (Freire, 1972, 73)

According to Freire, no one receives democracy as a gift. People mobilize, organize and are critical. Lower class people join together to acknowledge that they are being exploited. They need to form, besides an intellectual discipline, also a social, civic and political discipline, which is essential to a democracy that goes beyond the pure bourgeois and liberal democracy and that finally seeks to conquer the injustice and irresponsibility of capitalism. (Freire, 1998, 89)

Freire suggests visiting an area, which is high in illiteracy, and developing a plan to boost literacy. First, get a group together from that area, and tell how their participation is needed. Volunteers go around in the area, and make notes about the way people talk; behave at church, or at work or at home. Gabriel Bode in Chile used the coding and decoding – in decoding the participants externalize their thematic and make their real consciousness explicit to the world. Bode noticed that peasants got interested in discussion once the codification related to their felt needs. (Freire, 1972, 87)

I think that Freire's participatory approach of the oppressed partly explains the popularity of WIND-FM. Even though illiteracy is not a major problem in Ulaanbaatar, it is the feeling of having your voice not being heard by the government that makes the ger residents passive, adding to that is the historical fact of authoritarian views connected to

communist education. One of the discussion groups, analyzed in the empirical portion of the next chapter, mentions WIND-FM creating a bridge to the government, or being the voice of the people to the government. Radio has given a tool for ordinary citizens to have a voice. Radio has given them a feeling of being able to communicate, and being heard.

Besides the emphasis on the participatory approach, Freire's theory is relevant to the Mongolian situation relating to the importance of being a responsible person. The communist emphasis on groups and everybody being treated the same and equal, does not help with the idea of the individual taking responsibility and thinking by himself, as Mayo (1995, 374) describes: "years of domination leave imprint on the minds of oppressed". Ger groups brought up several problems relating to the people; a lack of values, youth missing discipline, dropping out from school, and being lazy and not working. This kind of behavior could be seen in Freirian terms as a behavior without ethical responsibility. Ethical responsibility is seen as an ingredient of democratic participation (Darder, 2002, 118).

In this orality influenced, communist dominated society, being able to voice your opinion and be in dialogue with decision makers, and participate with the help of media, opens a new channel for what Freire calls "liberation".

5.2 Community development

Freire sees the need for local communities to see the larger societal aspects. He reinforces the helping societies in community development projects, to bring local communities to realize the totality they are themselves, and at the same time, make them realize the larger totality they belong to (area – region – nation – continent). According to Freire, when breaking down the area being helped into smaller local communities, alienation is intensified. Freire (1972, 111) explains: "These focalized forms of action, by intensifying the focalized way of life of the oppressed (especially in rural areas), hamper the oppressed

from perceiving reality critically and keep them isolated from the problems of oppressed men in other areas."

Freire criticizes welfare programs for being like an anesthetic and serving the end of the conquest, instead of really helping the community to become aware of its problems and the causes for the problems, and finding solutions for the problems.

However, while emphasizing the awareness of the local community, Freire seems to overlook the importance of change agents. It is not enough that the community itself is conscientious and tries to find solutions. Government personnel need to be made responsible for the developments in communities, or community residents need to know enough to demand the government to take action. (Srampickal, 2006, 24)

5.2.1 Critical literacy creating development

The Freirian theory widens the concept of literacy and illiteracy. These terms are not only about knowing alphabets and reading and writing, but about learning how to communicate in a cultural context. You may be able to read the texts, but if you do not understand your society, it would be the same as if you were illiterate. On the other hand, Freire (1985, 13) does explain that sometimes the person lives in a culture whose communication and history are mostly oral: "Illiterate man is the man who does not need to read." Writing does not bear any meaning. In a reality like this, to succeed in introducing the written word and with it literacy, one needs to change the situation qualitatively. Many cases of regressive literacy can be explained by the introduction of such changes, the consequence of literacy naively conceived for areas whose tradition is preponderantly or totally oral.

Freire sees illiteracy as the result of objective conditions – peasants in Latin America did not need letters, and they did not have anything to do with letters. But once you participate in literate culture, then you recognize that you are illiterate – different than others. Freire wants that learners develop themselves and see the components of the reality integrated into

the total composition. Opposite to that view, there is reactionary practice, where learners do not develop themselves and they learn a focalist view of the world. Freire sees literacy as a larger task, where illiterate learners are positioned, first to themselves becoming "self-conscious of their own self-formation in particular ways of life through an engagement of self-reflexivity" (McLaren, 2000, 155), and then in relationship with others and with the world. They learn to see that with their efforts, they make cultural products, and they have a new awareness of being cultured through work and through their working to begin changing the world.

Freire suggests that oral reactions from cultural discussion groups should be transcribed into texts that are then given back to illiterate learners so that they can begin to discuss them. (Freire, 1985, 16, 17) The idea is that educators should stimulate peasants by sharing their own views, doubts and criticisms. "During a discussion of a problematic situation – like codification – educators should ask peasants write down their reactions – first on the blackboard, and then on a sheet of paper. These two periods of writing have two distinct objectives. The goal of the first period is propose a group discussion around the ideas written by one of their peers. In order for the experience to be reinforced, the author should coordinate the discussion.

The purpose of the second period, during which the learner writes his or her own thoughts on a sheet of paper, is to develop material for later use in an anthology of peasants' texts' (Freire, 1985, 24)." Another way of collecting comments is to tape-record the groups' discussions.

On a pedagogical level, Freire emphasizes using words that are tied to the life world of the learners. Most often those concepts arise from a long history of the people. Mastering oral and written language doesn't have any meaning if it is only a mechanical repetition of syllables, and memorizing alphabets. "Human beings learn to talk by using meaningful words in social context. The learning process is valid only when the learner begins simultaneously to perceive the deep structure of language along with mastering the mechanics of vocabulary. When he or she begins to perceive the close relationship between language-thought and reality in her or his own transformation, she or he will see the need

for new forms of comprehension and, also, expression." (Freire, 1985, 21-22, Freire, 1998, 81)

Freire emphasizes the rise of conscience in learning. "To acquire literacy is more than to psychologically and mechanically dominate reading and writing techniques. It is to dominate these techniques in terms of consciousness; to understand what one reads and to write what one understands; it is to communicate graphically. Acquiring literacy does not involve memorizing sentences, words or syllables – lifeless objects unconnected to an existential universe – but rather an attitude of creation and re-creation, a self-transformation producing a stance of intervention in one's context." (Freire, 1974, 48)

Freire's friend Antonio Gramsci adds: "I think that any reshaping of the development process should begin not only by ascertaining the people's basic needs (which they themselves should rediscover, redefine) but also using the knowledge the people have about how to respond to those needs...Any attempt to arrive at a new conception, a reorganization of development must, in order to respond to those needs, start from the knowledge and techniques possessed by the people." (Freire, 1989, 87)

According to Freire (1989, 159, 187), literacy can be "emancipatory" and "critical" only if it is conducted in the language of the people. It is by using the native language that the students "name their world", and begin to establish a dialectical relationship with the dominant class in the process of transforming the political and social structures that imprison them in their "culture of silence". Without the re-appropriation of their cultural capital, the reconstruction of the new society envisioned by progressive educators and leaders can hardly be a reality.

After Russia's 1990 perestroika, the Mongolian state mandated a return to the traditional Mongolian script by the year 1994. Some teaching to write the traditional script began at schools, however, the change did not happen, and the Cyrillic alphabets are still being used. How has that affected the self awareness of the people? That would be an interesting research topic, from the language-thought point of view. Language is tied to thought and

communication processes, and if there is instability about the using of alphabets, that surely might affect ones ability to express thoughts, become aware of oneself, and place oneself in context to the greater whole of society.

Freire emphasizes that education must be an instrument of transformation. Besides education that changes consciousness, a change in social structures is necessary. One of the mistakes of the mechanistic Marxists was that they did not see the importance of changing the infrastructure of a society's material conditions. Once these material conditions have been changed, the education will have a role to play. From the prophetic point of view, it makes little difference in what specific area the education happens; it will always be an effort to clarify the concrete context in which the teacher-students and student-teachers are educated and are united in their presence in action. It will always be a demythologizing praxis. (Freire, 1985, 140, Freire, 1998, 67)

Mongolia is not underprivileged when it comes to education. Russians built a comprehensive school system in the country, and illiteracy remains low in the capital, as table 20 shows, less than 2% of Ulaanbaatar population had no education, in 2000.

Table 20. Education categories in the UB census 2000

education	%
No education	1.78
Primary	6.18
Grades 4-8	21.99
Grades 9-10	37.47
Tech/voc	2.39
Diploma	11.22
High Education	17.97

Mongolia is not Catholic like the South American countries with which Freire was familiar; two thirds of Ulaanbaatar residents claim Buddhism as their religion, while every third claims to having no philosophy or religious standing. But Freire's writings on education as an instrument of transformation, fit well with the Mongolian landscape and the position of community radio. Educational programs dealing with family, children's upbringing and

health are effective. Also, Freire's emphasis on the meaning of language, and using it in a personal context, as well as taking the historical themes into consideration, appear to be definitive in the Mongolian arena. In the focus groups, we questioned the residents' needs and what knowledge people have about responding to their needs. Freire's view is that all development must start from the knowledge and techniques possessed by the people themselves.

5.2.2 White reiterates the Freirian theory

White reiterates Freire's theory of education for liberation being suitable for understanding the role of media in discussion groups and networks in political projects, not only in political projects, but also in social and cultural projects. "The media, especially small media such as group communication, popular theater, and people's radio, were the sites where the poor and marginal could develop their cultural identity" (White, 2007, 5).

Representation of youth culture in music is an implication of Freirian media theory. Youth listen to music which presents the young people's inner selves. Similarly, the media that presents what is going on inside the marginalized people groups, or parts of the society that has been neglected by the government, will be used in White's opinion, by surveying what terms the poor farmers used, and what terms were closest to their emotional world, and using those same terms in the literary process; Freire became successful in communicating to marginalized people. (White, 2000, 214, 215)

White sees the objective of Freirian pedagogy is to bring the subordinate groups, who do not articulate for fear of punishment, to the conviction that all social identities are important in the creation of a pluralistic culture. Marginalized groups "have so deeply repressed the affirmation of the value of their identity that they take for granted the negative image of their own social identities"(White, 2000, 215).

According to White, Freire's educational methods of creating participation among the marginalized people show the dependency on a hegemonic culture as the reason for feeling inferior. Once the poor and marginal groups of society have their own media, they can actively produce their own cultures. Freire's education for liberation concept is to develop a sense of dignity and freedom of the person via dialogue in the community. This ideal form of communication for marginalized groups of society is called participatory, communitarian, or dialogical communication. (White, 2007, 6, 7)

White (2000,215-216) points out: "The agents of hegemony design texts – the educational text and virtually all the signification of popular culture – that try to avoid signification that touches on areas of identity and that might bring students to reflect on their identity. In part this is due to the fact that subordinate groups have no control over the design of these texts."

According to the Freirian approach, creating small groups of like-minded friends to discuss and express themselves without fear of repression, to start with, maybe about a problem collectively felt. The Freirian method stresses equal participation, horizontal communication and dialogue. In small groups, this level of communication is possible.

White describes these discussion networks as prepolitical, because they rarely are organized to bring about social change and they rarely enter into the public political arena. But, prepolitical discussion networks create social conditions that could link these media users into an active political movement. "If, however, these media activated networks are made up of people who are part of a political movement or a movement that has political changes as one of its goals, then the interaction of the media network with the underlying sociopolitical network can provide explosive energy and link the political network into the center of media attention" (White, 2000, 218).

In Mongolia, the government announced May 15 as Family day, as part of the policy to promote positive family values in the communities of Ulaanbaatar. Our survey in 2002 brought the problems of divorce and alcohol, along with financial and employment

problems, to the front line. WIND-FM used the survey results in their programming; WIND-FM also used the results of small group gatherings (focus group) to formulate their programming. These small groups, some of them created from the marginalized people of society like women and students, have created excellent conditions to formulate change. In addition to being connected via community radio, these groups and networks are forming a movement that is affecting the whole community, and might even effect social conditions in the long term.

White (2000, 219) argues: "the way audiences deconstruct and reconstruct mass media text is of crucial importance in using media for sociopolitical change, because in this process audiences begin to individually and collectively elaborate an alternative social project. Indeed, this kind of deconstruction and reconstruction to formulate an alternative vision of society in terms of one's own cultural identity is the heart of Freirian education of liberation."

5.3. Citizen's media as Freirian application

Participatory communication has been developed based on Freire's critical pedagogy. In Latin America, participatory strategies have been created to facilitate the communication between media professionals and ordinary citizens. In mediated communication, it is the technology that has to be mastered to get your voice "through". In Latin America, known as "education popular", communication technologies are taught by taking the local situation into consideration by following certain principles; first, setting up the education and training so that it is an equal dialogue between the trainee and the trainer, secondly, the training should happen in the cultural terms of the trainee, and thirdly, "training should be empowering experience, resulting in the trainee's full realization as a human being" (Rodriguez, 2001, 56).

Mayo evaluates Freire's philosophy applying it to work both within a revolutionary regime, as well as within a social movement seeking a transformation in social relations in an

industrialized society (Mayo, 1995, 377). Examples of participatory media production projects in the first mentioned context have been conducted in Latin American countries such as Peru, Ecuador, Mexico, Brazil, and Bolivia, and Asian countries such as India, Nepal, and the Philippines. Examples of participatory projects in industrialized countries can be found in Canada and the USA. The Columbian organization CINEP, Center for Research and Popular Education, has been involved in developing video production with women's organizations in Columbia, using Freirian pedagogy. Navajo school children have been taught with application derived from Freire, and HIV patients are encouraged to act to change their social environment to support their desire to achieve high levels of medication adherence, by interacting with a team of nurse and peer-educators using the dialectic process of dialogue and problem solving. The radio phonic school of Radio Santa Maria in the Dominican Republic was in the 1970s successfully teaching grades 1-8 to lower-status adult learners, educating them in a relevant way, being responsive to students' personal growth and their life context, and integrating the students through participation in local community organizations. (Rodriguez, 2001, 110, Squires & Inlander, 1990, 49-56, White, 1976, 7-8, 101)

Mayo (1995, 374) points out that in colonial cultures, where the subordinated groups emerge as a result of participatory communication, or "subaltern voices emerge from the culture of silence", the significance of indigenous cultures gets affirmation, which "immediately leads to discussion concerning the politics of language involved in such a process".

Some of the citizen's media projects tend to have a short life span, "because citizens" media tend to appear, fade, and resurface in sync with the political, social and cultural needs of their communities. It is crucial to rethink the urgency of long term studies of social change. Rodriguez emphasizes that the citizen's media initiatives may evolve and die, for a purpose. "Also, what is most important about citizen's media is not what these citizens do with them, but how participation in these media experiments affects citizens and their communities. So, even if the information and communication channels are left unaltered, citizens' media are rupturing pre-established power structures, opening spaces that allow

for new social identities and new cultural definitions, and, in a word, generating power on the side of subordinate." (Rodriguez, 2001, 160) Rodriguez challenges scholars to study citizens' media initiatives – how they got started, what was their life span, how they died, what was the effect of the media in the long run, and in relation to the social change in the community or nation.

Heikkilä and Kunelius (2000) see participatory democracy opposite to representative democracy. Usually, participatory communication is seen important only for the most activist people. Not everybody is a professional in participation, but there are instances when ordinary people want to participate, and then they need to be given a forum for that.

Heikkilä and Kunelius (2000) see that democracy requires a forum for discussion where arguments regarding common matters are dealt with, and where the "general opinion" is formulated by good argumentation. Rodriguez's (2001) definition of citizen media comes close to this thought in that she defines citizen media as a space of freedom in which everybody can debate an issue. Whether this forum is on nation level, or on local level, Heikkilä and Kunelius (2000) considers that the thought "one publicity" is old fashioned. In the end, the discussion, however neutral it seemed to be, always favors some of the participants, whether explicitly or implicitly.

In the west, local journalism is changing, the system might stay the same, but for example, local journalism is changing so that local papers see themselves, not only as dealing with local matters, but also as providing the audience a window to look out to the world from the community. Local media should open to general and more abstract questions. (Heikkilä & Kunelius, 2000, 96-97). This movement should be reciprocal in the way that nationwide media should give glimpses into the local level, while local media provides glimpses to the provincial or on a nationwide level.

Heikkilä and Kunelius (2000, 100) emphasize that problem driven publicity requires participating individuals, while controlled publicity kills public discussion, The Finnish experiments on journalism showed that common problems create the essential contents for publicity and that dealing with the common problems is one of the most important tasks for

publicity. This viewpoint was evident both among the journalists as well as communal decision makers. However, in practice it is difficult to get rid of the thought of controlled publicity and trust on the presumption that public discussion will refresh communal life. It is only in the public arena, that people become citizens. When the citizens participated in the Finnish experimental groups, they simply enjoyed participating, but also enjoyed the idea that the group discussions would result in newspaper articles, and thus bringing the citizens publicity.

In this thesis, citizen media is seen as functioning on a local or community level, rather than a national level. It functions as producing media discourses of citizens, and affirming their perception of reality to themselves and to one another in the community. The focus is on the celebration of the local culture and the people, rather than keeping the citizen media for political purposes, even though the idea of media being a channel to the government exists in the mind of the community, as seen later in the focus groups. Once this celebration of the local culture happens, it empowers the citizens. This empowerment emerges from relationships in the geographical place, and in organizations such as families, neighborhoods', religious groups, the marketplace, or in the city. (Rodriquez, 2001, White, 2004)

In Ulaanbaatar, community radio WIND-FM gives ordinary people a forum to participate. The radio station promotes discussion programs, where the audience can be interactive. Listeners can ask questions from government officials and experts. The idea of participation is very new, since most Mongols think that freedom of the press means more media channels and all topics to deal with, rather than an individual citizen's right to express their opinion. The empirical section that follows, analyses the Bayanzurkh focus groups' discussions in terms of the themes they offered. Using focus groups to chart the problems of the area is one way of giving the residents a channel for expression and discussion.

6 FOCUS GROUPS DISCUSSIONS

The theoretical and historical portions of this thesis give an extended look into the original background study preparatory to the Ulaanbaatar survey 2002 that I conducted as part of a joint research project involving local community radio WIND-FM 104.5 and an Australian organization, H-C-R, Health Communication Resources. My purpose here has been to bring as multifaceted a landscape as possible in viewing the Mongolian media, following a media ecological approach, starting from the long history of Mongolia, presenting the near history as well, and cumulating with the current media situation today.

In 2002, when I began my research project in Ulaanbaatar, my responsibility was not only to design, analyze, and report the city survey, but to design and analyze the focus group discussions as well. The data collecting for the survey was carried out by local Ulaanbaatar University students trained by the research team-comprised of Satu Salmi of Intermedia, Frank Gray of H-C-R, and myself. The focus groups were organized in co-operation with the WIND-FM staff, Dr. Ross James of H-C-R, and the Bayanzurkh district community.

The focus group report deals with both Ulaanbaatar residents' expectations of community radio, and with the listeners' evaluations of WIND-FM's overall performance.

In conjunction with the face-to-face survey (Romo-Murphy, 2002, unpublished), the focus groups were conducted between April 24th -26th of 2002. Both the moderators and the recruiters were Mongolians, and belonged to the radio station staff. The purpose of the focus groups was to discover the information needs of 1) Ger community residents near the radio station, and 2) WIND-FM listeners aged 20-40 years of age. In addition to the information needs, the key question was how radio, especially WIND-FM, is responding to the information needs of the listeners and ger district residents, as well as how WIND-FM can empower the ger community to help improve its programming.

6.1 Focus groups' composition

Two sets of focus groups were initiated; one set was for the Ger community and the second was for WIND-FM listeners. Both sets included four groups, a total of 36 participants in the Ger groups, and a total of 26 participants in the WIND listener groups. The sizes of all eight groups varied from 4 to 11 participants. All groups had both men and women members; WIND-FM groups' members were ages 20-40 years, while ger groups included elderly participants too. Each group discussion lasted an average of 1 ½ hours. The recruitment procedure is explained in Appendix 2 of this thesis, and it modelled a method presented in focus groups method books. (Bertrand, Brown & Ward 1992, Ginman & Väliverronen, 2002, Greenbaum, 2000, Moisander & Valtonen, 2006, Morgan, 1997, Stewart & Shamdasani, 1990, Templeton, 1994)

Each group had a moderator to facilitate the discussion and two note-takers, one writing down participants' comments, and the other marking down group behaviour and reactions (for example if one participant makes a suggestion, and others nod, the note-taker writes next to the suggestion "others nodded"). The discussions were not taped, since that would have affected the participants' behaviour. The Mongolian-language transcripts were translated into English for content analysis. For that analysis, I calculated using the "Long-table approach" (Krueger & Casey, 2000, 132) in order to identify and categorize the content of the group discussions. After putting similar quotes into relevant piles, looking for trends and patterns in the content of each focus groups discussion (Litosseliti, 2003, 87, Vaughn, Schumm & Sinagub, 1996, 107), I wrote descriptions of what each type of group said in response to the questions.

In analysis, the main attention was given to specificity rather than the frequency of certain kinds of answers. In specificity, more emphasis is given to comments that provide detail to the research questions. In groups, it was the extensiveness of the comments that mattered. Analysis is written so that the themes that were mentioned by several participants or the themes which groups showed unanimity were dealt with. The groups were compared to each other, based on the main themes and quotes.

Participants for WIND listener groups were acquired by announcing the need for volunteers in WIND-FM radio broadcasts one month before the focus groups were conducted. Ger focus groups' participants were acquired through the ger community leader. WIND groups were held at the radio station, while the ger groups were held in the community hall. See Annex for the detailed description of the participant choosing process.

Table 21. Focus groups' composition

Group#	# of participants	male/female
Ger1 – G1	11	2/9
Ger2 – G2	9	3/6
Ger3 – G3	10	5/5
Ger4 – G4	6	2/4
Totals Ger	36	12/24
WIND1 – W1	7	4/3
WIND2 – W2	9	5/4
WIND3 – W3	6	1/5
WIND4 – W4	4	2/2
Totals WIND	26	12/14

Table 21 shows G1 and W3 are predominantly female groups, while G3 had both genders equally, while it consisted mostly of elderly participants. W4 was the smallest; however it provided a good forum for people to listen carefully to each other's suggestions.

6.2 Research questions and responses statistics

Research questions put to the focus groups were designed in co-operation with Dr. Ross James, Director of Health Communications Resources, who was at that time planning a training for the station's staff, and was intending to use the focus groups' themes in radio training for community programs. The research questions were not created from the theoretical portions of this thesis, since the research was conducted before the theory was written. However, upon reflection, the questions used can be supported by Freirian media

theory. In addition, James (2000) himself is leaning towards Freire's criticism regarding the "banking" approach of formal education, and favors developing informal learning, which James (2000, 9) defines as "the lifelong process of learning and daily experience and exposure to the influences of family, other people, media and so on." James refers to Freire, among others, as seeing learning as "instrumental, enabling learners to develop powers of thought and reasoning rather than being passive recipients of knowledge."

Focus groups questions were designed to first of all show the information needs, and secondly, the problems of the ger community. The approach here was to see the residents of the community as active thinkers, and lead them to define their needs. For the WIND-FM listeners, it was important to hear their ideas for programming, and that included giving them an opportunity to voice their evaluations of the radio station's programming.

Ger groups dealt with several information questions, listed in table 22, while the WIND group dealt with only one information question, "What information do you want to receive", as shown in table 23. The purpose of the WIND groups was to evaluate radio station performance, but also in the last question to discover the listeners' ideas for programming.

Table 22. N of comments per question in each Ger group

Ger focus group questions	G1	G2	G3	G4	Total
1. What sort of information is essential for your family		5			5
2. What kind of information do you want to get		18			18
3. Where do you get the information	4		4	5	13
4. Where do you get most of your information within the community	11	3	9	4	27
5. What problems are in your khoroo (ger village)	12	29	11	6	58
6. How can WIND help your community		27	18	20	65
Total	27	82	42	35	

Table 22 above shows the first and second questions were discussed only by G2, which was the most talkative group, with 82 comments total, followed by the elderly G3. More than

the information question, the topic of the problems in the community and how WIND can help the community, brought discussion with 58 and 65 comments.

Table 23. N of comments per question in each WIND group

Question	W1	W2	W3	W4	total
1. What information do you want to receive	15		11		26
2. Green (positive) points about WIND-FM	7	10	16	3	36
3. Red (negative) points about WIND-FM	8	3	22	2	35
4. Yellow (neutral) points about WIND-FM	4				4
5. What are the ideas of the listeners?	28	4		17	49
Total	62	17	49	22	

Table 23 shows the W1 and W3 as the most talkative groups, with 62 and 49 comments. WIND groups gave equally positive and negative feedback to the radio station, while W1 and W4 gave several new ideas for the programming.

The first question was the same in both WIND groups as well as in the ger area groups. However, only one ger group dealt with the matter. Therefore, I have analysed both WIND and ger groups together for the first question.

6.2.1 Findings about the information need – Ger and WIND groups

The WIND-FM groups had more discussion than the ger groups on the information receiving question, however, only two out of four WIND groups talked about it extensively. And, looking at their answers, it seems that one group (W1) understood this question differently than it was originally intended. Rather than talking about information needs, W1 talked about programs needed on radio.

W1 agreed on wanting more domestic news and about the need for programs for children of various age groups, and youth programs. The topic of programs for small children received

an enthusiastic response from W1 members and inspired them to talk at the same time (W1A2.11).

The ger group (G2) agreed about the need for parents to know how to deal with kids in terms of television usage "*Parents fighting over their channels with their kids*" (G2A2.3), and they also agreed on program diversification according to age...

"Give information according to people's ages. For example, older people prefer to listen to politics, while youngsters choose to listen music and entertainment. Young people may feel they are overloaded with information" (G2A3.7).

Another matter that brought agreement was the need for health promotion, and informing people how to prevent health problems. (G2A3.15) Health information was often mentioned by individual comments (six comments) in the G2 group: healthy living, drinking water, teenage sexual abuse, youth health and development were also mentioned.

Besides health, there were four other major topics discussed in the groups (W1, W3, and G2): education, law and order, city, and employment. G2 especially mentioned needing information about education (radio and TV should help kids to do their school work, to inform about different professions, education fair, information about different schools) and law and order (crime, physical abuse of women, women's knowledge on law and rights, new laws and regulations, law and property issues), while W3 mentioned often the information need on employment issues (job vacancies, how to activate unemployed, how to apply for jobs, work ethic), and W1 about city events (what is happening in the city, mayor's briefings).

Program suggestions discussed extensively by W1 included programs for kids who are not attending the kindergarten, a program that teaches songs, a song request program for 20-25 year olds, women's programs, internet training, advice for newlyweds, information on disabled people, NGO projects, information for the self-employed and investors, how to respect parents, and information about ancestors. A radio program about conservation of wild life was suggested by G3.

The Ger focus groups questions were designed without prior observations (unlike Bode in Chile in Freire, 1972, 87) about the meaningful concepts residents use, and therefore the decoding of the word "information" was not successful in the discussions. Rather than information needs, the groups talked about what kind of radio programs they would like to have. On a final note on the information need – the word "information" should have been explained in the beginning of each group discussion, since only one group, G3, discussed the issue in detail. The information need question can be included from the W1 group based on their wishes for programming. From the discussions of the three groups (W1, W3, and G2), five main areas of information needs were distinguished: health information, upbringing, education, law and order, and finally, employment.

6.2.2 Findings on Ger group discussions

First an analysis of the ger area focus groups discussions, since they showed detailed interest in the questions which follow:

- Where do you get the information?
- Where do you get most of your information within the community?
- What problems are in your khoroo (ger village)?
- How can WIND help your community?

6.2.2.1 Where do you get the information?

All Ger groups, except for G2, discussed this question. In each group, a variety of information channels were discussed. Television is the main channel of information (one G3 participant gets 70-80% of information from TV), followed by Unen newspaper, and radio. A G1 group member mentioned though that most people do not have a radio. "People" and the "community hall" were mentioned once.

Since not everybody can afford to buy a radio, G2 suggested installing loudspeakers at certain places in the community, or setting up mailing addresses and a post office. One participant suggested setting up a community paper for sharing information. One suggestion was to use kiosks as a collecting point for citizen information, and media to use the citizen input for broadcasting.

One woman, of Kazak origin in G3, said the language barrier meant that she was not able to get any information at all, and the group suggested that information should be available in Kazak language, which G3 members agreed. This idea of developing foreign language programming was put forward again later in G3.

As was seen in the survey, one quarter of Ulaanbaatar households do not have a radio. Therefore, information is channelled by many other means than radio, TV being the most used source. Focus groups brought up both old and new channels of information, loudspeakers seen as an old means, while the new was using kiosks as an information fountain.

6.2.2.2 Where do you get most of your information within the community?

When groups talked about this fourth question, the community hall (Khoroo) was mentioned by all groups. Two G1 participants did not get information from the Khoroo, while one G2 member listed several information items Khoroo makes available. Hospitals were mentioned by all groups, the police station by two.

"Female dominated group G1" added kindergarten, the Mayor and the water station as sources for community information. One group each mentioned women run organisations; aged peoples groups, and "while waiting to collect the pension". Various media formed another larger group of community information source: TV, radio, newspapers/magazine and "friends" were mentioned in several groups.

When it comes to information within the community, the Khoroo and the hospital seem to be giving more information than the traditional media.

6.2.2.3 What problems there are in your community?

The two last questions "what problems in your community" and "how WIND can help your community?" brought lively discussions. Participants were actively involved in contributing their ideas, and they appeared to agree with the ideas put forward. At first, groups discussed about the problems in their communities and secondly, how WIND can help the community with its problems.

Groups brought to light five major areas of problems: health, social issues, education, law and order, and infrastructure. The two first mentioned topics caused more discussion than others.

In health topics, good drinking water is the biggest problem in the community (talked by $\frac{3}{4}$ of the groups), along with pollution ($\frac{2}{4}$ groups) and rubbish ($\frac{2}{4}$ groups). Alcoholism is a problem, and selling alcohol in 24-hour stores (G2 talked about it). Besides the above mentioned, G2 dealt with several additional health problems such as lack of hospitals, and drug stores, food security, and reproductive health.

In social issues, unemployment was mentioned by three out of the four groups. Participants in other groups were complaining about the lack of motivation to do anything, and the existence of homeless people, as well as the lack of cultural and social activities. One example about the need for places to spend free time was the wish for photographic studios. The female dominated group G1 talked about the lack of public bath houses and saunas, the lack of hairdressers, and the lack of places to spend free time.

On education, all the groups talked about the lack of public schooling, including not having enough kindergartens in the khoroo.

In law and order; G2 pointed out most of the problems; theft and crime, and the lack of traffic police, and the lack of lighting and security, while G3 and G4 agreed on the need for more police presence on the streets.

All groups commented on the infrastructure issues. G4 women were really aggressive about the status of public transportation and the need for public services in general. Besides G4, the public transportation need was also voiced by G3. Other infrastructure issues, such as better maintenance of streets and street names, and the need for household addresses were mentioned by G3 and G2. In addition to the streets, G1 suggested more landscaping such as trees and bushes should be planted. There were two notions to infrastructure issues other than transportation – one for poverty alleviation by G2, the answer to which was provided by G1 who suggested "loans to start businesses".

6.2.2.4 How can Radio WIND help your community?

Three out of four groups had lively discussion on this last question, and in most of the comments the groups' agreements were unanimous. Especially the G3 members, which consisted mostly of elderly people, had a lively discussion during their refreshment time, when they emphasised the need to reconcile the younger and older generation, and they suggested radio program on how other countries respect their elders. They said it was important to make young people socially more active, and invited WIND-FM to go to their Khorros to explore the issue further.

G3 was as a group in agreement with the idea of pointing out rubbish problems in the community. They also suggested radio can "provide information on the people in the countryside. This could be achieved by delivering information to local kiosks and shops and WIND could go and collect this information." G3 also suggested radio could promote better behaviour ("greetings and general public behaviour...") in the form of radio drama. G2 had vivid discussion on how radio can help the Ger community in relating to the police station, NGOs, and youth organisations. Participants agreed especially to several ideas for

radio programs to promote various topics: health care, the garbage problem, family health. G4 Women agreed about adding programs for children in general, and especially teaching disadvantaged pre-school children, producing a children's literature program with fairytales, and having music for children.

Compiling the suggestions by all groups, the most agreement was shown for community participation on educational, social, and the rubbish issues. WIND could also fight against corruption in the public school system by making a program about it. There is also need for a forum for teachers and students to discuss what is going on in public schools. Schools also need radio's help in educating those who drop out of school, and for kids who are disadvantaged in some other areas as well. Radio should make programs featuring children's literature.

Some of the expectations for radio seemed high – for example that WIND should build a wellness centre for kids, or build a children's playground.

In the social arena, the Ger groups brought up the need to help youth and those unemployed to get to work, by promoting members active in the community, or announcing employment opportunities on the radio.

"Promote local businesses that are succeeding without government or other financial assistance", or "to promote the work in the Khoros"(G3)

For the job applicants, the problems of employment based on outlook should be dealt with in a radio program. By activating people, and helping them to become employed, the radio can facilitate in poverty reduction. One way of activating youth is to organise work for young people at a community centre holding cultural, sports, arts and disciplinary events. To help youth to find a place to study, students from surrounding colleges could be on a program to provide the community with information about what they are studying. As mentioned earlier, the elderly brought up the need to pay attention to the generation gap, by producing radio dramas dealing with greetings and general public behaviour.

The larger theme of community participation was dealt with in two directions – Radio WIND participating in the society, and listeners participating in Radio. To help the community, radio could make officials aware of the community problems...

"WIND could make district officials aware of community areas that do not have public lighting" (G4)

WIND could also make a program on the unsatisfactory situation of the bus services for the elderly and children... *"For example highlight the practise of bus drivers refusing to pick up children and elderly because they are not required to pay for their bus ride." (G4)*

Since not everyone can afford to buy a radio, G2 suggested installing loudspeakers at certain places in the community, or setting up mailing addresses and a post office, or a payphone, or subscribe a newspaper for the community.

WIND-FM could help in setting up activities locally, or, *"when the community center wanted to organise events, WIND could help in supplying the equipment such as microphones" (G2).*

Groups suggested WIND using volunteer news anchors to report local news and information from the community. One G3 participant stated that he is an artist and he would be happy to be involved in a radio program for children, and at that point the other group members were enquiring if they could be involved in the community radio programs as well.

To sum up, three out of four groups had plenty of ideas of how WIND can be helping the community, and participants showed excitement to the idea that listeners can be part of making programs, some even volunteered specifically. Most ideas deal with children and youth, and their education. For children, parents wanted educational input on radio, as well as better playgrounds and facilities for play. For youth, parents and elderly people in the

community saw a need for activating the young in the community, and teaching them to show respect and proper behaviour for elders. There were single suggestions also about the radio station working in co-operation with the police, government offices and NGOs as well as other organisations, but the agreements on the group level were not that high as on the topics outlined above. The only major issue of agreement that I did not deal with extensively above, was the suggestion of WIND helping to create a rubbish free environment, and helping the community to see the health consequences of the waste problem. All in all, radio's role as facilitating community development was seen clearly.

Democracy is often defined as a process where citizens are being informed of government decisions, and where citizens are able to discuss the societal issues, and voice their opinions about the community issues, even before the final decisions are made by the local government. However, this aspect of information was not mentioned at all in the focus groups discussions. Instead, the citizens' agenda was about the issues of everyday life, with the problems in the community, and with how to solve them. Radio itself is seen as part of the solution in helping the community, either independently, or together with government offices and NGOs. McLaren (In the Critical Pedagogy Reader, 2003, 73) defines the describing and analysing of social situations, such as ger problems, as practical knowledge, while the suggestions of solving the problems with the help of collective action of radio, government and NGOs, are defined as emancipatory knowledge by McLaren.

According to Ahva (2003, 43), one of the measures of successful citizen journalistic experiments is whether the editorial offices have been co-operating with the citizens organisations (Friedland and Nicholls, 2002). Ahva (Ahva, 2003, 35, 36) refers to this tendency of problem orientation as having been seen by other journalism researchers. Referring to Rose (1993) and Merritt (1995), Ahva points out that in citizen journalism, the press cannot be independent and objective, since the central part of journalism in democracy requires journalism to take an active role. The idea of citizen journalism is that the solutions for the problems can be sought out with the help of print. The analysis of Ahva's discussion groups shows that the role of the newspaper is to bring forth the ideas, thought and views of the group members. The newspaper was seen as a tool, with which

the group had a chance to influence common issues, and bring the matters of most interest, into the public arena. (Ahva, 2003, 72)

This kind of thinking of media, in this case radio, being a tool for bringing views to the arena of public knowledge, came up also in the focus groups; the ger residents gave examples of how community radio like WIND-FM can work in the ger areas together with local organisations, whether they be government, or non-government organisations. In this case, radio was functioning as a tool of citizen journalism, since the premise and presupposition was that radio should be viewed by ger community members as seeking solutions to their problems. Or, in this case in Ulaanbaatar, the public journalism concepts of "hearing to the citizens," or "public listening," described by Charity (1995, 38) was accomplished by focus groups organised by the community radio station in co-operation with ger residents. However, there are views, such as by Sirianni & Friedland (2001) as reported by Ahva (2003, 67), against this kind of citizen journalism, whose main task is to create strategies and networks to solve the problems of the citizens. In future focus groups, as an alternative method, the ger residents should be asked "how they see their problems to be solved?", and not mention "radio" as a source of help. The answers to this question would give a more neutral data response measuring the ger resident's thinking. However, let us continue with the focus groups discussions by looking into the area of how WIND-FM listeners relate to the station's programming – are the positive aspects of programming geared to helping the community, or are they about information, or is it purely entertainment?

6.2.3 Findings on Ger Buliin listener group discussions

WIND-FM listeners' focus group discussed the following issues:

1. What information do you want to receive?
2. Green (positive) points about WIND-FM.
3. Red (negative) points about WIND-FM.
4. Yellow (neutral) points about WIND-FM.

5. What are the ideas of the listeners?

The first question was dealt with earlier when analysing the ger discussions. W1 talked about programs needed on radio; domestic news, programs for children and youth and various age groups, as well as for women. The actual information needs were about employment, mentioned by W3, and about what is happening in the city, mentioned by W1.

6.2.3.1 Green points about WIND-FM

To evaluate WIND-FM as a radio station; participants were asked to show colour coded cards: a green face drawn on a cardboard showed what are the positive things about WIND-FM, and a red face illustrated the negative things, and a yellow face showed neutral things about WIND-FM. Groups W1, W2 and W3 participated in this discussion actively. W4 had a few comments.

A green face was given by the participants to programs they liked on WIND-FM: news (3/4 groups), Public Service Announcements or PSAs (2/4 groups), music (3/4 groups), "*The Literature Hour*" (3/4 groups), "*Please come back*" (2/4 groups), "*Words from the Heart*" (2/4 groups), "*Lets talk about love*" (2/4 groups), "*My Poem*" (1/4 groups), "*You are on air*" (1/4 groups).

"*The Literature Hour*", as well as "*My Poem*" are cultural programs, while the rest of programs mentioned by name are about relationships. "*The Literature Hour*" consists of a series of readings from a book. In "*My Poem*", either the program host or the listener, when invited, presents the poem. "*Please come back*" is about people whom a listener might like to find. W1 agreed that it is good to hear when people are being interviewed in this program. "*Let's talk about love*" is about observing good actions in the community and encouraging them to continue.

The "*You are on air*" –programme gives chances for listeners to express themselves on air. W2 liked this program specifically since it allows people to broadcast their opinions.

WIND-FM used creative ways of getting the listeners opinions aired, as a described in Radio Wind 104,5 Presentation and Production guidelines, Draft 2001 (unpublished):

- *Listeners are invited to use one minute to say what they think about an issue — the issue is chosen either pre-announced, or it is up to the listener to choose the issue*
- *Telephone recording*
- *Mobile reporter: a reporter is available at a certain spot (e.g., outside of the Post Office) with either a tape recorder or a mobile phone. Listeners are told where the reporter is and they can come up to him and her to voice talk about their issue. The listener talk is either recorded or broadcast live*
- *A reporter can travel on a bus. The route is announced the day before. Passengers on that route can talk to the reporter while travelling to/from work*

In general, the idea of WIND-FM inviting listeners and asking their opinions was not only praised by W2 as mentioned above, but by W3 as well.

"*Words from the Heart*" is described in Radio Wind 104, 5 "Presentation and Production guidelines, Draft 2001" (unpublished), as a programme to "allow listeners to give birthday or anniversary greetings", then a fifteen-minute program in the mornings at 8.45-9.00 o'clock. W2 wanted this program to be longer.

Mongolian music was appreciated by W2, as well as classical music. Listeners in W2 agreed they want to hear more details about the classical music pieces being played on the radio.

W3, the female dominated group, showed the most emotional comments on programming:

"The music and the different programs calm me down when I am disappointed." W3A1.2

"Your radio talks about emotions and feelings." W3A1.12

"It feels like you are relating to me on a personal level." W3A1.13

"It is like the word 'wind'. It reaches everywhere, and it is soft." W3A1.15

W3 talked about the importance of family programming...

"Your radio has many good ideas and thoughts about the family" W3A1.3... "There are so many family issues. Your radio is helping to reconcile them" W3A1.16

"Give advice on family matters." W3A1.11

Other positive comments groups mentioned: *"The broadcasters do not have unnecessary banter". "Programs are appropriate for the message of the station", "predictability", "the reception (signal of the station) is clear".*

Radio is often listened to for news and music, both which are important for WIND-FM listeners, but equally important are programs about literature and about relationships. Would it be possible that listeners like hearing the books read since there are not many available, or is it because hearing their own language is important? The Mongolian written language has been historically under debate, whether to write using Uighur letters or Cyrillic letters – however, the spoken language (Mongolian Halh) has remained the same. Or is this appeal for a literature program which is read connected with the oral roots of the society? These questions could be dealt with in further research.

The results showing the so called relationship programs garnering several green points shows the importance the local people give to verbal greetings, being interviewed, or sharing opinions on the radio. It is the "voice of the audience" that matters. Listeners want to hear themselves. This also could be simply a matter of image publicity: wanting to be a "star", or to show off. Or, this could be the expression of enjoying being a producer of media discourse, or the celebration of the local people (White, 2004, 11).

6.2.3.2 Red points about WIND-FM

The red negative face was given by three groups to the *"Talking Bus"* –program: "needs more variation in order to draw people's attention" W3A2.1, "it is getting more naughty" W1A3.6, "the presenter is supposed to reprimand people if they can not answer the

question properly. This idea of punishment and public shaming is not good" W4A3.2, "it could be made together with the driver and conductor of the bus" W3A2.2.

Two groups (W1 and W2) criticized broadcasters about language; "not speaking properly", and "not announcing the foreign words well", and making mistakes. One group (W1) mentioned some promos needing change, and the variety of programs needs to be increased while at the same time program repeats should be lessened. W2 criticized WIND-FM for mixing Mongolian and foreign songs together, and the "Words from the Heart" –program, for not interviewing people in the ger communities.

Female dominated W3 evaluated the WIND-FM programming making several comments. Most comments were critical of not enough programming for certain groups, like children and teenagers, 30-40 year olds, elderly people, and programmes for men and women. "Elderly people are lonely. We need to listen their memories and support them". "Do talk-back with elderly people." W3 group wants talk back programs in general saying... "Other FM stations talk about needless things. Do talk-back in the near future".

W3 suggested programs for families "What is the man's role in the family? Talk about this issue" W3A2.11, "Make a program about the potential for the social lives of women. Talk about the life of the single mother" W3A2.15, "Make a program for the head of family" W3A2.13.

Besides criticizing WIND-FM for not having enough family programs, participants suggested WIND-FM "choose innovative methods for giving advice" and criticized counselling programs saying "train the people who can give advice and counselling".

One comment of Christmas coverage shows that religious issues may cause controversy... "A newspaper criticized the Christmas celebrations, saying the religious overtones were too strong." W3A2.6

One group put forward the family issue again when talking about the yellow, neutral things in WIND. "Increase and improve family advice", "to provide advice on family issues". Another comment of a need for fresh programming was voiced in W1: "It would be good if the radio programs that are said by the MP's are made in a more imaginative way" W1A4.1.

"*Talking Bus*" -program was criticized in several ways. The behaviour of the journalists is not proper. Red points came against radio journalists for the way they talked and pronounced the words, and the way the counselling programs were organised. Another red area is the non-variety of programming – listeners complained about repeating programs and not using imagination in MP programs. Elderly and ger residents need to be interviewed in the programs more than what is currently the case.

6.2.3.3 WIND-FM listeners' ideas for new programming

Three WIND groups shared many ideas for new programming on WIND-FM. W1 and W4 gave ideas in several areas, while W2's suggestions were for young couples, families, and homemakers only. W3 did not give any ideas for programming, it seems like this group talked itself "out" in the previous questions.

W2's ideas were solely about family – they want programmes for home makers, which also would deal with children's nutrition, discipline, and clothing. Especially young married couples need a program of their own, according to this group.

Participants in W1 and W4 suggested similar contents for family programming "many school kids lost their bags at school. Make an awareness of it". "Inform the places where schools supplies are sold cheaper", "prepare a program that can influence the youth". W1 even welcomed a program where journalists visit listeners' homes.

The following ideas were given on counselling and advice programs, each suggested by one group:

- professionals advice on certain issues, for example a program in co-operation with psychiatrists
- information on products and materials
- a program on self-presentation and self-care
- use of popular songs as a drawing card. Important information can be given after the song is played
- to give advice on appropriate morning social interaction, before they go to work

Participants in two groups see the roles of radio to become bridges: between the public and the government, for giving information about housing for young couples, for tackling teacher corruption problems at schools, for explaining educational policies, for just hearing the listeners' thoughts and suggestions.

Radio is able to combat theft ("*homeless kids are committing theft*") and robbery by making a program with police station cooperation, or in general by preparing programs reminding people about the importance of security.

Two groups recommended WIND-FM to promote employment by appealing to the unemployed to participate in voluntary projects, or to give job announcements, or for presenting various professions in programs, or to "interview those who are doing a superb job in their professions", and finally, to "promote hard working people". Everyone in W1 criticized the advertisements on television which cause discrimination on appearance and age when seeking employment. In cases where the unemployed can't find jobs, W1 suggested radio should promote keeping them busy by appealing to them to participate in the Millennium Road project, or by preparing a programme called "Volunteers of new Generation".

One focus group agreed that they want to assist the station and participate; one idea was to "make a program where journalists visit the listeners homes". Or ask the station to co-operate with other organisations "prepare a program with family oriented organisations".

During the refreshment, the W1 group gave several ideas for new types of programs, for example, they suggested crossword puzzles, language lessons, and classical music in the evenings along with various travel programs on Mongolia and its 21 aimags with their beautiful sites. W1 also proposed:

"To produce a program that caters for Mongolian culture and tradition", "to promote life of suburbs", "organise the tour with listeners and travel around the country and make the program".

The WIND listeners groups produced a lot of new programming ideas for radio. The ideas put forth revolve around the matters important to the listeners in their personal lives, and matters concerning life in the society. The democratization movement per se appears to flow from citizens to the officials. Listeners do not show interest in learning more about the government laws and regulations as much as they want their problems to be heard, and solved, and their voice to be heard in radio interviews.

6.3 Media serving the community in co-operation with other groups

There are views, such as those dealt with by Heikkilä & Kunelius (2000, 16, 22-23), on journalists reporting what is happening, but they do not mold to the reality, or try to have an effect on society. Journalism works from the top to bottom – and it has been criticized on one hand, for not taking enough into consideration as far as the needs and preferences of its audience, and the other hand, for not telling enough about the ordinary citizen's matters and problems. The focus of Journalism is on the decision makers and experts.

WIND-FM radio in Ulaanbaatar, it can be deduced, represents the opposite view; it focuses on the position of the listeners in the society and on audience participation. The mission of

WIND-FM is to be effective as an agent of change in its community, by participation and by empowerment of the audience. WIND-FM journalists go around the city with microphones, asking the city residents for their opinions and to share their problems. The focus is on the ordinary citizens. The focus groups were effective in showing that community radio has a role in helping to solve the problems of society: unemployment, educational, environmental, health and hygiene issues.

Based on interviews with international community radio activists, Milan (2008) divides the community radio functions eight-fold: radio as fun, radio as a revitalizer, as a collaborative project, as a free expression and self determination, as a political tool to involve and affect listeners, as a voice amplifier with a transformative impact, as serving with other social groups and as an empowering tool. All these functions could also be seen in the Ulaanbaatar focus groups, even though perhaps not explicitly expressed by the participants.

Depending on the composition of the group, ger residents had different approaches to solving the ger problems with community radio WIND-FM. The elderly ger group suggested drama, while the mixed age group suggested WIND working together with government agencies, NGOs, and the community centers. Community radio was seen as a bridge between the people and the government.

Besides networking with other organizations, community radio was seen as a viable option for solving some of the problems via programming. Especially the women in the focus groups enthusiastically offered suggestions for children's radio programs, or pointed out several practical program ideas to help parents to find affordable food and clothing for children, and to help parents in matters of nutrition and discipline. These views are close to what was shared earlier about the Radio phonic school (White, 1976, 7-8) as well as other participatory communication initiatives.

The function of self-expression, and radio being fun and a revitalizer, was not the main focus of this focus group study. However, the participants were enquiring if they could be involved in the community radio programs. The female dominated group shared many

positive emotional comments on WIND programming. Cultural music programs as well literature programs like "My Poem" and "The Literature Hour" was appreciated.

Answering the question about "information need" was difficult for both groups. One explanation for this might be what Postman describes as an atomic concept of information. Information is difficult to grasp, when it is a separate, objective, or an isolated piece. Information has to have a place, a useful epistemological frame (Postman, 2000, 90). It was easier for participants to describe what kind of programs they want, or what kind of help they needed. If the information question needs to be answered, the information needs to be placed into a wider frame to consider the people's lives in context.

The other explanation could be the fact that community radio is not considered from the aspect of a point of information, but rather, as Milan (2008) found out, as being fun, bringing people together, about belonging, and about influencing together, or as White (2004, 11) brings up about "celebrating local culture and people". This, I think is true, especially among Mongols, who are used to thinking holistically, and who have grown in the atmosphere of family relationships. Or, as Ong says (Ong, 1982, 177), in oral cultures speech is more performance oriented, rather than informational.

Ginman's concept of information literacy could provide a third explanation. According to Ginman, good environmental scanning makes the environment comprehensible, and provides the individual a means to cope with his or her own life. Sometimes the audience, especially those less educated, has difficulty in taking advantage of the information available in the mass media. (Ginman, 2003, 155) In our case, the ger residents failed to name the information they needed to be transmitted via mass media.

7 CONCLUSION

In this thesis I have invoked a media ecology approach in examining the media landscape of Mongolia. Using the orality-literacy equation as a background, I have noted the oral roots of Mongolian society, suggesting that the development of Mongolian media has followed a path of transformation from orality to literacy gradually, over the centuries, and shows up as secondary orality in the new millennium. Inspired by Dr. Munkhmandakh Myagmar's dissertation on Mongolian media, I have shown how the Mongolian media has been influenced over a wider period of time, not just during the 70 years of communist rule, which many sources have considered when studying Mongolia's media or any other Soviet ex-satellite, but rather from a much broader historical perspective covering centuries of Mongolia's past.

This media ecological review of Mongolia began by showing how orality was first expressed in Mongolian religious recitations, followed by the practice of having religious literature printed in the Tibetan language; yet it is important to note that the language of ordinary people was different from that of the religious language used by the priests.

In one theoretical observation, I have paralleled the use of Latin in the Catholic religious circles of Europe with the use of the Tibetan language in Mongolia's Buddhist monasteries. My point is that religious language was separated from the language of the people in Mongolia in much the same way as it occurred in Europe within the Catholic Church. So, in Mongolia, over several centuries, the media developed hand in hand with religion until the Buddhist monasteries were closed between 1937 and 1939. It was during this time frame that politics started playing a major role in Mongolian media development; at first the army was educated, followed by the rest of Mongolia's ordinary citizens. The literacy development of the entire Mongolian nation was actually facilitated by the decision to adapt a new alphabet in which the Uighur text was replaced by Cyrillic text, while at the same time; the orally produced Khalka Mongolian remained the same among the ordinary

citizens. But as any other country in the 21st century, the changes in media environments are both numerous and accelerating.

The literate portion of the Mongolian population remained low until the adoption of Cyrillic alphabets and with help from Russia the Mongolian government developed an educational system. Technically the change of alphabets was positive as it was easy to learn, and therefore it helped to increase the literacy rate of the nation as a whole. Content-wise, the communist propaganda was easier to promote in printed publications now that people knew how to read. And by changing the alphabets and closing the Buddhist monasteries simultaneously, the language of religion was quieted. And so it was that the media, in the form of the press, became part of an ideological construction of the Mongolian nation.

As a result of Perestroika and the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Mongolian media began to open up. A media law established in the 1990s paved the way for a diversified Mongolian media. An example of this change to a diversified Mongolian media can be seen in the founding of a private community radio station, WIND-FM in Ulaanbaatar. This thesis has described to what degree and in what ways the aspects of oral, societal and media history relate to the popularity of Community Radio WIND-FM 104.5.

Ordinary people providing content and being able to discuss their lives via radio broadcasts was not common in Mongolia as defined by Soviet media policy. During this communist dominated era the party dictated the content of the media and the news topics. Community radio in Mongolia today behaves the opposite – letting citizens define the topics and suggest content for the media, in this case, radio.

During the Soviet era of media influence the ideas and thoughts of ordinary Mongolians, as well as the vocabulary and language utilized did little to promote a historical and individual consciousness. As a result it can be said that Mongolians stepping into the new open media environment following the Soviet era of influence were not used to expressing their thoughts. This is no longer the case however since community radio in Mongolia today is at

least one way in which ordinary citizens are given the opportunity for expression. Besides giving them a "voice", as expressed in the focus groups discussions, community radio gives the people meaning, events and ultimately personifies their humanity.

Community radio and the Soviet authoritarian media system can be said to have one thing in common - and that is the requirement for social change. Freire's pedagogy promotes social change, the same way as the Soviet press was supposed to bring out social change. Freire talks about media accomplishing social change and it is this same idea of promoting change is reflected in the program policy of community radio WIND-FM. In this respect, community radio represents the Soviet style view of the purpose of media being instrumental to change.

As shown in the survey results for Ulaanbaatar households, word of mouth was still a well used channel of news information in 2002. Focus groups results revealed the appreciation of literature programming on the radio, as well as the programs promoting cohesion in the extended family and in society, both of which are features endeared by oral cultures. However, in general, when looking at the Ulaanbaatar media landscape at large, the citizens of this orality-based culture have perhaps not really been able to totally grasp or be conscious of the magnitude of their prospective participation in shaping change through the media. This could be partly due to the media environments forced upon them by the Soviet authoritarian media approach, which still sometimes becomes evident in practice, as shown by the implementation of a media blackout, in the summer of 2008, imposed by the government in response to disagreement over election results. Yet, referring to Androunas (1993, 39, 40), even in a totalitarian society, there is something that could not be put under full control, and that is people's minds.

In the changing media landscape the future for Mongolia is bright in some respects; indigenous content is increasing in the local radio sector. And community radio WIND-FM's contributions via the airwaves, as the 2002 survey and focus groups show, appears to be helping to create an environment fostering participation, and in doing so gives a forum for ordinary people to express their needs and concerns. The survey and focus groups

results show that participation affects residents of the Bayanzurkh district, both as citizens and as community members. Through participation, Mongolian citizens are able to create their own cultural identity, become conscious of themselves, and become more responsible citizens of the society. Paulo Freire's ideas about participation fostering democracy and conscientization are tested empirically when analyzing the focus groups results conducted in Ulaanbaatar.

In international religious radio, two of the most popular areas of programming are reading literature and using drama. Program presenters read scripts written in advance. In this way writing for presentation, and utilizing literary texts, takes on the oral form. In some cases, listeners are transcribing, in text format, what they have heard. The Bible has been broadcast over the radio, and listeners have written the words down. This is dictation. But, I think radio program producers could encourage the audience to write in and express their opinions about the subjects or messages they have heard. Based on the Freirian approach, I think religious broadcasters would benefit from expressing the critical pedagogical qualities Freire defines – such as leading the audiences to become active thinkers in their society, and having influence, networking and participating in the community, and expressing themselves in dialogue, whether it is via talk-radio or write-radio. Of course, the "write-radio" applies only to the literate members of the society. But literacy being fairly high in Mongolia it would be possible to have local community radio organize writing competitions on certain topics. In talk radio, changing views and opinions are important, and at the same time, if the concept of "write radio" were to be added to the radio schedule, it would indeed qualify as consciousness raising radio.

Ong would say that the chirographic cultures would regard speech as more informational than oral cultures. In an oral culture, according to Ong, speech is more performance-oriented. In chirographic cultures the written text is more of a one-way street, while in oral cultures the stories and thinking are of cyclical nature. (Ong, 1982, 177)

As Goody (1987, 185) points out: "A central difference between an oral and a literate culture lies in the modes of transmission, the first allowing a surprisingly wide degree of

creativity but of a largely cyclical kind, the latter demanding repetition as a condition of some incremental change.”

In radio, these trends are available – news and informational programming presenting the literate form, while drama, stories, and literature programming present the oral form. Placing Freire’s critical pedagogy approach into the media arena, and especially looking into media’s function as participatory, and emphasizing its dynamic relationship to the society, I can see a similarity between Ong and Freire. The same way Ong sees the communication as intersubjective, Freire sees education as intersubjective; emphasizing the need for educators to know what takes place in their student’s world.

Communication is not one-way, even though in broadcasting it appears to be so in most cases. Ideally, even in the broadcasting industry, communication is so that the journalist understands what is in the mind of the targeted audience, and is therefore able to enter that mind with a message. Ong describes it like this "I have to be somehow inside the mind of the other in advance in order to enter with my message, and he or she must be inside my mind...Communication is intersubjective. The media model is not." The primary measure of successful communication lies in the comprehension of the message by the recipient. I think if broadcasters, whether on local, national or an international level, manage to enter the mind of the audience in such a way that there is comprehension of the message, communication has taken place.

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APPENDIX 1. Comparison of the two areas

YEARS	SOVIET UNION	MONGOLIA
1917-	Time of war communism - October revolution, newspapers and printing houses forbidden-> state ownership	First newspaper and flypapers 1920, radio introduced in mid 1920s
1921-	NEP - New Economic Policy - many central newspapers and magazines created - some radios - tight atmosphere	Marxist-Leninist/communist/people's revolution -> political newspapers, and youth, women. Ideological teaching from Moscow. Russian publishing house in Mongolia
1928-	Revolution from above - Stalin era - communications centralized and tightened, press part of political system – more papers and radio stations, cable radio	First local paper 1929 (Mongolyn Medee in Chinese), Mongolian radio 1931, a radio network in 1935 in Mongolia, First Mongolian language radio broadcast in the capital 1934. State run radio founded, 1936 USSR-Mongolia agreement, Russian media people went to Mongolia. High illiteracy. Constitution of 1940 – Buddhism replaced by communism
1941-	The days of the radio - radio took some of the roles of the print media during the war	Local papers under district party committees and local Khurals. Press centralized until 1990
1945-	Bolshevist consciousness was revived by using mass communications system as instrument	Cyrillic alphabet introduced 1946. Tape recorder arrived from Russia. Political and cultural programming; poems, drama, live broadcasts. Mongolian mass media developed. Tsedenbal

Continues next page

YEARS	SOVIET UNION	MONGOLIA
1954-	Need for media research - better TV programs. After Stalin's death Soviet folklore 1935-1953 was discredited. Communications explosion, media usage became private with transistor radios. Foreign broadcasts listened	Materialistic and technical construction for socialism, collectivization, media being used every day, work separated from housing. Nationwide coverage with stronger transmitters, two channels 25 hours daily programming, program segmentation. Reading competence developed-> press as mass media. .
1964-	Development after the quitting of Khrushchev - Stalinizing campaign was stopped. Newspapers rose, radio common, TV coverage 75% of the country. Int'l programs improved domestic ones, Mayak established in 1965	National TV 1965. Overseas service for radio 1964
1970-		Mongolia - news, music, info reportage in radio developed into kids, youth, news, music info. TV country wide 1979, and each. Family had a radio set. 1970-> program schedule had fixed spots for news. 1970 Orbit to other towns, 1976 Orbit daily bcasts.
1985-	Glasnost-oriented propaganda machine - especially printed press strong - dev. Of public sphere	1980s editorial staff got more freedom, but radio listening decreased with less radios from Russia. 1984 detailed program schedule. Free time was spent with journalistic media
1990s-	USSR Law on Press and other media - Statute On the Mass Media	Script in media changed from Mongolian to Cyrillic. Mongolian journalists learning the principles of Glasnost. First independent paper Shine Toly. Number of newspapers increased – expensive to buy. Yellow press started, papers read in public.

The end of the Appendix 1

APPENDIX 2

RECRUITMENT for focus groups

Moderator acted as the project manager in the recruitment process. It is his/her understanding of the research problem and his/her understanding of the culture that helped. For, example, in UB the moderator was a key person in organising the recruiting of the focus group members.

The Moderators used the screening for focus group questions like this:

1. What age bracket do you belong to?

(If person says a bracket in between 20 and 40, then he/she continue)

(If other age, terminate the person)

2. Do you listen to Wind FM?

(If person says yes, she/he is recruited)

(If the person says no, he/she is terminated)

The Moderators looked after the recruitment process to see if we were getting participants with the particular profile into the groups.

If it looked difficult to get a certain type of group –the criterion were relaxed, for example, accepting also participants who did not listen to Wind FM in the 20-40 group.

Even on the opening day of the focus groups there was a brief screening questionnaire to make sure that the focus groups consisted of those fitting the targeted profile.

A. Recruitment of WIND listener group

In the end of March/first week of April, a station worker called to a randomly sampled list of Wind FM listeners and explained about the focus group, and gave the optional times available for the focus group.

Anybody interested could either agree right away, or call later to the station and tell about participation.

Three weeks before the actual focus group, the subjects were contacted again and they were told when the focus groups exactly were happening, and where. They were asked to arrive 15 min. before the beginning of the actual focus group. A small snack was provided for participants as an incentive.

B. Recruitment of ger community

Recruitment for ger groups was made by the ger community leader, and the focus groups for the ger were conducted in the community hall.

APPENDIX 3

**UB 2002 SURVEY
QUESTIONNAIRE**

Final questionnaire

INTRODUCTION [QUESTIONS CODED S, A AND B]

Good day. My name is _____. I am from _____, a company that conducts surveys to find out what people think about different products and services. Today, we are conducting a survey to find out, among other matters, how people use different media such as radio, television, and newspapers. We have randomly selected many households throughout UB. Your household happens to be one of those we chose and we wish to select at random one member of your household to interview.

S1. How many members are there in your household? Please include children but not visitors.

[CODED FOR DP]

S2. Among these members, how many are children are there below 15 years of age?

[CODED FOR DP]

S3. Please tell me the names and ages of all males and females who are 15 years of age or older, starting from the oldest to the youngest. [NOT IN DP]

RECORD NAMES OF ALL ADULT MEMBERS (FROM OLDEST TO YOUNGEST)

	Name	Age	Sex		Last digit of questionnaire number										
			M	F	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0	
1			1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2			1	2	2	1	2	2	1	1	1	2	1	2	
3			1	2	3	1	2	3	1	1	3	1	2	1	
4			1	2	4	2	3	3	1	2	4	3	4	4	
5			1	2	5	2	4	5	5	3	1	5	3	3	
6			1	2	6	5	5	2	3	4	1	3	2	6	
7			1	2	6	1	2	1	2	4	2	5	7	6	
8+			1	2	3	1	5	3	6	3	7	8	2	8	

SELECT ONE MEMBER WITH THE HELP OF THE CHART ABOVE. ADMINISTER QUESTIONNAIRE TO SELECTED MEMBER. SELECTED MEMBER IS NOT AVAILABLE, UP TO THREE ATTEMPTS ARE TO BE MADE AT TIMES WHEN HE/SHE IS LIKELY TO BE HOME. AFTER THREE ATTEMPTS, SUBSTITUTE FROM ANOTHER HOUSEHOLD.

Reasons for Substitution: [NOT IN DP] Calls made: [WRITE DATE AND TIME]: [NOT IN DP]

- | | |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Could not contact 1 | 1 st call |
| Away from home/town 2 | 2 nd call |
| Refused 3 | 3 rd call |
| Other [SPECIFY BELOW] 4 | Dropped..... |

OTHER REASON FOR REFUSAL: _____

A1. Date of interview

Day	Month	Year
		2002

A2. Day of Interview **[Single Answer = SA ONLY]**

Monday	1
Tuesday	2
Wednesday	3
Thursday	4
Friday	5
Saturday	6
Sunday	7

A3. Interviewed on **[SA ONLY]**

1 st call	1
2 nd call	2
3 rd call	3

Length of the interview [MINUTES]		CODE [NUMERIC]			A4.
Interview started at [EXACT TIME]					
Interview finished at [EXACT TIME]					
INTERVIEWER NAME [WRITE DOWN]		SEE CODE LIST 1 [SA]			A5.
Was interview witnessed/verified? [CIRCLE]	YES / NO	CODES BELOW [SA]			A6.
Who witnessed/verified? [INITIALS & DATE]		[NOT IN DP]			
CHECKED BY [INITIALS & DATE]					
Number of queries					
QUERIES CLARIFIED [INITIALS & DATE]					

VERIFICATION STATUS	CODE
Witnessed by supervisor	1
Call-back by supervisor	2
Checked by telephone	3
Not witnessed or checked	4

Name of respondent :.....

Address:

Telephone Number:

B1. District of UB

Songinohairhan district	1
Bayanzurh district	2
BayanGol district	3
Chingeltei district	4
Suhbaatar district	5
Khan Uul district	6

B2. PSU

CODE LIST 2 [SA]

--	--	--

District	% of population	No.of PSUs
Songinohairhan district (162400)	22	22
Bayanzurh district (153400)	21	21
BayanGol district (143800)	19	19
Chingeltei district (111200)	15	15
Suhbaatar district (97700)	13	13
Khan Uul district (74000)	10	10
TOTAL UB: 742,500	100	100

A. MEDIA SECTION

[IN ANSWER TO EACH QUESTION, CIRCLE THE APPROPRIATE NUMBER(S).]

[READ OUT]

I'd like to ask you some questions about radio, TV, newspapers and magazines, and other sources of information and entertainment.

[ASK ALL]

Q1 First of all, I am going to read out a card with a list of items. For each of them, please tell me how many, if any, **in working order** you have in your household. [CODE IN GRID.] [SA IN EACH ROW]

ROW		One	Two	Three or more	None	Don't know/NA
A.	Radio	1	2	3	4 → Q2a	9 → Q4
B.	Relay Radio	1	2	3	4 → Q4	9 → Q4
C.	Colour TV	1	2	3	4 → Q4	9 → Q4
D.	Black-and-white TV	1	2	3	4 → Q4	9 → Q4
E.	VCR	1	2	3	4 → Q4	9 → Q4
F.	Cassette recorder/player	1	2	3	4 → Q4	9 → Q4
G.	CD player	1	2	3	4 → Q4	9 → Q4
H.	Fixed line telephone	1	2	3	4 → Q4	9 → Q4
J.	Mobile / Cell phone	1	2	3	4 → Q4	9 → Q4
K.	Mobiphine	1	2	3	4 → Q4	9 → Q4
L.	Car radio	1	2	3	4 → Q4	9 → Q4

[ASK ALL THOSE WHO HAVE AT LEAST ONE RADIO SET, Q1. ROW A, CODES 1 TO 3]

2a You said you have at least one radio in working order in your household. Can I have a look at your radio to see which wavebands it has?
[CODE IN GRID] [SA IN COLUMN 1 BELOW]

[IF MORE THAN ONE SET, ASK:]

Can I have a look at your **best** radio to see which wavebands the set has?
[CODE IN GRID] [SA IN THE COLUMN 1 BELOW]

ROW		COL.1 CHECKED	COL.2 NOT CHECKED
A.	FM/VHF only	1	1
B.	FM/VHF and AM (Mediumwave)	2	2
C.	FM/AM/SW	3	3
D.	FM/AM/SW/LW (Longwave)	4	4
E.	FM/AM/SW & cassette player	5	5
F.	FM/AM/SW & CD player	6	6
G.	Relay radio	7	7
H.	Not sure which bands available	9	9

[IF THE RESPONDENT DOES NOT ALLOW THE INTERVIEWER TO HAVE A LOOK THE RADIO SET, ASK:]

Q2b Which wavebands do you have in your radio/your best radio? [PROBE:] Any others?
[AFTER PROBING, ENTER THE APPROPRIATE CODE IN COLUMN 2 ABOVE]
[SA IN THE COLUMN 2 ABOVE]

[AFTER THE RADIO IS CHECKED, AND IT DOES NOT HAVE A SW BAND, ASK:]

Q3 Do you have at least one radio that can receive shortwave broadcasting? [SA ONLY]

Yes	No	Don't know /NA
1	2	9

RADIO (Q4 – Q19)

[ASK ALL]

Q4 Apart from today, when was the last time you listened to the radio whether at home or elsewhere? [SHOWCARD 4/28/38] [SA ONLY]

Yesterday	1	→GO TO Q5
Within the last 7 days	2	→GO TO Q6
Within the last 4 weeks	3	→GO TO Q6
Within the last 12 months	4	→GO TO Q6
Longer than 12 months ago	5	→GO TO Q7
Never	6	→GO TO Q7
Don't know/NA [DO NOT READ OUT]	9	→GO TO Q7

[ASK Q5 OF ALL WHO LISTENED TO THE RADIO YESTERDAY - Q4, CODE 1]

Q5 Please think about the times you listened to the radio yesterday. At what time did you first begin listening to the radio and at what time did you stop listening?

[ONCE THE RESPONDENT HAS GIVEN THE FIRST TIME THEY LISTENED, ASK:]

When did you next listen to the radio yesterday? And when did you stop listening?

[REPEAT UNTIL THE RESPONDENT HAS GIVEN ALL THE TIMES THEY LISTENED TO THE RADIO YESTERDAY]

01. 12 midnight -12:29 am	1	13. 6:00-6:29 am	1	25. 12 noon-12:29 pm	1	37. 18:00-18:29 pm	1
02. 12:30-12:59 am	1	14. 6:30-6:59 am	1	26. 12:30-12:59 pm	1	38. 18:30-18:59 pm	1
03. 1:00-1:29 am	1	15. 7:00-7:29 am	1	27. 13:00-13:29 pm.	1	39. 19:00-19:29 pm	1
04. 1:30-1:59 am	1	16. 7:30-7:59 am	1	28. 13:30-13:59 pm	1	40. 19:30-19:59 pm	1
05. 2:00-2:29 am	1	17. 8:00-8:29 am	1	29. 14:00-14:29 pm	1	41. 20:00-20:29 pm	1
06. 2:30-2:59 am	1	18. 8:30-8:59 am	1	30. 14:30-14:59 pm	1	42. 20:30-20:59 pm	1
07. 3:00-3:29 am	1	19. 9:00-9:29 am	1	31. 15:00-15:29 pm	1	43. 21:00-21:29 pm	1
08. 3:30-3:59 am	1	20. 9:30-9:59 am	1	32. 15:30-15:59 pm	1	44. 21:30-21:59 pm	1
09. 4:00-4:29 am	1	21. 10:00-10:29 am	1	33. 16:00-16:29 pm	1	45. 22:00-22:29 pm	1
10. 4:30-4:59 am	1	22. 10:30-10:59 am	1	34. 16:30-16:59 pm	1	46. 22:30-22:59 pm	1
11. 5:00-5:29 am	1	23. 11:00-11:29 am	1	35. 17:00-17:29 pm	1	47. 23:00-23:29 pm	1
12. 5:30-5:59 am	1	24. 11:30-11:59 am	1	36. 17:30-17:59 pm	1	48. 23:30-23:59 pm	1
49. Don't know/Can't remember		99					

- 1) DO NOT PROMPT. CODE ALL THAT APPLY.
- 2) IF RESPONDENT MENTIONS ONLY GENERAL TIME FRAME, PROBE FOR SPECIFIC TIME SLOT (S) AND CODE IN CORRESPONDING BOX. THE RESPONDENT SHOULD GIVE ONE OR MORE SPECIFIC TIME SLOT (S).
- 3) CODE ALL THAT APPLY IF RESPONDENT TIME CROSSES MORE THAN ONE TIME SLOT.
- 4) IF RESPONDENT CANNOT REMEMBER OR IS UNSURE, CODE 99 ['DON'T KNOW/CAN'T REMEMBER']
- 5) CHECK CONSISTENCY WITHIN SET; IF CODE 99 IS CODED, NOTHING ELSE SHOULD BE CODED

[ASK ALL RADIO LISTENERS – Q4, CODES 1 TO 4]

Q6 On average, how often do you listen to radio? [CODE TO FIT.] [SA ONLY]

Every day	1
Less frequently but at least once a week	2
At least once a month	3
Less often than once a month	4
Don't know/NA [DO NOT READ OUT]	9

[ASK ALL WHO HAVE EVER LISTENED TO RADIO – Q4, CODES 1 TO 5]

Q7 Some radio stations, especially those from abroad, can be heard only on shortwave frequencies. Have you ever listened to radio programs on shortwave? [SA ONLY]

Yes	1	→Q8
No	2	GO TO →Q9
Don't know/NA [DO NOT READ OUT]	9	GO TO →Q9

[ASK ALL RESPONDENTS WHO HAVE EVER LISTENED TO PROGRAMS ON SHORTWAVE – Q7, CODE 1]

Q8 When was the last time you listened to a shortwave radio broadcast? Was it
[SHOWCARD 8] [SA ONLY]

[SHOWCARD 8]	
Yesterday	1
Within the last 7 days	2
Within the last 4 weeks	3
Within the past 12 months	4
Longer than 1 year ago	5
Don't know/NA [DO NOT READ OUT]	9

[ASK ALL]

Q9 I would now like to ask you some questions about domestic and international radio stations that can be received in Mongolia. Can you tell me the names of any radio stations you can think of? It does not matter whether you listen to them or not. [PROBE:] Any other stations?

[PROBE IF NO INTERNATIONAL STATIONS MENTIONED:]

And can you name any radio stations that broadcast from outside of Mongolia?

[DO NOT PROMPT. CODE ALL THAT APPLY IN THE COLUMN FOR Q7.]

ASK ABOUT FOR EACH STATION **NOT** NAMED IN Q9. **ROTATE THE STARTING POINT:** TICK THE STARTING POINT AND READ DOWN THE LIST. REMEMBER TO READ OUT NAMES ABOVE THE STARTING POINT.

Q10 Have you ever heard of any of the following stations? [READ STATION NAMES ONE BY ONE] [CODE ALL THAT APPLY IN THE COLUMN FOR Q10.]

IF THE RESPONDENT IS NOT AWARE OF ANY RADIO STATIONS, → SKIP TO Q20.

[ASK FOR ALL STATIONS THAT RESPONDENT ACKNOWLEDGES AWARENESS – Q9 OR Q10]

Q11 You said that you heard of [NAME OF STATION]. Have you ever listened to this station?

- 1) CODE EITHER 'YES' OR 'NO' IN COLUMN FOR Q11.
- 2) FOR EACH RADIO STATION LISTENED TO, ASK Q12 BEFORE ASKING ABOUT ANOTHER STATION.

[ASK FOR ALL STATIONS RESPONDENT HAS LISTENED TO – Q11]

Q12 Have you listened to [NAME OF STATION] in the last 12 months?

- 1) CODE EITHER 'YES' OR 'NO' IN COLUMN FOR Q12.
- 2) FOR EACH RADIO STATION LISTENED TO IN THE LAST 12 MONTHS, ASK Q13 AND Q14 BEFORE ASKING ABOUT ANOTHER STATION.

[ASK FOR EACH STATION LISTENED TO IN LAST 12 MONTHS – Q12]

Q13 In what language did you listen to this station? [IF OTHER LANGUAGES LISTED, PROMPT IF NECESSARY:] Did you listen in any other languages?

- 1) CODE ALL LANGUAGES MENTIONED BY RESPONDENT IN COLUMN FOR Q13.
- 2) IF THE LANGUAGE MENTIONED BY RESPONDENT IS NOT IN THE LIST, CODE 'OTHER'.
- 3) FOR EACH RADIO STATION AND LANGUAGE LISTENED TO IN THE LAST 12 MONTHS CONTINUE WITH Q14.

[ASK FOR EACH STATION LISTENED TO IN LAST 12 MONTHS IN EACH LANGUAGE – Q13]

Q14 Apart from today, when was the last time you listened to broadcasts by [STATION] in [LANGUAGE]? Was it ... **[SHOWCARD 14/27/32]**

[SHOWCARD 14/27/32]	
Yesterday	1
Within the last 7 days	2
Within the last 4 weeks	3
Within the past 12 months	4

[CHECK CONSISTENCY OF REPLIES TO Q14 WITH Q4 (WHEN LAST LISTENED TO THE RADIO)]

- 1) IF RESPONDENT HAS LISTENED TO A STATION IN MORE THAN ONE LANGUAGE, REPEAT Q14 FOR EACH LANGUAGE IN WHICH RESPONDENT LISTENED TO THIS STATION.
- 2) RETURN TO Q12 UNTIL YOU HAVE ASKED ABOUT ALL STATIONS THE RESPONDENT HAS LISTENED TO.

RADIO STATION GRID, PART A (FM and domestic AM and SW stations)

✓	Radio Stations	Q9 Unaided awareness	Q10 Aided awareness	Q11 Ever listened		Q12 Last 12 months		Q14 Last listened				
				Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes- ter- day	Las- t 7 day s	Las- t 4 wee- ks	Last 12 mont- hs	Can't say/NA
A.	FM 100.9 Khukh Tenger Radio	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	2	3	4	9
B.	FM 101.6 Ulaanbaatar Radio	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	2	3	4	9
C.	FM 102.5	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	2	3	4	9
D.	FM 103.1 BBC	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	2	3	4	9
E.	FM 104 Radio Liberty	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	2	3	4	9
F.	WIND-FM 104.5	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	2	3	4	9
G.	FM 105 Digitone	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	2	3	4	9
H.	FM 105.5 Info Radio	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	2	3	4	9
I.	FM 106 Radio Mongolia	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	2	3	4	9
J.	FM 106.6 Voice of America	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	2	3	4	9
K.	FM 107 Shine Zuuny Radio	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	2	3	4	9
L.	FM 107.5 Shine Dolgion	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	2	3	4	9
M.	Radio Mongolia AM station	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	2	3	4	9
N.	Blue Sky SW 4850 kHz	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	2	3	4	9
O.	Relay R.Mayak	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	2	3	4	9
P.	Relay R. Mongolia	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	2	3	4	9
Q.	Other (SPECIFY)		1	1	2	1	2	1	2	3	4	9

RADIO STATION GRID, PART B (International AM and SW stations)

✓	Radio Stations	Q9 Unaided awareness	Q10 Aided awareness	Q11 Ever listened		Q12 Last 12 months		Q13 Language s	Q14 Last listened				
				Yes	No	Yes	No		Yes ter- day	Las t 7 day s	Las t 4 wee ks	Last 12 mont hs	Can't say/NA
A.	Voice of Russia, Moscow	1	1	1	2	1	2	1 Mongolia n 4 Russian 9 Other	1 1 1	2 2 2	3 3 3	4 4 4	9 9 9
B.	Radio Japan (NHK)	1	1	1	2	1	2	3 Japanes e 4 Russian 9 Other	1 1 1	2 2 2	3 3 3	4 4 4	9 9 9
C.	Radio Korea Int'l, Radio Hankuk, Seoul	1	1	1	2	1	2	2 English 4 Russian 6 Korean 9 Other	1 1 1	2 2 2	3 3 3	4 4 4	9 9 9
D.	BBC London (on SW)	1	1	1	2	1	2	2 English 4 Russian 9 Other	1 1 1	2 2 2	3 3 3	4 4 4	9 9 9
E.	Deutsche Welle, Voice of Germany	1	1	1	2	1	2	4 Russian 5 German 9 Other	1 1 1	2 2 2	3 3 3	4 4 4	9 9 9
F.	Radio Almaty, Kazakhstan	1	1	1	2	1	2	4 Russian 7 Kazakh 9 Other	1 1 1	2 2 2	3 3 3	4 4 4	9 9 9
G.	Radio Pyongyang, North Korea	1	1	1	2	1	2	4 Russian 6 Korean 9 Other	1 1	2 2	3 3	4 4	9 9
H.	China Radio International, Beijing	1	1	1	2	1	2	1 Mongolia n 4 Russian 8 Chinese 9 Other	1 1 1	2 2 2	3 3 3	4 4 4	9 9 9
I.	PR of China regional stations [DETAILS GIVEN BELOW]*	1	1	1	2	1	2	1 Mongolia n 8 Chinese 9 Other	1 1	2 2	3 3	4 4	9 9
J.	Voice of America (VOA)	1	1	1	2	1	2	2 English 4 Russian 9 Other	1 1 1	2 2 2	3 3 3	4 4 4	9 9 9

K.	Radio Veritas Asia	1	1	1 2	1 2	4 Russian 9 Other	1 1	2 2	3 3	4 4	9 9
L.	Turkmen radio	1	1	1 2	1 2	2 English 9 Other	1 1	2 2	3 3	4 4	9 9
M.	FEBC, KFBS Saipan	1	1	1 2	1 2	1 Mongolia n 4 Russian 8 Chinese 9 Other	1 1	2 2	3 3	4 4	9 9
N.	Other	1									

* PR OF CHINA REGIONAL STATIONS BROADCAST ON SHORTWAVE FROM:
Xinjiang (Urumqi); Nei Menggu (Hohhot); Hulun Buir (Hailar); Xilingol (Xilinhot).

IF THE RESPONDENT IS NOT AWARE OF ANY RADIO STATIONS, → SKIP TO Q20.

CHECK ROW D (BOTH GRIDS). IF BBC LISTENER, ASK BBC QUESTIONS (Q15 & Q16) OTHERS → SKIP TO Q17.

CHECK RADIO STATION GRID **PART A**, ROW D, Q11, code 1. IF RESPONDENT HAS EVER LISTENED TO FM103.1, ASK **Q15**

- Q15** When did you last listen to radio programmes made by BBC in English, broadcast on local FM 103.1 station here in Ulaan Baator?
[PROBE TO FIT CODE LIST BELOW.] [SA ONLY]

Yesterday	1
Within last 7 days	2
Within last 4 weeks	3
Longer ago, but within last 12 months	4
More than 12 months ago	5
Has never listened	6
Don't know/Can't say	9

ASK ALL WHO HAVE EVER LISTENED TO THE BBC ON SHORTWAVE. CHECK RADIO LISTENING GRID, **PART B**, ROW D, Q11, code 1.

- Q16** And when did you last listen to radio programmes made by BBC in English broadcast on shortwave?
[PROBE TO FIT CODE LIST BELOW.] [SA ONLY]

Yesterday	1
Within last 7 days	2
Within last 4 weeks	3
Longer ago, but within last 12 months	4
More than 12 months ago	5
Has never listened	6
Don't know/Can't say	9

[ASK ALL RADIO LISTENERS – Q4, CODES 1 TO 4]

- Q17** More about radio listening. Could you please tell me on what situations you usually listen to radio? [DO NOT PROMPT. CODE TO FIT.] [MA POSSIBLE]

A.	When getting up in the morning	1
B.	At breakfast	1
C.	On the way from home to work/school	1
D.	At work	1
E.	At Lunchtime	1
F.	On the way from work/school to home	1
G.	While doing household scores	1
H.	At Dinnertime	1
I.	While spending time with family	1
J.	While spending time with friends	1
K.	When alone by myself	1
L.	While in a bus	1
M.	While in a microbus	1
N.	While in a car/taxi	1
O.	While in bed-> night time listening	1
P.	Background listening	1
Q.	Don't know/NA [DO NOT READ OUT]	9

[ASK ALL RADIO LISTENERS – Q4, CODES 1 TO 4]

Q18 It is possible to call by phone to some radio programs here in UB.
Have you ever called to a radio station, participating the program?

Yes	1	→ Q19
No	2	→SKIP TO Q20
Yes, but never managed to come through	3	→SKIP TO Q20
Can't remember/NA	9	→SKIP TO Q20

Q19 How often do you usually take part in call-back programs, or so called talk radio?

Every day	1
Less frequently but at least once a week	2
At least once a month	3
Less often than once a month	4
Don't know/NA [DO NOT READ OUT]	9

NEWS SOURCES (Q20 – Q23)

[ASK ALL RESPONDENTS Q20 TO Q23]

Q20 People get their news about events here in Mongolia from many different sources. Which of the following sources do you use to get information about news in Mongolia?

[SHOWCARD 20/21/22/23]

[CODE ALL THAT APPLY IN THE COLUMN FOR Q20] [MA POSSIBLE]

Q21 Of all the sources you use to find out news about Mongolia, which one do you think is most important? **[SHOWCARD 20/21/22/23]**

[CODE ONE REPLY ONLY IN THE COLUMN FOR Q21] [SA ONLY]

Q22 And which of the following sources do you use to get information about news in other countries? **[SHOWCARD 20/21/22/23]**

[CODE ALL THAT APPLY IN THE COLUMN FOR Q22] [MA POSSIBLE]

Q23 Of all the sources you use to find out news about other countries, which one do you think is most important? **[SHOWCARD 20/21/22/23]**

[CODE ONE REPLY ONLY IN THE COLUMN FOR Q23] [SA ONLY]

Source	Q20	Q21	Q22	Q23
[SHOWCARD 20/21/22/23]	News about Mongolia Sources used	News about Mongolia Most important	News about other countries Sources used	News about other countries Most important
Domestic radio	1	1	1	1
Domestic television	1	2	1	2
Mongolian newspapers/magazines	1	3	1	3
Foreign radio	1	4	1	4
Foreign television	1	5	1	5
Foreign newspapers/magazines	1	6	1	6
Word of mouth/friends/family	1	7	1	7
Internet	1	8	1	8
Cannot say [DO NOT READ OUT]	9→don't ask Q21	9	9→ don't ask Q21	9

NEWSPAPERS (Q24 - Q27)

[ASK ALL]

Q24 Apart from today, when was the last time that you read a local newspaper?
[DO NOT READ OUT - CODE TO FIT] [SA ONLY]

Yesterday	1	→ ASK Q25 & Q26
Within past 3 days	2	→ ASK Q25 & Q26
Within the last 7 days	3	→ ASK Q25 & Q26
Within the past 4 weeks	4	→ ASK Q25 & Q26
Within the past 12 months	5	→ ASK Q25 & Q26
Longer ago	6	→ SKIP TO Q28
Never	7	→ SKIP TO Q28
Don't know/NA [DO NOT READ OUT]	9	→ SKIP TO Q28

[ASK ALL WHO READ NEWSPAPERS – Q24, CODES 1 TO 5]

Q25 On average, how often do you read a local newspaper?
[DO NOT READ OUT - CODE TO FIT] [SA ONLY]

Every day	1	→ Q26
Every two or three days	2	→ Q26
Less frequently but at least once a week	3	→ Q26
At least once a month	4	→ Q26
Less often than once a month	5	→ Q26
Don't know/NA [DO NOT READ OUT]	9	→ SKIP TO Q28

[ASK ALL WHO READ NEWSPAPERS – Q24, CODES 1 TO 5]

Q26 Which of these local newspapers have you read in the last 12 months?
[READ LIST. ROTATE STARTING POINT]
[CODE IN THE COLUMN FOR Q26] [SA IN EACH ROW]

Q27 When did you last read _____ [ASK IN TURN ABOUT EACH NEWSPAPER READ IN THE LAST 12 MONTHS]? ROTATE STARTING POINT
[SHOWCARD 14/27/35] [SA IN EACH ROW]

✓	Newspaper/Magazine	Q26 Has read		[SHOWCARD 14/27/32] Q27 Last read				
		Yes	No	Yester-day	Last 7 Days	Last 4 Weeks	Last 12 Months	Cannot say/NA
A.	Udriin Sonin	1	2	1	2	3	4	9
B.	Zuuny Medee	1	2	1	2	3	4	9
C.	Mongolyn Medee	1	2	1	2	3	4	9
D.	Unen	1	2	1	2	3	4	9
E.	Unuudur	1	2	1	2	3	4	9
F.	Ulaanbaatar Times	1	2	1	2	3	4	9
G.	Seruuleg	1	2	1	2	3	4	9
H.	Khongorzul	1	2	1	2	3	4	9
I.	5 Tsagirag							
J.	Humuus							
K.	Shar Sonin							
L.	Other	1	2	1	2	3	4	9

TELEVISION Q28 – Q 36)

[ASK ALL]

Q28 Apart from today, when was the last time you watched TV, whether at home or somewhere else? **[SHOWCARD 4/28/38]** [SA ONLY]

Yesterday	1	→Q29
Within the last 7 days	2	→GO TO Q30
Within the past 4 weeks	3	→GO TO Q30
Within the past 12 months	4	→GO TO Q30
Longer than 12 months ago	5	→GO TO Q37
Never	6	→SKIP TO Q37
Don't know/NA [DO NOT READ OUT]	9	→SKIP TO Q37

[ASK ALL WHO WATCHED TV YESTERDAY – Q28, CODE 1]

Q29 Please think about the times that you watched television yesterday. At what time did you first begin watching TV and at what time did you stop watching?

[ONCE THE RESPONDENT HAS GIVEN THE FIRST TIME THEY WATCHED, ASK:]

When did you next watch TV yesterday? And when did you stop watching?

[REPEAT UNTIL THE RESPONDENT HAS GIVEN ALL THE TIMES THEY WATCHED TV YESTERDAY]

01. 12 midnight -12:29 am	1	13. 6:00-6:29 am	1	25. 12 noon-12:29 pm	1	37. 18:00-18:29 pm	1
02. 12:30-12:59 am	1	14. 6:30-6:59 am	1	26. 12:30-12:59 pm	1	38. 18:30-18:59 pm	1
03. 1:00-1:29 am	1	15. 7:00-7:29 am	1	27. 13:00-13:29 pm.	1	39. 19:00-19:29 pm	1
04. 1:30-1:59 am	1	16. 7:30-7:59 am	1	28. 13:30-13:59 pm	1	40. 19:30-19:59 pm	1
05. 2:00-2:29 am	1	17. 8:00-8:29 am	1	29. 14:00-14:29 pm	1	41. 20:00-20:29 pm	1
06. 2:30-2:59 am	1	18. 8:30-8:59 am	1	30. 14:30-14:59 pm	1	42. 20:30-20:59 pm	1
07. 3:00-3:29 am	1	19. 9:00-9:29 am	1	31. 15:00-15:29 pm	1	43. 21:00-21:29 pm	1
08. 3:30-3:59 am	1	20. 9:30-9:59 am	1	32. 15:30-15:59 pm	1	44. 21:30-21:59 pm	1
09. 4:00-4:29 am	1	21. 10:00-10:29 am	1	33. 16:00-16:29 pm	1	45. 22:00-22:29 pm	1
10. 4:30-4:59 am	1	22. 10:30-10:59 am	1	34. 16:30-16:59 pm	1	46. 22:30-22:59 pm	1
11. 5:00-5:29 am	1	23. 11:00-11:29 am	1	35. 17:00-17:29 pm	1	47. 23:00-23:29 pm	1
12. 5:30-5:59 am	1	24. 11:30-11:59 am	1	36. 17:30-17:59 pm	1	48. 23:30-23:59 pm	1
49. Don't know/Can't remember		99					

- 6) DO NOT PROMPT. CODE ALL THAT APPLY.
- 7) IF RESPONDENT MENTIONS ONLY GENERAL TIME FRAME, PROBE FOR SPECIFIC TIME SLOT (S) AND CODE IN CORRESPONDING BOX. THE RESPONDENT SHOULD GIVE ONE OR MORE SPECIFIC TIME SLOT (S).
- 8) CODE ALL THAT APPLY IF RESPONDENT TIME CROSSES MORE THAN ONE TIME SLOT.
- 9) IF RESPONDENT CANNOT REMEMBER OR IS UNSURE, **CODE 49** [‘DON’T KNOW/CAN’T REMEMBER’]
- 10) CHECK CONSISTENCY WITHIN SET; IF **CODE 49** IS CODED, NOTHING ELSE SHOULD BE CODED

[ASK ALL TV VIEWERS IN PAST 12 MONTHS - Q28, CODES 1 TO 4]

Q30 On average, how often do you watch TV?

[CODE TO FIT.] [SA ONLY]

Every day	1
Less frequently but at least once a week	2
At least once a month	3
Less often than once a month	4
Don't know/NA [DO NOT READ OUT]	9

[ASK ALL TV VIEWERS IN PAST 12 MONTHS - Q28, CODES 1 TO 4]

Q31a Which of the following television channels have you watched in the last 12 months?

[PROBE] Any others? [CODE IN GRID UNDER COLUMN Q31] [MA POSSIBLE]

[ASK FOR ALL TV CHANNELS WATCHED IN THE LAST 12 MONTHS –COLUMN Q31, CODE 1] :

Q31b Apart from today, when was the last time you watched [CHANNEL]? Was it... [SA ONLY] [SHOWCARD 14/27/31b]

✓	Channel	Watched in last 12 Months Q31	[SHOWCARD 14/27/31b] Last Watched Q31b				
			Yes	Yester-day	Last 7 days	Last 4 weeks	Last 12 months
A.	Mongolyn Undesnii TV Mongolian channel	1	1	2	3	4	9
B.	Russian Community TV ORT	1	1	2	3	4	9
C.	Eagle TV	1	1	2	3	4	9
D.	MN channel 25	1	1	2	3	4	9
E.	UBS TV	1	1	2	3	4	9

Q31b Which of the following cable companies do you subscribe to? [READ OUT]

		yes
A.	Medeelel CATV	1
B.	Narlag Mongol CATV	1
C.	Sansar CATV	1
D.	Khiimore CATV	1
E.	Ih Mongol CATV	1
F.	Suljee 1	1
G.	Suljee 2	1
H.	Other (SPECIFY)	1
I.	Other (SPECIFY)	1
J.	DK ANY/NA	99

[ASK ALL TV VIEWERS IN PAST 12 MONTHS - Q28, CODES 1 TO 4]

Q33 Besides Mongolian television, it is possible to watch television via cable.
Do you ever watch cable TV at home or somewhere else? [SA ONLY]

Yes	1	→ASK Q34 TO Q36
No	2	→SKIP TO Q37
Don't know/ NA [DO NOT READ OUT]	9	→SKIP TO Q37

[ASK ALL WHO WATCH CABLE TV – Q33, CODE 1]

Q34 Do you ever watch the following channels on cable TV? [SHOWCARD 34]
[SA FOR EACH ROW FOR COLUMN Q34]

[FOR EACH CHANNEL WATCHED, ASK]

Q35 How often do you usually watch this channel? Is it [SHOWCARD 35]
[SA FOR EACH ROW FOR COLUMN Q35]

	Satellite TV Channel	Q34		Q35			
		Ever watch channel		How often watches channel			
		Yes	No	At least once a week	Less often than once a week	Never	Cannot say/NA
A.	ORT	1	2	1	2	3	9
B.	NHK	1	2	1	2	3	9
C.	MTV	1	2	1	2	3	9
D.	DW						
E.	Arirang TV	1	2	1	2	3	9
F.	Star TV: Movies	1	2	1	2	3	9
G.	Star TV: Prime Sports	1	2	1	2	3	9
H.	BBC World	1	2	1	2	3	9
I.	Inner Mongolian TV	1	2	1	2	3	9
J.	CNBC	1	2	1	2	3	9
K.	Worldnet/VOA TV (from USA)	1	2	1	2	3	9
L.	TV 3 Russian TV	1	2	1	2	3	9
M.	Cartoon Network	1	2	1	2	3	9
N.	National Geographic	1	2	1	2	3	9
O.	Channel V	1	2	1	2	3	9
P.	ABC Asia Pacific (from Australia)	1	2	1	2	3	9
Q.	Other 1 (SPECIFY)	1		1	2	3	9
R.	Other 2 (SPECIFY)	1		1	2	3	9

[ASK ALL WHO WATCH SATELLITE TV – Q33 CODE 1]

Q36 Where do **usually** watch satellite TV? [CODE TO FIT] [SA ONLY]

At home	1
Home of a neighbour/friend/relative	2
Public place	3
At work	4
Don't now/NA [DO NOT READ OUT]	9

[ASK ALL]

Q37 Do you have access to any of the following facilities? **[SHOWCARD 37]**

[CODE ALL THAT APPLY.] [MA POSSIBLE IN EACH ROW]

ROW		At home	At friend's house	At Internet cafe	At work/place of study	Mobile phone	No access	Don't know/NA
A.	Cable TV	1	1	1	1		1	99
B.	Satellite dish	1	1	1	1		1	99
C.	Personal Computer	1	1	1	1		1	99
D.	Internet access	1	1	1	1	1	1	99
E.	E-mail service	1	1	1	1	1	1	99
H.	None of the above	1	1	1	1	1	1	99

IF RESPONDENT DOES NOT HAVE ACCESS TO THE INTERNET →SKIP TO DEMOGRAPHICS SECTION B, Q41

[ASK THOSE WHO HAVE ACCESS TO THE INTERNET – Q37, ROW F]

Q38 When did you last use the Internet? **[SHOWCARD 4/28/38]** [SA ONLY]

Yesterday	1	→ASK Q39 & Q40
Within the past 7 days	2	→ASK Q39 & Q40
Within the past 4 weeks	3	→ASK Q39 & Q40
Within the past 12 months	4	→ASK Q39 & Q40
Longer than 12 months ago	5	→SKIP TO SECTION B, Q41
Never	6	→SKIP TO SECTION B, Q41
Don't know/NA [DO NOT READ OUT]	9	→SKIP TO SECTION B, Q41

[ASK THOSE WHO HAVE ACCESSED THE INTERNET IN PAST 12 MONTHS – Q38, CODES 1 - 4]

Q39 For what purposes do you use the Internet? **[SHOWCARD 39]**

[CODE ALL THAT APPLY.] [MA POSSIBLE]

A.	To exchange e-mail with friends or colleagues	1
B.	To make school/study assignments	1
C.	To chatting	1
D.	To web-surfing/browsing the web	1
E.	To gather news and information	1
F.	To listen to the radio or other audio programs	1
G.	Other	1
H.	Don't know/NA [DO NOT READ OUT]	99

[ASK THOSE WHO HAVE ACCESSED THE INTERNET IN PAST 12 MONTHS – Q38, CODES 1 - 4]

Q40 Where do you usually use the Internet?

[CODE ALL THAT APPLY] [MA POSSIBLE]

A.	At home	1
B.	At work/college/school	1
C.	At the house of a friend or relative	1
D.	At an Internet Café	1
E.	Through your mobile phone	1
F.	Somewhere else	1
G.	Don't know/NA [DO NOT READ OUT]	99

B. LANGUAGES & DEMOGRAPHICS SECTION

[ASK ALL RESPONDENTS]

Q41 Apart from Mongolian, are there any other languages that you speak and understand?
What language(s)? [DO NOT READ OUT] [PROBE:] Any others? [CODE ALL THAT APPLY] [MA POSSIBLE]

A.	English	1	ASK →Q42, ALL OTHERS GO TO →Q43
B.	Japanese	1	
C.	Russian	1	
D.	German	1	
E.	Korean	1	
F.	Kazakh	1	
G.	Chinese	1	
H.	Other	1	
I.	No other language	1	
J.	Don't know/NA	99	

[ASK Q42 OF ALL RESPONDENTS WHO INDICATE UNDERSTANDING OF ENGLISH – Q41, ROW A]

Q42 If you heard a radio newscast in English, how much would you be able to understand?
[SA ONLY]

All of it	1
Most of it	2
Some of it	3
None of it	4
Cannot say, because never listen to radio newscast in English	5
Don't know/NA [DO NOT READ OUT]	9

Q43 Gender

Male	1
Female	2

ASK ALL RESPONDENTS Q44 TO Q51, AS APPROPRIATE

Q44 Could you please tell me your age?

RECORD AGE IN YEARS	
Don't know/NA [DO NOT READ OUT]	999

CODE HERE:

15-19	1
20-29	2
30-39	3
40-49	4
50-59	5
60-69	6
70-79	7
80+	8
No answer/NA	9

Q45 What is the highest level of education you have attained? [SA ONLY]

Elementary or less	1
Incomplete high school	2
High school	3
Some University or Technical Training School	4
Completed University or Technical Training School	5
Refused to answer/NA	9

Q46 What is your marital status? [SA ONLY]

Never married	1
Married	2
Living together	3
Divorced or separated	4
Widowed	5
Refused to answer/NA	9

Q47 Which of the following categories best indicates household monthly income? [SHOWCARD 47] [SA ONLY]

<20, 000 DK	1
20,000 - < 50,000 DK	2
50,000 - <100,000 DK	3
100,000 - <150,000 DK	4
150,000 - <250,000 DK	5
250,000 - <350,000 DK	6
Over 350,000 DK	7
Can't say. Refused to answer/NA	9

Q48 What is your working status? [SA ONLY]

Student	1	→GO TO Q50
Student and part-time work	2	→GO TO Q50
Housewife/Homemaker	3	→GO TO Q50
Part-time work	4	→ ASK Q49
Full-time work	5	→ ASK Q49
Retired and part-time work	6	→GO TO Q50
Retired	7	→GO TO Q50
Unemployed	8	→GO TO Q50
No answer/NA	9	→GO TO Q50

Q49 What is your occupation? [WRITE DOWN:]

CODE REPLY HERE →	
Refused to answer/Don't know/NA	99

Q50 What religion or philosophy that you follow or feel close to? [DO NOT READ OUT CODE TO FIT.] [SA ONLY]

Atheism	1
Buddhism	2
Christianity	3
Islam	4
Shamanism	5
Other	6
No philosophy/religion	7
Refused to answer/ Don't know/NA	9

Q51 Which ethnic group do you belong to? [DO NOT READ OUT. CODE TO FIT.] [SA ONLY]

Khalk	1
Durvud	2
Buriad	3
Bayad	4
Kazakh	5
Zakhchin	6
Uriankhai	7
Torguud	8
Uuld	9
Darigange	10
Darkhad	11
Foreigner [of foreign origin but permanently resident in Mongolia]	12
Other	13
Refused to answer/ Don't know/NA	99

C. HEALTH/PROBLEMS SECTION

[ASK ALL]

Q52 Have you ever heard health messages or programs on **Wind FM-104,5?**

Yes	1	→ASK Q53
No	2	→SKIP TO Q54
Can't remember/NA	9	→SKIP TO Q54

[ASK THOSE WHO HAVE HEARD HEALTH MESSAGES, Q52, CODE 1]

Q53 What did you learn about children's health? [WRITE DOWN RESPONSES]

[ASK ALL]

Q54 Which health topics do you want to have more information about? Please put the topics on this showcard in order of importance, giving '1' to the most important one, '2' to the next important one, and so on. **[SHOWCARD 54]**

A. Hygiene, nutrition	
B. Reproductive health	
C. Common children's disease	
D. Vaccination	
E. Other (PLEASE SPECIFY) _____	

[ASK ALL]

Q55 What do you think are number one and number two health problems in UB? [WRITE DOWN - ONLY TWO HEALTH PROBLEMS ACCEPTED] [SA IN EACH COLUMN]

1. _____

2. _____

	Problem 1	Problem 2
CODE REPLY HERE →		
None	88	88
Don't know/NA	99	99

[ASK ALL]

Q56 What is the biggest health concern that you have yourself? [WRITE DOWN - ONLY ONE HEALTH PROBLEM ACCEPTED] [SA ONLY]

1. _____

CODE REPLY HERE →	
Does not have any health problems	88
Don't know/NA	99

[ASK ALL]

Q57 From whom do you find help in health matters? [DO NOT READ OUT. CODE ALL THAT APPLY.] [MA POSSIBLE]

A.	Neighbour or friend or colleague	1
B.	Partner (husband/wife)	1
C.	Relative	1
D.	Media [ASK TO SPECIFY – WRITE DETAILS BELOW into 57D]	1
E.	European health professionals	1
F.	Traditional health professionals	1
G.	Has not needed any help so far	1
H.	Can't say/Don't know/NA	99

Q57D: _____

[ASK ALL]

Q58 What do you think is the **number one** problem that UB families face? [WRITE DOWN - ONLY ONE PROBLEM ACCEPTED] [SA ONLY]

CODE REPLY HERE →	
None	88
Can't say/Don't know/NA	99

[ASK ALL]

Q59 What is the biggest concern in your family? [WRITE DOWN - ONLY ONE CONCERN ACCEPTED] [SA ONLY]

CODE REPLY HERE →	
None	88
Can't say/Don't know/NA	99

[ASK ALL]

Q60 From whom do you find help in family matters? [DO NOT READ OUT. CODE ALL THAT APPLY.] [MA POSSIBLE]

A.	Neighbour or friend or colleague	1
B.	Partner (husband/wife)	1
C.	Relative	1
D.	Media [ASK TO SPECIFY – WRITE DETAILS BELOW into 60D]	1
E.	European health professionals	1
F.	Traditional health professionals	1
G.	Has not needed any help so far	1
G.	Has not needed any help so far	1
H.	Can't say/Don't know/NA	99

Q60D: _____

Q61 Whom do you admire in public life? Please name one or two persons.

Person 1. _____

[ASK:] Why do you admire [NAME OF PERSON]? [WRITE DOWN ANSWER]

Person 2. _____

[ASK:] And why do you admire [NAME OF PERSON] ? [WRITE DOWN ANSWER]

[SA IN EACH COLUMN]

	Person 1	Person 2	Reason 1	Reason 2
CODE REPLY HERE →				
None	1	1	1	1
Can't say/Don't know/NA	99	99	99	99

Q62 Finally, could you name two persons that have had a lot of influence on your life?
[WRITE DOWN ANSWER – ONLY TWO NAMES ACCEPTED] [SA IN EACH COLUMN]

Person 1: _____

Person 2: _____

	Person 1	Person 2
CODE REPLY HERE →		
None	1	1
Can't say/Don't know/NA	99	99